This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

LELAND·STANFORD·JVNIOR·VNIVERSITY

The true Portraiture of Richard Plantagenest,
of England and of France King Lord of
Ireland the third King Richard

Croft sculpt.

A NEW VARIORUM EDITION

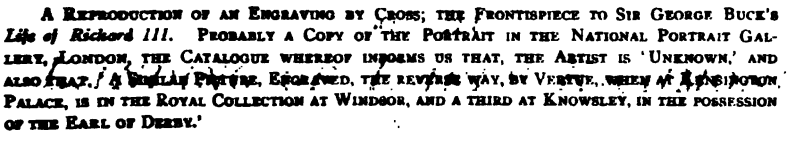
OF

SHAKESPEARE

THE TRAGEDY

OF

KING RICHARD THE THIRD



A REPRODUCTION OF AN ENGRAVING BY CROSS; THE FRONTISPIECE TO SIR GEORGE BUCK'S *Life of Richard III.* PROBABLY A COPY OF THE PORTRAIT IN THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON, THE CATALOGUE WHEREOF INFORMS US THAT, THE ARTIST IS 'UNKNOWN,' AND ALSO THAT, 'A SIMILAR PICTURE, ENGRAVED, THE REVERSE WAY, BY VERTUE, WHEN AT KENSINGTON PALACE, IS IN THE ROYAL COLLECTION AT WINDSOR, AND A THIRD AT KNOWSLEY, IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF DERBY.'

EDITED BY

HORACE HOWARD FURNESS

PHILADELPHIA
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY
1908

A NEW VARIORUM EDITION

OF

SHAKESPEARE

THE TRAGEDY

OF

RICHARD THE THIRD:

WITH THE

LANDING OF EARLE RICHMOND,

AND THE

BATTELL AT BOSWORTH FIELD.

EDITED BY

HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, JR.

PHILADELPHIA

J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

LONDON: 5, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN

1908

TO

H. H. F.

My other ſelfe, my Counſailes Conſiſtory,
My Oracle, My Prophet,
I, as a childe, will go by thy direction,

II, ii, 159.

PREFACE

IT is certainly fortunate that very few of SHAKESPEARE'S plays are furnished with such a number of sources whence the text is to be drawn, or such a mosaic text, when finally obtained, as *Richard the Third*. It appeared in what, according to Heminge and Condell, were 'stolne and surreptitious' Quartos no less than six times before it was set forth 'cured and perfect of [its] limbes' in the Folio of 1623. And it is the differences between these multitudinous texts that present to an editor one of the gravest problems in the whole range of Shakespearian literature; a determination of the true text demands wary walking; to omit a reading in the Quarto seems sacrilege: to include every reading spells confusion. In the following pages the text of the First Folio is reprinted with all the accuracy at my command; in it is incorporated, and designated by asterisks, the additions of the Quartos, whereof the omissions and transpositions are duly recorded in the *Textual Notes*. Thus the present text, which, to a certain extent, is a text of shreds and patches, has at least the merit of omitting nothing which we have reason to believe was SHAKESPEARE'S own—we, like Garrick, cannot lose one drop of that immortal man.

No one familiar with that department of Shakespearian study which deals with textual problems can be at all surprised at the variety and number of theories and solutions proposed to account for the mystery of the eight Quarto versions of the present play. The field is spacious and excellently furnished with pitfalls and quagmires, wherein each critic views with pleasure his rivals caught or floundering, while he himself, in his own opinion, walks triumphant and secure; we are involuntarily reminded of Pope's well-known lines:

> 'Tis with our judgements as our watches; none
> Go just alike, but each believes his own.'

The earliest mention of this play is to be found in the *Stationer's Registers*, under the date of 20th October, 1597, as follows:

> **Andrewe wise.**—Entered for his copie vnder th andes of master Barlowe, and master warden man The tragedie of king Richard the Third with the death of the Duke of Clarence. . . . .vj[d] *

* Arber's *Transcript*, iii, 25.

SHAKESPEARE'S name is not here given, nor does his name appear on the title-page when, in the same year, the book was finally issued. There can be, I think, no evidence of the popularity of the play surer than the number of its editions which were issued at short intervals. Thus, the present play was reprinted, including the two Folios, ten times in thirty-seven years. Six of the eight Quartos appeared, as has just been said, before the Folio of 1623; the first five, during SHAKESPEARE'S lifetime. In the *Appendix*, under *The Text*, will be found a transcript of the title-pages of these Quartos, but to facilitate present reference the dates are here given: Q_1, 1597; Q_2, 1598; Q_3, 1602; Q_4, 1605; Q_5, 1612; Q_6, 1622; Q_7, 1629; Q_8, 1634.

It follows, as of course, that any discussion of the Text increases, not only in volume and intricacy, but in theories, near or far-fetched, in direct proportion to the number of Quartos with their variations from the Folio or among themselves. Happy the editor who has before him for collation the simple text of the Folios, with no disturbing outside element!

The present play is distinguished by the extraordinary divergence of the text of the Quarto of 1597 from that of the Folio. Were this divergence confined solely to verbal changes, the editor would be guided in the task of forming a composite text either by his own personal preference or by the consensus of opinion of his predecessors; but the divergences here are so wide that no such guides avail him. There are many consecutive lines in the Folio whereof there are no traces in the Quarto, and again there are similar lines in the Quartos which are omitted in the Folio. These additions, both in the Folios and Quartos, seem, in some instances, necessary to complete the sense; and in others, mere amplifications of what has been already perhaps too concisely expressed. Take, for example, a passage in the scene between Richard and Buckingham in Act IV, scene ii, where the following lines (112–131) are omitted in the Folio:

'A King perhaps.
Buck. My Lord.
King. How chance the Prophet could not at that time,
Haue told me I being by, that I ſhould kill him.
Buck. My lord, your promiſe for the Earledome.
King. Richmond, when laſt I was at Exeter,
The Maior in curteſie ſhowd me the Caſtle,
And called it Ruge-mount, at which name I ſtarted,
Becauſe a Bard of Ireland told me once
I ſhould not liue long after I ſaw Richmond.
Buck. My Lord.
King. I, whats a clocke?
Buck. I am thus bold to put your grace in mind

Of what you promiſed me.
King. Wel, but whats a clocke?
Buck. Vpon the ſtroke of ten.
King. Well let it ſtrike.
Buck. Whie let it ſtrike?
King. Becauſe that like a Iacke thou keepſt the ſtroke
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
I am not in the giuing vein to day.'

Hardly any voice will be raised, I think, in dissent from the opinion that these lines in the Quarto are an extremely valuable addition; moreover, there are certain of these lines, such as the following:

'like a Jack thou keep'st the stroke
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.
I am not in the giving vein today.'

which are, perhaps, as familiar as any in SHAKESPEARE.

Such an omission in the Folio seems to suggest that, for dramatic purposes, scenes were here and there curtailed; but then, on the other hand, what cause can be assigned for the addition in the Folio of lines 305–359 in Act IV, scene iii? In the Quarto this scene is the longest in the play, and it is not easy to imagine the dramatic purpose to be gained by making Richard's long speech to the Queen even longer. This is not his concluding speech, and apparently it has upon her no more effect than those that precede it. And even if it be that these fifty-five lines are dramatically superfluous, who would willingly expunge them, when with them would be lost such lines as: 'Look what is done cannot be amended,' etc., or 'The liquid drops of tears that you have shed,' etc.? PICKERSGILL'S remarks on this and other omitted passages (*Appendix*, p. 446) are noteworthy.

These are but two instances out of many where, on the one hand, the Folio text is, both for stage purposes and as poetry, inferior to the Quarto, and, on the other, where the Quarto is as poetry inferior, but for stage purposes superior, to the Folio. On the whole, the majority of those who have grappled with the gnarled and almost unwedgeable question of the relation between Quarto and Folio regard the Quarto as the playhouse, or prompter's copy, and the Folio as the version of the play as originally written by SHAKESPEARE. This solution, however, although it will not account for all the differences between the two texts, does yet solve so many that we must, for the present at least, accept it. What solution, however, can we possibly suggest in cases such as the following: Act III, scene i (wherein the young king is received by Gloucester) consists of two hundred and twenty-five lines, and there are but forty variations between the Quarto and Folio, whereof the majority are mere verbal changes, while the two texts here

and there are identical for ten or fifteen lines at a time? Whereas Act I, scene iv (wherein Clarence converses first with the Keeper and then with the murderers) in the same number of lines, there are one hundred and twelve decided variations, not mere verbal changes, but whole lines, either altered or omitted entirely; and where the differences are for the most part apparently arbitrary and purposeless; but which a nice discrimination might possibly regard occasionally as improvements; and for stage purposes I cannot see that anything is gained by the Quarto arrangement.

It is, however, about the Third Quarto, 1602, that the conflict has been fiercest. COLLIER, in his First Edition, in 1842, was the earliest to call attention to certain agreements, between the texts of this Quarto and of the Folio, and to be found only in these two texts; he thereupon suggested that possibly this Third Quarto had been used as the copy from which the Folio had been printed. This suggestion has been adopted by several commentators, principally German.

Supposing that each text was printed from a manuscript, the question as to the text which was printed from the earlier manuscript at once assumes importance; COLLIER, however, rested content with having indicated the similarity and left to others the task of a deeper investigation.

DELIUS and SPEDDING are the staunch upholders of the Folio as the earliest and authentic text, while the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS are as zealous in championship of the First Quarto. It may be safely said, I think, that if DR WRIGHT'S sagacious genealogy of the texts of the First Quarto, 1597, and the Folio be not the true solution of all their variations, it ought to be (*Appendix, The Text*). His conclusions may be thus summarised: the First Quarto was printed from a transcript, by another hand, of the author's original MS; the Folio was printed from a transcript of the author's MS after many revisions by the author. The stage-directions of the Folio are more in number and fuller than in the Quarto, which shows, as DR WRIGHT thinks, that this second transcript was made for the theatre's library.

Although the Third Quarto, 1602, has been claimed as that from which the Folio was printed, it does not hold its position unshared. The Sixth Quarto, 1622, according to P. A. DANIEL, has much in common with the Folio—in fact, more than any other Quarto, and, moreover, the closeness of its date to that of the Folio renders it likely that the editors would have used this Quarto for copy. The extreme rarity of this Quarto of 1622 caused Collier to doubt its actual existence.

MALONE is the earliest to assign a *Date of Composition* to the present play, and placed it in 1597, in the same year with the First Quarto. Thus it appears in his *Chronological Order* of all the plays, in 1790. A

few years later, GEORGE CHALMERS published his *Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers*, which was not so much an Apology for the Believers in 'the Ireland forgeries,' as a cloak to cover a violent attack on STEEVENS and MALONE. CHALMERS, also, made a chronological list of the plays, pointing out various errors in MALONE'S list, and, among other changes, assigned the date, 1595, to *Richard III.*; MALONE evidently felt some force in the argument of CHALMERS, and accordingly the date is changed to 1593 in the *Variorum of 1821*, which may be regarded as MALONE'S Second Edition, edited, after his death, by BOSWELL, the son of Johnson's biographer, and Malone's literary executor. In the *Appendix*, under *Date of Composition*, will be found, in the present volume, a list of the dates assigned by various editors and commentators, ranging from 1590 to 1597. The consensus of opinion is in favour of 1593 or 1594.

It has been so frequently asserted that the *Chronicles* of Hall and of Holinshed are the sources whence SHAKESPEARE derives the plots of his Historical Plays, that a repetition of the assertion seems almost superfluous. Indeed, these *Chronicles* were the basis of all the historical plays founded on the periods which they covered. Resemblances between *Richard III.* and the older Latin play, *Richardus Tertius*, acted at Oxford, and also *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, 1594, are due, not so much to any familiarity of SHAKESPEARE with the works of his predecessors, as to the fact that they may be all referred to a common source. As an *Appendix* to *Richard III.*, in the *Variorum of 1821*, BOSWELL reprinted a part of the older play: *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third.* Earlier than this, STEEVENS had called attention to the entry of this play, on the *Stationers' Registers*, but made no mention of having seen the play itself. At the close of his reprint, BOSWELL has the following note: 'I have not thought it necessary to point out the particular passages in which a resemblance may be traced between the foregoing drama and *Richard III.*; but, I think, the reader will be satisfied that SHAKESPEARE must have seen it when he sat down to the composition of his own play.'

A. SKOTTOWE, in his *Life of Shakespeare*, a few years later, and BARRON FIELD, who edited the play for the *Shakespeare Society* in 1844, agree with BOSWELL that there are points common to both plays, for which, their common source, the *Chronicles*, will not account. FIELD, in his Introduction, says: 'The following line in the Battle-scene is, in my opinion, quite enough to show that SHAKESPEARE considered Nature, as Molière said of Wit, as his property, and that he had a right to seize it wherever he found it: "*King.* A horse, a horse, a fresh horse."' COLLIER, on the other hand, could see no resemblances but such as were accidental and trivial. The point wherein COLLIER thought the two most nearly approached each other was the incident, just before

the murder of the Princes, of Richard's taking a page into his confidence; but FIELD clearly shows that both dramatists were here evidently following either More's *Life of Richard the Third*, or Holinshed, who copied More.

It is, I think, needless to discuss whence Holinshed derived his material. The sources of his *Chronicles* were, naturally, the works of his predecessors, and, for SHAKESPEARE, the question of their truth as infallible history was, doubtless, of small moment; that he regarded them but lightly is shown by the many liberties he took with them, compressing years into weeks and stretching weeks out to months, mingling characters and events which were never so placed. It must, however, be borne in mind that SHAKESPEARE wrote for the stage; and the machinery of his mimic fate must proceed in its own way and work out its own ends.

An extract from an article by E. E. ROSE on *Shakespeare and History* is an admirable exposition of SHAKESPEARE'S attitude towards the Chronicles, and is given on p. 579 in the *Appendix*. It deserves the careful consideration of those who question the introduction, by the dramatist, of such scenes as the wooing of Anne by Richard, the curse of Margaret, and of Clarence's dream.

The attitude of the Chroniclers themselves toward the temper of the time should be no less taken into account. At the close of the long and bitter contention of the two houses of York and Lancaster, the most dangerous of the Yorkists had been defeated and the Lancastrians held undisputed sway; what then more natural than that the character of the defeated tyrant should be blackened as much as possible, in order to flatter and extol the conqueror? The sympathy of all classes was deeply Lancastrian; hence the number of plays and poems on the subject of Richard's usurpation and of his miserable downfall. Seven versions of the story are extant, all of them antedating SHAKESPEARE'S play. Scarcely one has survived in popular remembrance. SHAKESPEARE alone has made Richard III. live; the character drawn by that mighty hand is the one which all of us remember and accept as true, in spite of all apologists. Whether or not it be Richard's true character need concern no reader of the play. Sir GEORGE BUCK made an heroic effort to clear the reputation of Richard from the many stains cast upon it by the Chroniclers, as did also HORACE WALPOLE and Miss CAROLINE HALSTED, and, in our own day, Sir CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, but the remarks by quaint and venerable FULLER, on Buck's *Life of Richard III.*, are so delightfully characteristic, and, at the same time, seem to apply so fitly to other apologists, that I cannot forbear quoting them in full:—

'Duke Richard was low in stature, crook-backed, with one shoulder 'higher than the other, having a prominent gobber-tooth, a warlike 'countenance which well enough became a soldier. Yet a modern 'author, in a book by him lately set forth, eveneth his shoulders, smooth-'eth his back, planeth his teeth, maketh him in all points a comely and 'beautiful person. Nor stoppeth he here; but, proceeding from his 'naturals to his morals, maketh him as virtuous as handsome, which 'in some sense may be allowed to be true; concealing most, denying some, 'defending others, of his foulest facts, wherewith in all ages since he 'standeth charged on record. For mine own part, I confess it no heresy 'to maintain a paradox in history, nor am I such an enemy to wit as not 'to allow it leave harmlessly to disport itself, for its own content, and 'the delight of others. Thus Cardan hath written his Encomium 'Neronis; and others (best husbandmen who can improve the barrenest 'ground!) have by art endeavoured to praise as improbable subjects. 'But when men shall do it cordially, in sober sadness, to pervert people's 'judgments, and therein go against all received records, I say, singularity 'is the least fault can be laid to such men's charge. Besides, there are 'some birds, "sea-pies" by name, who cannot rise except it be by flying 'against the wind, as some hope to achieve their advancement by being 'contrary and paradoxical in judgment to all before them' (*Church History*, i, 528).

I have thought it well to include the older play, *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, in the *Appendix*, as several references are made to it in the *Commentary;* it is reproduced from that edited by BARRON FIELD for the *Shakespeare Society* in 1844. Only those notes are retained wherein FIELD calls attention to a similarity to SHAKESPEARE'S play, or to an apparent corruption of the text.

I have not thought it necessary to reprint CIBBER'S *Version of Richard III.*, but have compiled a table, showing Cibber's additions, for which absolute completeness is not claimed; it is extremely difficult at times to decide just what shall be counted as wholly or partly CIBBER'S. Thus, in Act II, scene i, he gives these lines to Anne:

'If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious and untimely brought to light,
Whose hideous form, whose most unnatural aspect,
May fright the hopeful mother at her view,
And that be heir to his unhappiness.'

The following is SHAKESPEARE'S:

'If ever he have child, abortive be it,
Prodigious and untimely brought to light,
Whose ugly and unnatural aspect

May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
And that be heir to his unhappiness.'

Wherefore, only those lines which contained a decided change of sense have been included, in the table, as additions due to CIBBER, which is perhaps as near as can be attained in any attempt to disentangle the various threads in a network thus intricate.

It is, however, well to remember that CIBBER'S *Version* held supreme sway on the stage for over one hundred years (from 1700 until 1845)—longer, indeed, than SHAKESPEARE'S own play (1593 to 1700). CIBBER'S *Richard* was truer to the Richard of the *Chronicles* than SHAKESPEARE'S; he was a villainous usurper, keeping the rightful sovereign from the throne. But it is, I think, not without significance that, while on the stage, CIBBER'S Richard received an applause denied to SHAKESPEARE, the editors of Shakespeare altogether ignored CIBBER'S *Version*, beyond a contemptuous reference by WARBURTON to a change made in the text, and STEEVENS'S words of praise for certain of Cibber's omissions.

It is with great pleasure that I acknowledge my gratitude to those who have shown much courtesy to me in the work of preparing these pages—first and foremost, to him who has ever been my most patient guide and counsellor, I can but echo the words of Duncan: 'More is thy due than more than all can pay.' To MR CHARLES E. DANA, for many valuable references to *Heraldry* and *Armour;* to DR MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Librarian of the University of Pennsylvania; to MR GEORGE M. ABBOT and his efficient assistant, MR D. C. KNOBLAUCH, of the Philadelphia Library, for unfailing attention to many demands.

H. H. F., Jr.

September, 1908

RICHARD THE THIRD

Dramatis Perſonæ

KING Edward IV.
Edward, *Prince of* Wales, *afterwards* Edward V. } *Sons to* Edward IV.
Richard, *Duke of* York, }
George, *Duke of* Clarence, *Brother to* Edward IV.

1. Dramatis Personæ] First given by Rowe.

5. *George...Clarence*] Om. Cib.

---

2. **King Edward IV.**] STUBBS (iii, 219): Edward IV. was not perhaps quite so bad a man or so bad a king as his enemies have represented; but even those writers who have laboured hard to rehabilitate him, have failed to discover any conspicuous merits. With great personal courage he may be freely credited; he was, moreover, eloquent, affable, and fairly well educated. He was as a man, vicious far beyond anything that England had seen since the days of John; and more cruel and blood-thirsty than any king she had ever known. There had been fierce deeds of bloodshed; cruel and secret murders under former kings; but Edward IV. far outdid all that his forefathers and his enemies together had done. The death of Clarence was but the summing up and crowning act of an unparalleled list of judicial and extra-judicial cruelties which those of the next reign supplement but do not surpass.—RAMSAY (ii, 453): Edward IV. was a man of much the same type as the Fastolfs, and Pastons, and Plumptons, who have left us their portraits in their private correspondence: hard, narrow, unscrupulous; and endowed with the iron will and relentless purpose necessary to keep the men he had to rule in order. But these characteristics were not developed in a day. Twenty-two years of government turned him from the most trustful to the most suspicious of men; yet he was always true to those who served him well. With the middle and lower classes he appears to have been distinctly popular to the last; his convivial habits and easy accessible manners would account for that. The Londoners might well like a king who lived and moved so much among them. What the gentry thought of him is more doubtful; but Lancastrian opposition had died out, partly through Edward's consistent efforts at conciliation. His private life was more irregular than that of any king since John; but he never imported the royal prerogative of might into love-affairs, always working his way through blandishment and largess. His intrigues seem to have been mostly carried on with women not of the highest position.

5. **George, Duke of Clarence**] MARSHALL: Shakespeare has invested the character of this worthless scion of the House of York with an interest which, as far as history shows, he did not deserve. He had all the vices of his two brothers, without their courage. The enmity between him and Richard dated from the time when the latter proposed, soon after the murder of her youthful husband,

Richard, *Duke of* Gloucester, *Brother to* Edward IV, 6
afterwards King Richard III.
Cardinal, *Archbishop of* York.
Duke of Buckingham. 9

8. *Cardinal*] Thomas Rotheram... Steev. et seq.

to marry the widow of Edward, Prince of Wales. Richard's object was to obtain some portion of the great wealth which the king-maker had left and which Clarence had coolly appropriated without a thought. This quarrel began as early as 1472. In December, 1476, Clarence's wife died. For some time before that event he had withdrawn from court and held very little communication with his elder brother. Scarcely was his wife consigned to the tomb when Clarence solicited the hand of Mary, only daughter of Charles the Bold. The opposition of Edward to this match made the breach between the brothers still wider.

6. **Richard**] WRIGHT: In the first year of his reign (1461) Edward IV. created his two younger brothers dukes. As Richard was born October 2, 1452, he was not nineteen years old when Henry VI. was murdered and could not have fought at the battle of St. Alban's in 1455, or at Wakefield in 1460, or at Mortimer's Cross in 1461, as is represented in *2* and *3 Henry VI.;* still less could he have taken part in the scene immediately after the death of Cade in 1450.—J. C. COLLINS (p. 270): It is scarcely necessary to say that in this drama Shakespeare has immortalised a portrait and a career as purely fictitious as the popular representation of Machiavelli. In truth, More's account of Richard is as purely a figment of the imagination as his *Utopia*. Whether he or Cardinal Morton is to be held responsible for it, grosser, and in all probability more baseless, calumnies have never been circulated about an English prince. When Shakespeare adopted them they had passed into tradition, and, even if he suspected them to be fiction, he would probably have had little scruple in giving currency to a fiction so acceptable to his audience and to Queen Elizabeth.

8. **Cardinal, Archbishop of York**] FRENCH (p. 217): According to some writers the real name of this prelate was Scot, but being born in 1423 at Rotherham county, York, he is said to have assumed the name of his birthplace in lieu of his own patronymic. But in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* he is called 'the son of Sir Thomas Rotheram, Knight and Alice his wife.' Thomas Rotheram was 'a lance' in the retinue of Lord Ros at Agincourt, and he was probably the Bishop's father. [See also CAMPBELL, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i, pp. 369-374.]

9. **Duke of Buckingham**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, i, 149) sees in the character of Buckingham, as drawn by Shakespeare, 'a mere puppet of Richard with whose cleverness Buckingham's is placed in direct contrast; somewhat the same relation as in the characters of Wagner and Faust. Richard is the type of an intellectual hypocrite, while Buckingham is that of a soft-hearted hypocrite, he hesitates for a moment at the murder of Edward's sons, and this hesitation is his destruction. But, throughout, Buckingham stands more closely to Richard than the others of Richard's party,—Catesby, Ratcliffe, and Lovel,—who are merely his implements,—Buckingham is his confidant. Moreover, his royal blood should be evident both in his bearing and dress. These points being considered and the rôle interpreted by a clever actor, the part will gain a significance greater than heretofore.'

Duke of Norfolk.
Earl of Surrey.
Marquis of Dorset, *Son to the* Queen.
Earl Rivers, *Brother to the* Queen.
Lord Gray.
Cardinal Bourchier, *Archbishop of* Canterbury.
Earl of Richmond, *afterwards* King Henry VII.
Bishop of Ely.
Lord Hastings.
Sir Thomas Vaughan.

12. to the *Queen*] to Queen Elizabeth Theob.

14. *Gray*] *Gray*, Son to Queen Elizabeth Theob.

15. Cardinal *Bourchier*] Added by Cap.
Bourchier] Cap. Var. Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Dyce i, Sta. Cam. *Bouchier* Var. '21 et cet.

17. Bishop...] John Morton, *Bishop* ... Steev. et seq.

19. Sir *Thomas Vaughan*] Added by Theob. ...a Friend to the Queen's Family. Han.

10. **Duke of Norfolk**] FRENCH (p. 221): This is the first time that a member of the house of Howard, destined to take the highest rank next to princes of the blood, is brought upon the scene in one of Shakespeare's plays. The father of this character was Sir Robert Howard, a zealous Lancastrian, who married Margaret Mowbray, eldest daughter of the banished Duke of Norfolk in *King Richard II.* The male line of the ancient Mowbrays having become extinct in 1475, Richard III. created John Howard, the character in this play, Duke of Norfolk, June 28th, 1483, and Earl Marshal of England, honours which have remained in the family of Howard to the present day. This date is well worthy of remark, as it was only six days after the time which is usually given for the death of Edward the Fourth's second son, Richard, Duke of York, who was also Duke of Norfolk. Was not King Richard, therefore, certain that his nephew was no more before he raised his own friend to that young prince's dignity?

14. **Lord Gray**] FRENCH (p. 225): This character, sometimes styled the 'Lord Richard Grey,' was, strictly speaking, only of knightly degree, Sir Richard Grey, youngest son of Elizabeth Woodville and Sir John Grey.

15. **Cardinal Bourchier**] FRENCH (p. 217): This prelate was Thomas Bourchier, second son of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, by his wife Anne Plantagenet, daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas of *Woodstock*, youngest son of Edward the Third. Thomas Bourchier was appointed to the see of Worcester in 1434, and promoted to Canterbury in 1454. He died in 1486 very soon after he united Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York.

17. **Bishop of Ely**] See CAMPBELL, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i, 388–396.

18. **Lord Hastings**] MALONE (*Note* on III, iv, 117): William, Lord Hastings was beheaded on the 13th of June, 1483. His eldest son by Catherine Neville, daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and widow of William, Lord Bonville, was restored to his honors and estate by Henry VII. in the first year of his reign. The daughter of Lady Hastings by her first husband was married to the Marquis of Dorset, who appears in this play.

Sir Richard Ratcliff,
Lord Lovel,
Catesby,
} *Friends to the Duke of* Gloucester.
Sir James Tyrrel, *a Villain.*
Sir William Stanley.

24. Sir *William Stanley*] Thomas, Lord *Stanley*, Lord Steward of *K. Edward IV.'s* Household, afterward Earl of *Derby*. Theob. Warb. Thomas, Lord *Stalney* Johns. (misprint). Lord *Stanley* Pope et cet. (subs.)

20. **Sir Richard Ratcliff**] MARSHALL: It seems that to Ratcliff was entrusted the charge of all Richard's interests in the north of England. In the *Paston Letters* is one from Richard Duke of Gloucester to Lord Neville, dated June 11th, 1483 (No. 874), in which he requests that he 'wyll yef credence to . . . Richarde Ratclyff, thys beerrer, whom I nowe do sende to you, enstructed with all my mynde and entent' (vol. iii, p. 306). This Lord Neville was probably the heir to the earldom of Westmoreland.

22. **Catesby**] FRENCH (p. 235): This character in the play married Margaret, daughter of Lord Zouch of Harringworth, by whom he had a son, George Catesby, to whom his father's forfeited estates were restored, by Henry VII., probably through the interest of that king's minister, Sir Richard Empson, George Catesby's father-in-law. After his death Margaret married Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote and their grandson is the Justice Shallow of Shakespeare's time.

24. **Sir William Stanley**] At Stanley's first entrance (I, iii, 21) he is called Derby. THEOBALD says: 'This is a blunder of inadvertence which has run through the whole chain of impressions. It could not well be original in Shakespeare, who was most minutely intimate with his history, and the intermarriages of the nobility. The person here called "Derby" was Thomas Lord Stanley, Lord Steward of Edward the Fourth's household. But this Thomas Lord Stanley was not created Earl of Derby till after the accession of Henry the Seventh; and accordingly, afterwards, in the Fourth and Fifth Acts of this play, before the Battle of Bosworth-field, he is everywhere called Lord Stanley.'—R. G. WHITE: Theobald's reason for changing 'Derby' to *Stanley* is insufficient, as there can be no doubt that the mistake was Shakespeare's, and an editor is not justifiable in substituting what his author should have written for what he did write. But as the personage in question is called *Stanley* thirteen times during the Third, Fourth, and Fifth Acts in the Folio, and as the variation has no essential importance, and *Stanley* has held possession of the Text for a century and a quarter, it may, under protest, be allowed to remain.—CAMBRIDGE EDD.: The error must have been due to the author, who would not have written 'my lord of Stanley,' and, therefore, we have retained 'Derby' wherever both Quarto and Folio agree in reading it.—DYCE (ed. ii): Grant White's is, I think, the best method of dealing with this difficulty. To suppose that Shakespeare would have called the same person 'Derby' in some places of the play, and *Stanley* in other places, appears to me a most extravagant idea: nor have I any doubt that the confusion of the names was occasioned by the conflicting texts of the Tragedy.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 67): If the Quarto had kept to 'Darby' all through, the explanation would have been comparatively easy. I should have thought that the corrector of the Folio had

Earl of Oxford,
Blunt,
Herbert,
Sir William Brandon, } *Friends to the Earl of* Richmond.
Brackenbury, *Lieutenant of the* Tower.
Two Children of the Duke of Clarence.
Lord Mayor.
Sir Christopher Urswick, *a Priest.*

30. Two Children of the Duke] A young Son... Cap. A young Son... A young Daughter... Dyce et seq.

32. Sir...Priest] Added by Theob. (and Chaplain to the Countess of Richmond.) Han.

---

observed the anachronism and meant to remove it; that he had begun his work of correction in the Third Act, and had completed it for the remainder, as far as the dialogue was concerned; but that he had forgotten or postponed the two first Acts, and had not attended to the stage-directions and marginal names in the two last. For it is to be observed that Stanley is never called 'Derby' *in the dialogue* after the Second Act.—W. W. LLOYD: Stanley shares a portion of the mental qualifications of Richard; but he approaches him only as nearly as simulation to dissimulation, coolness to daring, prudence of caution to that of adventurousness. Much of the value of the character would be due to his being seen on the stage when he was not heard. In Act I, Sc. iii, he makes conciliatory reply to the Queen's accusation of his wife,—the Queen who risks affronting him as she pursues vindictively Hastings, the only other lord who had the disposition to protect her son. Richard enumerates Stanley among his dupes, but there is no proof of it, and Stanley's silence is marked, and was designed to be remarkable, throughout the scene of weak wrangling with Margaret and weaker part-taking with Richard against her by Dorset and the rest. Not less significant is his silence when Hastings, who had rejected his counsel, is arrested, and he follows with the rest to Gloster's invitation, 'The rest who love me rise and follow me.' Thus he foils the penetration even of Richard, who trusts him with suspicion but still trusts him, with pledge in keeping; thus he carries on the important negotiations between Richmond and Elizabeth, and at last, at the decisive and very latest moment, he lays aside the mask, though his son's life may be the forfeit, and the fortune of Bosworth Field is decided.

30. **Two Children**] WRIGHT: The two children of Clarence were Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who was beheaded by Henry VII., Nov. 21, 1499, and Margaret Plantagenet, afterward Countess of Salisbury and mother of the famous Cardinal Pole. She suffered the same fate as her brother, May 27, 1541.

32. **Sir Christopher**] FRENCH (p. 239): Lysons says (*Environs of London*, ii, 475): 'Christopher Urswick, presented to the rectory of Hackney, by Bishop Hall, anno 1502, was a man of very considerable eminence. His abilities as a statesman which had been evinced in his successful endeavor to promote the union between Henry VII., to whom he was chaplain, and Elizabeth of York, induced

Another Priest. 33

Tressel, Berkeley, } *Gentlemen attending on* Lady Anne. 35

Queen to Edward IV.

Queen Margaret, *Widow of* Henry VI. 37

33. Another Priest] Added by Cap. Dyce.
34, 35. *Tressel, Berkeley*] Added by 37. Queen...*Henry VI.*] Om. Cib.

the King to employ him in various important negociations and embassies. He was installed Dean of Windsor in 1495, and enjoyed at the same time the archdeaconry of Richmond and Yorkshire.'

36. Queen to Edward IV.] FRENCH says (p. 243) that in only one instance has he 'met with the time of Elizabeth Woodvile's death, and then it was merely stated to have occurred the Friday before Whitsuntide. As Easter Day in 1492 fell on the 22nd of April, the exact date of her decease was the 8th of June. Her will, dated April 10, 1492, exhibits a touching picture of her maternal affection, and her poverty, having nothing but her blessing to bequeath to her children, for—"I have no worldly goods" is her mournful confession. She was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.'—STRICKLAND (iii, 346): That Elizabeth died destitute of personal property is no proof of previous persecution, since several queens who were possessed of the undivided dower appanage, and whose children were provided for, died not much richer. (The creditors of Eleanora of Castile and Marguerite of France were not paid till long after the deaths of those queens. Queen Phillippa died in debt.) Edward IV. had endowed his proud mother as though she were a queen-dowager; while his wife was dowered on property to which he had no real title.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, i, 149): Next to Richard's, Elizabeth's may be considered the principal rôle. With due regard to her having two grown sons, Dorset and Grey, by her former husband, she should not be represented as too young (perhaps the latter half of her thirtieth year), yet still lovely and charming. The chroniclers lay great stress on the loveliness of her character, her charm, and well-chosen speech. [Oechelhaüser has, perhaps, been herein slightly misled by the chroniclers, Hall and Holinshed, who systematically, and purposely, lightened the characters of all those in opposition to Richard III. Later historians give a different account of Elizabeth, describing her as utterly selfish and unscrupulous where the advancement of her relatives was at stake. MISS STRICKLAND says there doubtless never was a queen 'who had a more unfortunate faculty of making enemies.'—ED.]

37. Queen Margaret] MRS. JAMESON (ii, 199): Margaret, as exhibited in these tragedies, is a dramatic portrait of considerable truth, and vigour, and consistency—but she is not one of Shakespeare's women. He who knew so well in what true greatness of spirit consisted—who could excite our respect and sympathy, even for a Lady Macbeth, would never have given us a heroine without a touch of heroism; he would not have portrayed a high-hearted woman struggling unsubdued against the strangest vicissitudes of fortune; yet left her without a single quality which would excite our interest in her bravely endured misfortunes—and this in the very face of history; he would have breathed into the woman some of his own sweet spirit—he would have given her a soul.—VERPLANCK (*Note* on

[37. Queen Margaret]

IV, iv, 1): As we find in *Richard III.*, all these characteristics of Margaret are adopted and recapitulated, it is clear that this argument against the character being Shakespeare's destroys itself, by proving too much; for it would prove that this play too was not his, which no one can assert in the wildest mood of critical conjecture. Shakespeare might certainly have given a more heroic cast to Margaret of Anjou; but the truth evidently is that, having, partly from the intimation of the chroniclers, adopted this view of Margaret's ferocity and conjugal infidelity, he must have seen that he could not breathe into such a personage 'his own sweet spirit' any more than into Goneril or Regan, and therefore placed her in bold and unmitigated contrast to the mild virtues of the 'holy Henry.' The comparison of Margaret with Lady Macbeth suggests a deep moral truth, which must have been in the Poet's mind, though he has not embodied it in formal moral declamation. Our interest in Lady Macbeth is kept up in spite of her crimes, by her unflagging and devoted attachment to her husband, and their mutual and touching confidence and solace in each other, even in guilt as well as in sorrow. Margaret has no communion with Henry's heart: she scorns him, and her affections roam elsewhere. That last redeeming virtue of woman being lost, Margaret has nothing left but her talent and courage; and those qualities alone cannot impart the respect and sympathy which we continue to feel for the guilty but nobler wife of Macbeth. —MARSHALL: Students who *read* Shakespeare only, can discourse most eloquently on the grand idea of Margaret, the impersonation of Nemesis, glorying in the vengeance which falls on those who had been either principals or accomplices in all the horrible acts of cruelty which the Yorkist party perpetrated. But when the play is brought to the true test of a play—when it is acted—were Margaret to be represented by one who had inherited all the talent and reputation of a Siddons, added to the prestige of a popular favorite at the present day, no one would take much interest in her, or regard her otherwise than as something of a bore, who interferes with the main action of the drama.—MINTO (286): Amidst the circle of tearful, afflicted women bereaved by the multiplied villanies of Richard, Margaret stands out with irrepressible fierceness flashing through and burning up her tears, husbandless, childless, friendless, utterly impotent, but indomitable. In her young and beautiful days, when Suffolk brought her from France as 'nature's miracle,' to be the wife of King Henry, she gave ample proof that she was a woman of spirit. This was one of Shakespeare's earlier efforts; but he never again equalled the concentrated bitter fierceness of this she-wolf's hunger for revenge, fiendish laughter over its partial accomplishment, and savage prayer for its completion. Words could not hiss and sting with more envenomed intensity than in the speech that she concludes with the prayer for Richard's death: 'Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray That I may live to say The dog is dead.'—FRENCH (245): Sir Walter Scott has introduced Margaret in *Anne of Geierstein* in the decline of her age, and in the loss of her power, but not of her intellect; and he speaks of her as one 'who, if she occasionally abused victory by cruelty and revenge, had made some atonement by the indomitable resolution with which she had supported the fiercest storms of adversity.'—S. A. BROOKE (*Trans. New Sh. Soc.*, 1880–86, p. 512): Margaret is a mighty figure: more Greek in conception than any other figure in Shakespeare—the Fate and Fury together of the play. She does nothing for its movement. She is outside its action, but broods above it, with arms outstretched in cursing, an evil bird of God—the impersonation of all the woe and

[37. Queen Margaret]

crime of the civil strife of England, and of its avenging punishment. Worn, like 'a wrinkled witch,' tall, with the habit of command, she has not, like Richard, been inhuman, but she has outlived humanity, and passed into an elemental power. She has also been so long under the curse of men for her cruelty, that the curse has divided her from men. So also has her strange sorrow—she is altogether joyless. It is not till she finds the Duchess of York and Edward's Queen in their hopeless pain that she feels herself at one, even for a little while, with any human creature. Then she sits down and curses with them. She has all the eloquence of primeval sorrow and hate. 'Life is her shame,' but she 'waits vengeance,' hungering for it like a wolf. It is the only thing that brings a smile to her withered lip. And her vengeance is felt, like an actual presence in the air, by all who die. She is not only Margaret and hate to them, but the spirit in whom, for punishment, the Divine justice abides. And when she passes away, still alive, departs in awful joy, like one of the immortals: 'These English woes will make me smile in France.' It is the most supernatural conception in Shakespeare.—LLOYD: The introduction of Queen Margaret, contrary to the truth of history, is invented with admirable effect; her invectives bring up the horrors of the civil war with the liveliness that is required to give force to their sequel; her penetration and denouncement of the nature and purposes of Richard heighten our sense of the blindness and weakness of his victims, who neglect the warning, and generally relieve the great contrast of the piece by the intervention of a second character of eloquence, pertinacity, clear-sightedness, and decision.—HUDSON (*Introd.*, p. 36): As in the earlier plays Richard supplies a forecast of the style of character which the proceedings then on foot were likely to generate and hand down to future times, so in the later play Margaret supplies a corresponding retrospect. She was continued on the scene, to the end, apparently, that the parties might have a terrible present remembrancer of their former deeds; just as the manhood of Richard had been anticipated for the purpose, as it would seem, of forecasting the final issues from the earlier stages of that multitudinous tragedy. So that there appears to be some reason in the ways of Providence, as well as in the laws of Art, why Margaret should still be kept in presence, as the fitting counterpart of that terrible man as he grows on from youth to manhood, and from manhood to his end, at once the offspring and the avenger of civil butchery. Her condition is, here, vastly different indeed from what it was in the earlier plays, but her character remains the same. She is here stripped of arms and instruments, so that her thoughts can no longer work out in acts. But, for this very cause, her Amazonian energies concentrate themselves so much the more in her speech; and her eloquence, while retaining all its strength and fluency, burns the deeper, forasmuch as it is the only organ of her mind which she has left. In brief, she is still the same high-grown, wide-branching tree, now rendered leafless indeed, and, therefore, all the fitter for the blasts of heaven to howl and whistle through! Long suffering has deepened her fierceness into sublimity. At once vindictive and broken-hearted, her part runs into a most impressive blending of the terrible and the pathetic . . . She is a sort of wailing or ululating chorus to the thick-thronging butcheries and agonies that wind their course through the play. A great, brave, fearful woman indeed made sacred by all the anguishes that a wife and a mother can know!—WARNER (p. 218): Margaret is introduced much after the fashion of a Chorus, a combination of prediction and commentary upon the persons and events with whom her influence is still

Anne, *Widow of* Edward, *Prince of* Wales, *Son to* Henry VI, *afterwards married to the Duke of* Gloucester. 38 40

Dutchess of York, *Mother to* Edward IV, Clarence, *and* Richard III.

Sheriff, Pursuivant, Citizens, Ghosts of those murder'd by Richard III. *with Soldiers and Attendants. A Page, a Scrivener.* 45

The SCENE *in* England.

42. After this line, an infant Daughter of Clarence, is added by Cap. et seq.

43. Sheriff] Sheriff of Wiltshire. Dyce.

45. A Page, a Scrivener] Added by Cap.

---

powerful. This vindictive shade of Margaret in the play is one of the great artistic and dramatic triumphs of the poet.

38. **Anne, Widow of Edward, Prince of Wales]** GAIRDNER: The Earl of Warwick's younger daughter, Anne, had been betrothed to the son of Henry VI. It does not appear that she was married to him, although she is often spoken of as his widow; on the contrary, the language of contemporary writers implies that she was only contracted or engaged to him. (The Croyland writer, p. 557, says she was *desponsata*, and even after the Prince's death he speaks of her as *puella*.) In point of fact, at the date of his death she had not completed her fourteenth year. She was born on June 11, 1456. [The question of Anne Neville's marriage to Edward, Prince of Wales, may be found concisely stated in Miss CAROLINE HALSTED'S *History of Richard III.*, Chap. VII. As the subject is one of purely historic interest, I trust the omission of a more detailed statement will be pardoned.—ED.]

41. **Dutchess of York]** MALONE: Cicely, daughter of Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland, and widow of Richard, Duke of York, who was killed at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. She survived her husband thirty-five years, living till the year 1495.

The Tragedy of Richard the Third: with the Landing of Earle Richmond, and the Battell at Bosworth Field.

Actus Primus. Scœna Prima.

Enter Richard Duke of Gloſter, ſolus. 5

NOW is the Winter of our Diſcontent,

4. Actus Primus. Scœna Prima.] Act I. Scene i. Rowe.
The Court. Pope, +. London. A Street. Cap.
5. Gloſter,] Gloceſter, Q_1Q_{3-8}, Pope ii, Theob. i. Glo'ster, Rowe. Gloucester, Pope i, +, Cam. +. Richard, Cap.
5. ſolus.] Om. Cap.
6. *our*] Om. Q_{3-8}. *sour* Strutt ap. Seymour.

1. The Tragedy] THEOBALD: This tragedy, though it is called the Life and Death of this Prince, comprises, at most, but the last eight years of his time; for it opens with George, Duke of Clarence, being clapped up in the Tower; which happened in the beginning of the year 1477; and closes with the death of Richard at Bosworth, which battle was fought on the 22nd of August, 1485.—STEEVENS: It appears that several dramas on the present subject had been written before Shakespeare attempted it. The date of Q_1 is 1597, but before this, viz., August 15, 1586, was entered at the Stationers' *A tragical Report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad.* It may be necessary to remark that the words *song, ballad, enterlude,* and *play* were often synonymously used.—WARTON: Harington, *Apologie for Poetrie,* prefixed to his Ariosto, 1590, says: 'For Tragedies, to omit other famous Tragedies, that which was played at St. Iohn's in Cambridge, of *Richard* the third, would move (I think), *Phalaris* the tyrant, and terrifie all tyrannous minded men.' [Sig ¶ 4, recto; ed. 1634.] He most probably means Shakespeare's; and if so, we may argue that there is some more ancient edition of this play than Q_1; at least this shows how early Shakespeare's play appeared; or if some other *Richard the Third* is here alluded to by Harington, that a play on this subject preceded our author's.—FARMER: The play mentioned by Harington was a Latin one, written by Dr. Legge, and acted at St. John's College, some years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Museum. A childish imitation of Legge's play was written by one Lacy, 1583; which had not been worth mentioning were they not confounded by Capell.—TYRWHITT: The Latin play of *King Richard III.* (MSS Harl. n. 6926) has the author's name, Henry Lacey, and is dated 1586.—STEEVENS: Heywood, in his *Actor's Vindication,* mentions the play of *King Richard III.* acted at St. John's Cambridge, and in the *Stationers' Registers,* June 19, 1594, Thomas Creede made the following entry: 'An enterlude, intituled

[1. The Tragedy of Richard the Third.]

the tragedie of Richard the Third, wherein is showen the death of Edward the ffourthe, with the smotheringe of the twoo princes in the Tower with a lamentable end of Shores wife, and the coniunction of the two houses of Lancaster and Yorke.' This could not have been the work of Shakespeare, unless he afterwards dismissed the death of Jane Shore, as an unnecessary incident, when he revised the play. Perhaps, however, it might be some translation of Lacey's play, at the end of the first Act of which is: 'The showe of the procession. 1. Tipstaffe. 2. Shore's wife in her petticote, having a taper burning in her hand,' etc.—MALONE: At the end of a rare poetical miscellany, without either printer's name or date, entitled: *Licia, or Poems of Love*, is subjoined a poem with this title: *The rising to the Crowne of Richard the Thirde, written by himselfe;* but whether it preceded or followed our author's historical drama, I have not been able to ascertain. I conceive, however, that this poem, which consists of three hundred verses in six-line stanzas, preceded Shakespeare's *Richard III.* He, however, took nothing from it. But the true origin of this play was doubtless that piece which was entered in the Stationers' Registers on June 19, 1594, which I suspect was then printed, and may perhaps be hereafter discovered. In this, as in several other instances, the bookseller, I believe, was induced to publish the old play in consequence of the success of the new one, and before it had yet got into print. This piece was probably written by either Marlowe or Greene, and doubtless had been exhibited some years before. . . . The real length of time in this piece is fourteen years (not eight, as Theobald supposed); for I, ii, commences with the funeral of Henry VI., who is said to have been murdered on the 21st of May, 1471. The imprisonment of Clarence, which is shown in I, i, did not, in fact, take place till 1477–'78.—WRIGHT (*Introd.*, vii): It was no part of the business of the dramatist to follow the historian too closely, or to observe the unities of place and time. The play opens in 1471, and before the end of Act I. we are hurried forward six years to the death of Clarence, which is made to be nearly contemporary with the death of Edward six years later still. In this way, however, the interval of Edward's reign, uneventful for dramatic purposes, is bridged over, and the catastrophe of the struggle of the rival houses is reached.—S. T. COLERIDGE: This play should be contrasted with *Richard II.* Pride of intellect is the characteristic of Richard, carried to the extent of even boasting to his own mind of his villany, whilst others are present to feed his pride of superiority; as in his first speech, II, i. Shakespeare here, as in all his great parts, develops in a tone of sublime morality the dreadful consequences of placing the moral, in subordination to the mere intellectual, being. In Richard there is a predominance of irony, accompanied with apparently blunt manners to those immediately about him, but formalized into a more set hypocrisy towards the people as represented by their magistrates.—HARTLEY COLERIDGE (ii, 172): In quantity and proportion, *Richard II.* is a more regular tragedy than *Richard III.;* in quality, there never was a profounder tragedy than that which commences on this page—an absolute destiny involved in a human will—an instrument of fate self-chosen, self-condemned, excommunicated by nature, yet with an intellect concentrated by frost, works in the misshaped shape of Richard—a thing far more to be pitied than abhorred. It is not tragic, it is tragedy.—SCHLEGEL (p. 437): Shakespeare intended that terror rather than compassion should prevail throughout this tragedy: he has rather avoided than sought the pathetic scenes which he had at command. Of all the sacrifices to Richard's lust of power, Clarence

[1. The Tragedy of Richard the Third.]

alone is put to death on the stage: his dream excites a deep horror, and proves the omnipotence of the poet's fancy; his conversation with the murderers is powerfully agitating; but the earlier crimes of Clarence merited death, although not from his brother's hand. The most innocent and unspotted sacrifices are the two princes: we see but little of them, and their murder is merely related. Anne disappears without our learning anything further respecting her: in marrying the murderer of her husband she had shown a weakness almost incredible. The parts of Lord Rivers, and other friends of the Queen, are of too secondary a nature to excite a powerful sympathy; Hastings, from his triumph at the fall of his friend, forfeits all title to compassion; Buckingham is the satellite of the tyrant, who is afterwards consigned by him to the axe of the executioner. In the background the widowed Queen Margaret appears as the fury of the past, who invokes a curse on the future: every calamity which her enemies draw down on each other is a cordial to her revengeful heart. Other female voices join from time to time in the lamentations and imprecations. But Richard is the soul, or rather the demon, of the whole tragedy. He fulfils the promise which he formerly made of leading the murderous Machiavel to school. Notwithstanding the uniform aversion with which he inspires us, he still engages us in the greatest variety of ways by his profound skill in dissimulation, his wit, his prudence, his presence of mind, his quick activity, and his valour. He fights at last like a desperado, and dies the honourable death of a hero on the field of battle. Shakespeare could not change this historical issue, and yet it is by no means satisfactory to our moral feelings.

5. **Enter Richard**] WRIGHT: Henry's murder by Richard took place in the Tower on the night of Tuesday, 21st May, 1471 (*Warkworth Chronicle*, p. 21, Camden Soc.); his body was brought to St. Paul's on the eve of Ascension Day, and on the following morning he was conveyed to Chertsey to be buried there. The play, therefore, opens on Ascension Day, 23d May, 1471; unless we suppose the First and Second Scenes were on different days, in which case the play begins on May 22nd. The scene is probably near the Tower.—ORDISH (p. 60): When *Richard III.* was produced at the Lyceum Theatre, in 1887, the stage represented the end of a street, a corner-gable casting a shadow, a sun-dial in the foreground. Bells were ringing—characteristic of Plantagenet and early Tudor London—the sun was shining brightly in the street beyond the gable-end and in the foreground; presently a shadow was cast on the wall of the street, a moving shadow, and Richard, passing through the shadow of the gable, steps out into the sunlight as he comes towards the dial, and then the bells cease. The figure of the Duke, not ignoble though deformed, and the flashing eye from a pale, intellectual face athwart a cluster of dark locks, emerging from this street of ancient London, formed a living picture of history never to be forgotten.

6. **Now**, etc.] RICHARDSON (p. 12): In this first scene we have the loathsome deformity of Richard displayed, with such indications of mind as altogether suppress our aversion. Indeed, Shakespeare, in the beginning of Richard's soliloquy, keeps that deformity, to which he would reconcile us, out of view; nor mentions it till he throws discredit upon its opposite: this he does indirectly. Richard treats the sports and pastimes of a peaceful court with irony: he scoffs at them; does not blame, but despises them. By thus throwing discredit on the usual attendants of grace and beauty, he lessens our esteem for those qualities, and proceeds with less reluctance to mention his own hideous appearance. Here, too, with great

[6. **Now is the Winter of our Discontent**, etc.]

judgement on the part of the poet, the speech is ironical. To have justified or apologised for deformity with serious argument would have been no less ineffectual than a serious charge against beauty. The intention of Shakespeare is not to make us admire the deformity of Richard, but to make us endure it. His contempt of external appearance, and the easy manner in which he considers his own defects, impress us strongly with the apprehension of his superior understanding. His resolution, too, of not acquiescing tamely in the misfortune of his form, but of making it a motive for him to exert his other abilities, gives us an idea of his possessing great vigour and strength of mind. Not dispirited with his deformity, it moves him to high exertion. Add to this that our wonder and astonishment are excited at the declaration he makes of an atrocious character; of his total insensibility; and resolution to perpetrate the blackest crimes.—SKOTTOWE (i, 191): So well was the poet pleased with the principles on which the character of Gloucester [in the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*] was constructed that his Richard exhibits a continuation of their development. He is fierce and bloody and his bold designs are unchecked by any moral curb. If his character were to be estimated only from this opening soliloquy, it might be contended that the foundation of his ambition was laid in repinings at a deformity repulsive to love and effeminate delights of peace; but it is evident from *3 Henry VI.* that ambition in the general sense and common form of that passion was his characteristic, and that it was strengthened, not created, by the malicious desire of the power of revenging himself on men better graced by nature. He is morose and savage when disappointed or opposed, but in the flood of prosperity he unbends; his wit is brilliant, sometimes playful, though generally distinguished by bitter irony, sarcastic levity, and wanton insult.—HUNTER (ii, 79): This long soliloquy is a kind of prologue to the ensuing tragedy; and it seems as if Shakespeare had formed the intention of making Richard a *theatrical* character, without being very solicitous whether he caught the real features of the real Richard. It is manifest that when the poet introduces him as saying 'I am determined to prove a villain,' the audience must have been *prepossessed*, and the subsequent events must be made to correspond with the image the Poet had at the outset presented before them. A man who, owing to personal defects, has no pleasure in the gentle arts of peace, with a capacity for business and enterprise, able and eloquent, with no limits to his ambition, wading through slaughter to a throne, uneasy there, and dying at last in battle, is a fine character for a dramatic writer, preparing not a tragedy, but a history.—H. REED (p. 320): The peculiar significancy of the opening scenes of Shakespeare's plays has been often noticed, and it may now be observed that of them all, *Richard III.* is the only one that opens with a soliloquy, as if to indicate the moral solitariness of the character. He is represented as feeling himself marked by nature to stand apart from his fellow men; and as all social feeling is extinguished, the humanity of his nature dies with it, and all that is left is an almost supernatural selfishness, proud and self-assured—'This word *love* which grey-beards call divine, Be resident in men like one another, And not in me. *I am myself alone.*'—*3 Henry VI:* V, vi, 81–83. —HUDSON (*Sh. His Life*, etc., p. 150): From the outset the utmost care is taken by Shakespeare that in our first impression of the full-grown Richard his thought-swarming head may have the start of his bloody hand. Which order, by the way, is clean reversed in Cibber's patch-work preparation of the play; the murder of the sainted Henry being there foisted in at the opening, so that admiration of

[6. Now is the Winter of our Discontent, etc.]

Richard's intellect is forestalled by abhorrence of his wickedness. Assuredly it is neither wise nor right thus to tamper with the Poet's workmanship. This opening soliloquy, so startling in its abruptness, and so crammed with poetry and thought, has the effect of duly pre-engaging our minds with the hero's active, fertile, scheming brain.—WARNER (p. 208): The soliloquies in *Richard III.* are a dramatic necessity. We could not get at the real man without them. But in the mouth of Richard the soliloquies are far more than instruments of dramatic art: they are in keeping with the character Shakespeare seeks to lay before us. There was absolutely no soul in whom Richard could confide. He loves no one, trusts no one, strange to say, hates no one, but uses all. Now such a man must, as it were, think aloud . . . Here we have, then, a self-revelation, not only as a rhetorical ornament and dramatic necessity, but as a psychological truth.—FITZGERALD (ii, 52): In this opening soliloquy Garrick's Richard, instead of 'chuckling' over his own deformity, and taking a pleasure in being so odious to others, showed himself pained and uneasy when he dwelt on these defects. That reflection seemed to be only a fresh incentive to avenge himself on those who were more blessed by nature.—T. R. GOULD (p. 39): With head bent in thought, arms folded, and slow, long step, longer it would seem than the height of his figure might warrant, yet perfectly natural to him, and so that his lifted foot emerged first into view, [Junius Brutus], Booth appeared upon the scene, enveloped and absorbed in the character of Richard. He carried distinctness of articulation to an extreme, pronouncing 'ocean' as a trisyllable.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, i, 158): The action of this first scene should not, I think, take place in a street, but in the courtyard of the Tower, the same wherein later the scenes of the reception of the young king and of Elizabeth's farewell address to her sons are laid. On one side is a small door or wicket, through which Brackenbury and Clarence *exeunt*. (It is important that this door should be on the side and not in the back scene, since were it in the latter position, Elizabeth in her final apostrophe to the Tower would be compelled to turn her back to the audience and thus be at such a distance that her voice would have to be raised to too loud a tone.) The scenery should, of course, represent the Tower at the Plantagenet period—for which a wood-cut will be found in Halliwell's Folio edition.

6. **Winter . . . Discontent**] MALONE: So in the old play *Wily Beguil'd:* 'After these blustering blasts of discontent.' *Wily Beguil'd* is mentioned by Nash in *Have With You to Saffron Waldon*, which appeared in 1596.—STEEVENS: Thus in Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella:* 'Gone in the winter of my miserie.' [This note by Steevens does not appear in any of the *Variorum* editions before that of 1803. This would not be worth the noting were it not that such independent additions by REED are rare. It may be remarked that l. 7, sonnet lxix, of *Astrophel and Stella*, reads: 'Gone *is* the winter of my misery.' The error was not corrected in the two following *Variorum* editions. VAUGHAN (iii, 1) points out that 'discontent,' as here used, signifies 'that peculiar form of ill-feeling which is involved in a state of enmity and strife,' and quotes *2 Henry VI.*, III, i, 200: 'My body round engirt with misery; For what's more miserable than discontent.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D., s. v. Discontent*) under the definition: 'The state or condition of being discontented; dissatisfaction of mind,' quotes, '1591 Spenser *M. Hubbard*, 898, To waste long nights in pensive discontent,' and after quoting the present line, adds '1647 Clarendon: *History of Rebellion*, I, 31, 2. The country full of

Made glorious Summer by this Son of Yorke: 7
And all the clouds that lowr'd vpon our houſe
In the deepe boſome of the Ocean buried. 9

7. *Son*] *ſonne* Qq. *sun* Rowe et seq.
8. *lowr'd*] *lowrd* Q_{1-5}. *low'r* Q_7. *lowr* Q_8. *lour'd* Cap. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *lower'd* Coll. Sing. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe.
9. *boſome*] *bowels* Q_8.
buried.] *buried*, Q_4. *bury'd* Rowe, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. *buried:* Cap.

---

pride, mutiny and discontent. c. (with plural). A feeling of discontent or dissatisfaction. 1588 Shakespeare *Tit. And.*, I, i, 443, Dissemble all your griefs and discontents.'—SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives numerous examples wherein 'discontent' may mean '*grief, vexation.*' The line above quoted by Vaughan and the present one are cited. The German translators, following Schlegel's lead, thus render the line: 'Nun ward der Winter unsers Missvergnügens,' where 'Missvergnügen' seems hardly to convey the exact shade of meaning which the passage demands; the metre here, however, required a word of four syllables.—ED.

7. **Son of Yorke**] STEEVENS: Alluding to the cognizance of Edward IV. which was *a sun*, in memory of the *three suns*, which are said to have appeared at the battle which he gained over the Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross. [See *3 Henry VI:* II, i, 26-40.] So, in *Miseries of Queen Margaret*, Drayton: 'Three suns were seen that instant to appear, Which soon again shut themselves up in one; Ready to buckle as the armies were, Which this brave duke took to himself alone.' [P. 131, ed. 1631.]—HUNTER (ii, 79): Few changes could be less judicious than that of 'Son' to *sun* [see *Text. Notes.*] The intention of the dramatist was to connect this with the preceding play, and to show at once that the son of that York with whom the audience had been familiar was now on a prosperous throne. Of course, the word 'son' would also be regarded as appropriate to the metaphor. This may not have been in the best taste, but it suited the taste of the audience. There is a similar instance in *Hamlet* [I, ii, 67], and another in Scene iii of this Act, ll. 179, 180. [In a note on the line in *Hamlet*, which is above cited, HUNTER makes no mention of any quibble being intended—the line is presumably 'Not so, my lord; I am too much i' the sun'; he says: '"To be in the sun," "to be in the warm sun," were phrases not uncommon in the time of Shakespeare, and for a century later, to express the state of being without family connections, destitute of the comforts of domestic life.' A meaning which is obviously inapplicable in the present passage.—ED.]

8. **lowr'd**] In the *Appendix: Plan of the Work*, credit is given to the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS for all readings from the sixth, seventh, and eighth Quartos. I have, nevertheless, deemed it advisable to anticipate this acknowledgement here, at the first appearance of an independent reading from the seventh and eighth Quartos.—ED.

9. **In . . . buried.**] VAUGHAN (iii, 2) prefers the punctuation of Q_4 [see *Text. Notes*] since 'the clearing of the clouds from *our* house is a reason for binding *our* brows and hanging up *our* arms, and changing *our* stern alarums to merry meetings, this new combination of all into one sentence improves the logical connection of the thought.'—DUNLAP (ii, 392): [During the first three lines of this soliloquy Cooke] was without motion, his hands hanging at ease; at the beginning of the fourth, 'In the deep bosom,' he lifted the right hand a little, with a gently

Now are our browes bound with Victorious Wreathes,
Our bruiſed armes hung vp for Monuments;
Our ſterne Alarums chang'd to merry Meetings;
Our dreadfull Marches, to delightfull Meaſures.
Grim-viſag'd Warre, hath ſmooth'd his wrinkled Front:

12. *Alarums*] *alarmes* Q_1.
13. *Meaſures.*] *pleaſures.* Q_{1-8}. *meaſures:* Cap. (corrected in Errata).
14. *viſag'd*] *viſagde* Qq.
wrinkled] *wringled* $Q_3Q_4Q_8$.

sweeping motion, and then, turning the palm downwards, he continued, 'of the ocean,' and made a short pause; then sinking his hand (the palm parallel with the earth) and his voice at the same time, finished the sentence by the word 'buried.'

10, 11. **Now . . . Monuments**] MALONE: Compare *Lucrece*, 109, 110. 'Made glorious by his manly chivalry, With bruised arms and wreaths of victory.' —WRIGHT: 'Hung up for monuments,' like the armour of the Black Prince at Canterbury, and the helmet, shield and saddle of Henry V., which once hung over his tomb in Westminster Abbey. 'The former,' says Dean Stanley (*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, ed. 1868, p. 150), 'is in all probability "that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt," which twice saved his life on that eventful day—still showing in its dints the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon.'

12. **Alarums**] MURRAY (*N. E. D., s. v. Alarm*): Forms: *alarom, alaroms, allarum, alarum* (adopted from Old French *alarme*, adopted from Italian *allarme-all'arme!*) 'To [the] arms!' originally the call summoning to arms, and thus, in languages that adopted it, a mere interjection; but soon used in all as the *name* of the call or summons. Erroneously taken in the seventeenth century for an English combination *all arm!* and so written; *cf.* similar treatment of *alamode* and *alamort*. From the earliest period there was a variant *alarum* due to rolling the *r* in prolonging the final syllable of the call.

13. **dreadfull**] For other examples of 'dreadful' used thus in an active sense, see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 78; or ABBOTT, § 3.

13. **Marches . . . Measures**] WRIGHT: There is the same contrast between 'marches' and 'measures' in *Alexander and Campaspe*, Lyly, IV, iii: 'But let us draw in, to see how well it becomes them to tread the measures in a daunce, that were wont to set the order for a march.'—[p. 348, ed. Bond.]

13. **Measures**] NARES: A grave solemn dance, with slow and measured steps, like the minuet. 'For hear me Hero; wedding and repenting, is as a Scotch jig, a measure, and a cinque pace' (*Much Ado*, II, i, 77). As these dances were of so solemn a nature, they were performed at public entertainments in the Inns of Court; and it was not thought inconsistent for the first characters in the law to bear a part in treading the measures. [For numerous examples of 'measure' used in this sense see SCHMIDT, *Lex.* 6.]

14–18. **Grim-visag'd Warre . . . pleasing of a Lute**] I. REED: Compare, Lyly, *Alexander and Campaspe*, 1584: 'Is the warlike sound of drum and trump turn'd to the soft noise of lyre and lute? The neighing of barbed steeds, whose loudness filled the air with terror, and whose breaths dimned the sun with smoak, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances.'—[p. 330, ed. Bond. Compare

And now, in ſtead of mounting Barbed Steeds,
To fright the Soules of fearfull Aduerſaries,
He capers nimbly in a Ladies Chamber,
To the laſciuious pleaſing of a Lute.

15. *now, in*] *now in* Qq.
in ſtead] *in ſteed* Q_1F_2. *in sted* Q_7. *instead* Rowe et seq.
16. *Soules*] *ſoule* Warb. conj.
16. *Aduerſaries,*] *aduerſaries.* Q_1Q_2.
17. *Ladies*] *Ladie's* F_3. *lady's* Rowe et seq.
18. *Lute.*] *loue.* Qq.

also the following from *Ven. & Ad.*, where Venus, in speaking of the time when Mars wooed her, says: 'Over my altars hath he hung his lance, His batter'd shield, his uncontrolled crest, And for my sake hath learn'd to sport and dance, To toy, to wanton, dally, smile and jest, Scorning his churlish drum and ensign red.' (103–108.) —ED.]—DELIUS takes 'war' by metonymy for *warrior*.—J. C. COLLINS (p. 68): This looks like a mistranslation of Sophocles' *Ajax*, l. 706: '*ἔλυσεν, αἰνὸν, ἀχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης*,' and to this mistranslation, it may be added, Shakespeare would be led by all the Latin versions, Vitus Winsemius turning it, 'dissolvit enim gravem dolorem ab oculis Mars'; Stephens paraphrasing it, 'Nam tristis dolor furorque mitigatus est'; and Rotallerus, 'tristes etenim abstersit ab oculis Mars violentus solicitudines'; this last apparently being the version which Shakespeare followed. [In the same connection COLLINS pleads for the force of accumulated examples in substantiating his claim for Shakespeare's classical knowledge. Unless we bear in mind this plea, the foregoing solitary example seems, it must be admitted, inadequate enough.—ED.]

15. **Barbed**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): Of a horse: Armed or caparisoned with a *barb* or bard; properly, *barded*.—IBID. (*s. v. Bard*): Obsolete except historically. Anglo-French *barde*, horse-armour, also 'a long saddle for an ass or mule, of canvas,' Cotgrave; *cf.* Italian *barda*, horse-armour, also pack-saddle. These and the existence of a dialectic French *aubarde* seem to identify the word with Spanish and Portuguese *albarda*, pack-saddle, referred by Devic to Arabic *al-bardakah*, 'covering placed over the back of a beast to alleviate the pressure of a pack-saddle' (Freytag). Whether the French sense 'defensive armour for a horse' arose out of this is doubtful. 1. A protective covering for the breast and flanks of a war-horse, made of metal-plates, or of leather set with metal spikes or bosses, but sometimes merely ornamental, and made of velvet.—IB. (*s. v. Barded*): Armed, caparisoned or covered with bards. 1501. Douglas. *Pal. Hon.*, I, xlvii, A bardit curser stout and bald. 1535 Coverdale, *Joel*, II, 4. They are to loke vpon like bayrded horses.

17. **He capers**] JOHNSON: War capers. This is poetical, though a little harsh; if it be York that 'capers,' the antecedent is at such a distance that it is almost forgotten. [If war be permitted to smooth his wrinkled front, may he not also indulge in a caper?—ED.]—DOUCE (ii, 32): The amorous temper of Edward the Fourth is well known; and there cannot be a doubt that by the 'lascivious pleasing of a lute,' he is directly alluded to. The subsequent description likewise that Richard gives of himself is in comparison with the *king*. Johnson thought the image of 'war capering' poetical; yet it is not easy to conceive how 'grim-visaged war' could caper 'in a lady's chamber.'—WRIGHT: War, still personified as a rough soldier.

18. **Lute**] VAUGHAN (iii, 3): I believe the reading of the Qq [*love*] to be the

But I, that am not ſhap'd for ſportiue trickes,
Nor made to court an amorous Looking-glaſſe:
I, that am Rudely ſtampt, and want loues Maieſty,

19. *I,*] *I* Qq. *I,*— Cap. Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. '03, '13, Dyce i, Sta.
ſhap'd for] *ſhapte for* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *ſharpe for* Q_4Q_5. *ſharpe of* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$. *ſhapte of* Steev. rep. ap. Cam. ii.
20. *Nor*] *Not* Q_2.
20. *amorous*] *am'rous* Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.
Looking-glaſſe] *looking lass* Vaughan (iii, 4).
21. *Maieſty*] *grace* Han.

true one. Instead of mounting steeds in order to frighten timid adversaries, war now capers in a chamber in order to give lascivious pleasure to his lover. The final cause is thus expressed by 'to' in both instances of its occurrence; and so a far more perfect contrast is sustained. Further, to dance to the 'pleasing of a lute' is a somewhat wavering and misty image.

19, 20. **But I . . . Looking-glasse**] In a letter to the *Academy*, 12 Dec., 1874, J. G. MATHEWS calls attention to the resemblance between this passage and the following in a short poem entitled *Ignoto*, included among *Epigrammes and Elegies*, by J. D. [John Davies] and C. M. [Christopher Marlowe]: 'I am not fashioned for these amorous times, To count thy beauty with lascivious rhymes; I cannot dally, caper, dance, and sing, Oiling my saint with supple sonnetting.' MARSHALL (*Intro.*, p. 9) also notes the similarity between these passages—apparently unaware that Mathews has anticipated him, and adds: 'It may be remarked that this poem [*Ignoto*] does not appear in the subsequent editions [of *Epigrammes*], which are both undated; but, on the authority of Ritson, the date of the first edition is generally assigned to 1596. The resemblance of expression is sufficient to suggest that the one author might have had the other's lines in his mind at the time.' Marshall wisely refrains, I think, from directly applying the charge of plagiarism either to Marlowe or to Shakespeare. STOKES (p. 30), after citing the letter by Mathews, prefers to regard Marlowe as the copyist. The poem may be found in Dyce's *Marlowe*, vol. iii, p. 263, and in Bullen's edition, vol. iii, p. 246.—ED.

20. **amorous Looking-glasse**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*): A looking-glass that reflects a face fond of itself.—TAWNEY: 'Amorous' may also mean *pertaining to love*, as the mirror is part of Cupid's paraphernalia. Thus the passage would mean, *to endeavour to gain the favour of a looking-glass, love's chosen instrument.* This can be effected only by careful adornment of the person. It seems possible that 'looking-glass' may here mean a *beloved lady*, who reciprocates affection. Perhaps this is the simplest explanation. It may be illustrated by *King John*, II, i, 496–503. [Both Schmidt and Tawney thus make the looking-glass *passive*. But Richard is sneering, not at himself, but at the idle pleasures of the time, and uses 'amorous,' I think, in the same sense in which he speaks of the 'lascivious pleasing of a lute'—the sound of the lute is not 'lascivious' nor the glass 'amorous,' though both are *active* agents in producing the effects characterized by the adjectives.—ED.]

21. **I, that am Rudely stampt**] 'Richarde the third sonne was in witte and courage egall with either of them, [Edward and George Duke of Clarence] in bodye and prowesse farre under them bothe, little of stature, ill fetured of limmes,

To ſtrut before a wonton ambling Nymph: 22
I, that am curtail'd of this faire Proportion,
Cheated of Feature by diſſembling Nature, 24

23. *of this*] *of his* Vaughan (iii, 5). *thus of* Coll. MS.

croke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fauoured of visage, and such as is in states called warlye, in other men otherwise, he was malicious, wrathfull, enuious, and, from afore his birth, ever frowarde.' (*More*, p. 8.)—LLOYD (*Int. Essay*): The deformity of Richard is a circumstance as essential to the rancour of his passion as the blackness of Othello—it wounds his pride and irritates his spite, and stirs his rankling revenge. He dwells upon the symbol of royalty as personal ornament compensating for natural personal defects. Hence he dwells on the very name of it, and the indications are absolute that after his success his costume is to be completed by constantly wearing the crown—and the trait is akin to the affection for rich attire ascribed to him by history, and not unusual with the deformed. [See *Appendix: Richard's Deformity.*]

21. **Maiesty**] For examples where unaccented syllables are softened and almost ignored, see ABBOTT, § 468.

22. **ambling**] WRIGHT: Mincing, walking affectedly, with a dancing gait. Compare *Hamlet*, III, i, 151: 'You jig, you amble, and you lisp.' Also 1 *Henry IV:* III, ii, 60: 'The skipping king he ambled up and down.'

23. **this**] HUDSON: 'This' is probably here used indefinitely, and with something of a sneer. Compare 2 *Henry IV:* I, ii, 126: 'This apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy.' [Hudson is perhaps right in detecting a sneer in this remark by Richard, but it is somewhat difficult to understand how 'this' could ever be used *indefinitely*.—ED.]

23. **Proportion**] WRIGHT: The goodly form appropriate to such luxurious indulgence. Compare 2 *Henry VI:* I, iii, 57: 'I thought King Henry had resembled thee In courage, courtship, and proportion.' Also: *Tit. And.*, V, ii, 106: 'Well mayst thou know her by thy own proportion.' [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives two other examples of 'proportion' used in this sense: *Mer. of Ven.*, III, iv, 14; and *All's Well*, V, iii, 51.—ED.]

24. **Feature**] WRIGHT: 'Feature' was used by Shakespeare and the writers of his time in a larger sense than at present. It denoted the whole exterior personal appearance, and was not confined, as now, to the face. 'Feature' was applied to the body as *favour* to the face. [For discussion as to meaning and interpretation of 'feature' in Shakespeare and other writers see *As You Like It*, III, iii, 5, this ed.—ED.]

24. **dissembling**] WARBURTON: By dissembling is here meant, nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body.—JOHNSON: 'Dissembling' is here put very licentiously for *fraudful, deceitful.*—HENLEY, in support of Warburton's interpretation, quotes: 'Whyle things stoode in this case, and that the manner of addying was sometime too short and sometime too long, els dissembled and let slip together'—Golding's translation of *Julius Solinus*, 1587.—MALONE: I once thought that Johnson's interpretation was the true one. *Dissimulation* necessarily includes fraud, and this might have been sufficient to induce Shakespeare to use the two words as synonymous, though fraud certainly may exist without dissimulation. The following lines in the old

Deform'd, vn-finiſh'd, ſent before my time
Into this breathing World, ſcarſe halfe made vp,
And that ſo lamely and vnfaſhionable,
That dogges barke at me, as I halt by them.
Why I (in this weake piping time of Peace)

25. *vn-finiſh'd*] *vnfiniſht* Qq. *vnfiniſh'd* Ff.
26. *ſcarſe*] Om. $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
27. *vnfaſhionable*] *unfashionably* Pope,+, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.
28. *by*] *at* Q_7Q_8.
29. *Why*] *While* Q_8.

King John, 1591, seem rather in favour of Warburton's interpretation: 'Can nature so dissemble in her frame, To make the one so like as like may be, And in the other print no character, . . . ?'—CAPELL: In a speech of this Richard's, following the act of stabbing King Henry in the last play [*3 Henry VI:* V, vi, 68–83] he is made to 'descant' upon his person in terms resembling the present, and uses these among others: 'I have no brother, I am like no brother: And this word love, which grey-beards call divine, Be resident in men *like* one another, and not in me; I am myself alone.' This may induce belief with some readers that the term in question is us'd in the uncommon sense of forming dissimilarly forming unlike to others: we may see elsewhere *resemble* put for make like; And wherefore not 'dissemble'—make unlike? [Capell has herein anticipated DOUCE, who says (ii, 32): '"dissemble" . . . signifies the reverse of to *resemble*, in its active sense, and is not used as *dissimulare* in Latin.' MARSHALL quotes Douce, adding; 'There is no satisfactory evidence that *resemble* ever had this meaning *make like*.' In support of Capell's, and Douce's, interpretation of *resemble* in an active sense, it may be said, as a partial answer to Marshall's objection, that the *Century Dictionary*, *s. v.* resemble 2, 'To represent as like something else; liken, compare,' gives the following quotation from Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, x, 21: 'And th' other al yclad in garments bright, . . . He did resemble to his lady bright.'—ED.]—SINGER interprets 'dissembling' as *disfiguring* or *distorting*, and cites the use of 'dissembling glass' in *Mid. N. Dream*, II, ii, 98. WRIGHT considers Johnson's interpretation as probably more nearly correct, wherewith the present editor agrees. 'Dissemble' in the sense of *fraudulent, deceitful*, is used in three other psasages in this play: I, ii, 261, 262: 'And I, no friend to back my suit withal But the plain devil and dissembling looks'; II, i, 13: 'Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love'; II, ii, 34: 'Think you my uncle did dissemble Grandam?' wherefore may it not be reasonably supposed that, in this present line, it is used in this same sense also?—ED.

27. **lamely and vnfashionable**] For examples of ellipsis of adverbial inflections see ABBOTT, § 397.—WEBB: The succession of monosyllables in this line suggests a slow, jerky movement, such as one would expect in Richard's gait.

28. **halt**] WRIGHT: In *Genesis* xxxii, 31, it is said that Jacob 'halted upon his thigh.'

29. **weake piping time**] WRIGHT: Compare *Much Ado*, II, iii, 13–15, 'I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and the fife, and now had he rather hear the tabor and the pipe.'—MARSHALL offers as an explanation alternative to that given by Wright that 'weak piping time' may refer to the feeble, shrill-voiced women or old men.

Haue no delight to paſſe away the time,
Vnleſſe to ſee my Shadow in the Sunne,
And deſcant on mine owne Deformity.
And therefore, ſince I cannot proue a Louer,

31. *ſee*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Knt, Coll. Sing. Hal. Rlfe. *ſpie* or *ſpy* Qq et cet. 32. *on*] *one* Q_r

31. **see**] R. G. WHITE: The Quarto reading [*spy*] implies intentional observation, the idea of which is not conveyed by the Folio. The change could hardly have been accidental; but as it is consistent with Richard's character that he should find it a bitter delight to pass away his time in spying out his own deformity, and goading himself on in his remorseless course by comparison of his personal defects with others' perfections, it is possible that *spy* was changed to 'see' in the acting copy, by some book-holder (*i. e.*, prompter) or actor.

32. **descant**] NARES: To make division or variation, in music, on any particular subject. Originally accented like the noun from which it was formed; but now mixed with the class of verbs regularly accented on the last syllable, and in that form not obsolete.—WRIGHT quotes from the second part of Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, 1597: 'Last of all, they take it [descant] for singing a part extempore vpon a playne-song, in which sence we commonly vse it: so that when a man talketh of a Descanter, it must be vnderstood of one that can extempore sing a part vpon a playnesong' (p. 70).—MALONE, while acknowledging that the original meaning of 'descant' was to make variations as in music, yet prefers to believe the word is here used 'in its secondary and colloquial sense, without any reference to music.' Both SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) and MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) agree with Malone. Murray quotes the present line (*s. v. descant*, 2) and also '*circa* 1510 More, *Picus*, Works, 15, 1: The company of the court . . . descanted thereof to his rebuke; 1571, Golding. *Calvin on Psalms*, ii, 7; They have curiously descanted upon theis woords.'—WRIGHT: Mr Hugh Carleton has pointed out to me that Richard, whose love of music is well known (Sharon Turner's *History*, ed. 1839, vii, 31), plays upon the terms of his favourite art throughout this speech: 'measures,' 'lute,' 'proportion,' 'piping,' 'descant,' 'determined,' 'inductions,' 'set,' being all used with a special sense in music. [The use of musical phrases is common throughout Shakespeare's plays, and by characters who need not always be considered as having any special love of music. Buckingham in this play (III, vii, 50) uses this word 'descant' as a noun. If Shakespeare had a design thus to show a side of Richard's character, as is ingeniously and plausibly suggested, he has apparently confined it to this first soliloquy.—ED.]

33. **since I . . . Louer**] JOHNSON: Shakespeare very diligently inculcates that the wickedness of Richard proceeded from his deformity, from the envy that rose from the comparison of his own person with others, and which incited him to disturb the pleasures that he could not partake.—HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 145): Richard's sense of personal disgrace begets a most hateful and malignant form of pride—the pride of intellectual force and mastery. Hence he comes to glory in the matter of his shame, and magnify his strength of fertility and wit. . . . On much the same principle he nurses to the highest pitch his consciousness of moral deformities. To succeed by wrong, to rise by crime, to grow great by inverting the moral order of things is, in his view, the highest proof of genius and skill.—WRIGHT: Bacon,

To entertaine theſe faire well ſpoken dayes,
I am determined to proue a Villaine, 35

34. *well ſpoken*] *well-ſpoken* F_3F_4 et seq.

in *Essay* xliv. *Of Deformity*, says: 'Deformed persons are commonly even with Nature: For as Nature hath done ill by them; So doe they by Nature: Being for the most part, (as the Scripture saith) void of Naturall Affectiou; and so they have their Revenge of Nature.' [The First Edition of Bacon's *Essays* is dated 1597, the same year as the present play; the Essay on Deformity did not appear, however, until the edition of 1612; it is, therefore, possible that Bacon may have had Shakespeare's Richard in mind.—ED.]

34. **well spoken dayes**] MALONE: I am strongly inclined to think that Shakespeare wrote '*dames*,' and that the word 'days' was caught by the compositor's eye glancing on a subsequent line.—BOSWELL: Malone's objection to the old reading was principally upon a notion that 'fair' and 'well spoken' could not, with propriety, be applied to 'days.' Compare: *Twelfth Night*, II, iv, 6: 'Of these most brisk and giddy-paced times.' Also *Timon*, IV, iii, 493: 'Strange times, that weep with laughing, not with weeping.' Jonson, *Every Man Out of his Humour*: '*ignorant well-spoken days*.' [—*Induction*, l. 77.]

35. **I am . . . Villaine**] C. LAMB (*Works*, iii, 282): Richard does not mean that because he is by shape and temper unfitted for a *courtier*, he is therefore determined to prove, in our sense of the word, a *wicked man*. 'Villain' is here undoubtedly used for *churl*, or *clown*, opposed to a courtier; and the incipient deterioration of the meaning gave the use of it in this place great spirit and beauty. A *wicked man* does not necessarily hate courtly pleasures; a *clown* is naturally opposed to them. The mistake of this meaning has, I think, led the players into that hard literal conception with which they deliver this passage, quite foreign, in my understanding, to the bold gay-faced irony of the soliloquy. Richard, upon the stage, looks round, as if he were literally apprehensive of some dog snapping at him; and announces his determination of procuring a looking-glass, and employing a tailor, as if he were prepared to put both in practice before he should get home—I apprehend 'a world of figures here.'—SCOTT (*Essays*, iii, 34): J. P. Kemble never could *look* the part of Richard, and it seemed a jest to hear him, whose countenance and person were so eminently fine, descant on his own deformity. He was, perhaps, sensible of this, for he used to argue that Richard III., being of high descent and breeding, ought not to be vulgar in his appearance or coarse in his cruelty. There certainly should prevail a tinge of aristocracy about the dramatic Richard, but it ought not to be of a generous or chivalrous character, or, whatever the figure of the historical Richard may have been, that of a handsome prince.—J. C. HARE (p. 408): There are several things in Richard's position which justify a great difference in the representation of his inward being. Above all, his deformity seemed to separate him from sympathy and communion with his kind, and to be a plea for thinking that, as he was a monster in body, he might also be a monster in heart and conduct. I cannot but think that Shakespeare would have made a somewhat different use even of this motive, if he had rewritten the play in the maturity of his intellect. Would not Richard then, like Edmund and Iago, have palliated and excused his crimes, and played tricks with his conscience? Would he not have denied and avowed his wickedness, almost with the same breath?

And hate the idle pleaſures of theſe dayes. 36
Plots haue I laide, Inductions dangerous,

36. *hate*] *bate* Johns. conj. 37. *Inductions*] *inductious* Q_1Q_2.

At all events, since the justification that may be alleged for Richard's bolder avowals of his wichedness results from the peculiar idiosyncrasy of his position and his physical frame, he is a most unsafe model for other poets to follow, though a very tempting one. The main difficulties of dramatic poetry are smoothed down when a writer can make his characters tell us how good and how bad he designs them to be.—HUDSON, after quoting a portion of Hare's remarks, says (*Life*, etc., ii, 154): 'But does not Richard's most distinctive feature, as compared with Iago and Edmund, stand mainly in this, that intellectual pride is in a more exclusive manner the constituent of his character?' Hare furthermore finds fault with the self-analysis in the soliloquies of Richard in this play, and in 3 *Henry VI.*, on the ground that 'it is as contrary to nature for a man to anatomize his heart and soul thus, as it would be to make him dissect his own body.' Which Hudson thus excuses: 'Richard as drawn by Shakespeare in action no less than in speech has a dare-devil intellectuality, in the strength of which, for aught I can see, he might inspect and scrutinize himself as minutely and as boldly as he would another person, or as another person would him. And why might he not, from the same cause, grow and harden into a habit of facing his blackest purposes as unflinchingly as he does his unsightly person, and even of taking pleasure in over-painting their wickedness to himself, in order at once to stimulate and to gratify his lust of the brain?'—PETRI (p. 213): In these words, 'I am determined to prove a Villain,' is contained the germ which the progress of the drama must develop. —BRANDES (i, 152): When J. L. Heiberg refused to produce *Richard III.* at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, he expressed a doubt whether 'we could ever accustom ourselves to seeing Melpomene's dagger converted into a butcher's knife.' He doubted, justly enough, the psychological possibility of the phrase 'I am determined to prove a villain'; but with a very slight change in the form of expression the idea is by no means indefensible. . . . To Richard the lust of power is an inward agony. He compares himself to a man 'lost in a thorny wood,' and sees no way of deliverance except to 'hew his way out with a bloody axe.' Thus is he tormented by his desire for the crown; and to achieve it he will 'drown more sailors than the mermaid shall; . . . Deceive more slyly than Ulysses could;. . . add colours to the chameleon; . . . And send the murd'rous Machiavel to school.' If this is to be a villain, then a villain he is.

36. **idle pleasures**] 'Idle' is here used, I think, not in the sense of *indolent, unemployed*, or as in *Hamlet*, 'I must be idle,' III, ii, 95, where 'idle' means *wild, flighty in speech*, but in the sense of *frivolous, trifling*. SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives numerous examples of 'idle' in this latter sense.—ED.

37. **Plots haue I laide**] STEEVENS: Marston has put this line, with little variation, into the mouth of 'Fame': 'Plots ha' you laid? inductions dangerous?' [*The Fawne*, II, i.]—RICHARDSON (p. 15): It may be said perhaps that the colouring here is by far too strong, and that we cannot conceive characters to exist so full of deliberate guilt as thus to contemplate a criminal conduct without subterfuge, and without imposing on themselves. It may be thought that even the Neros and the Domitians, who disgraced human nature, did not consider them-

By drunken Propheſies, Libels, and Dreames, 38
To ſet my Brother *Clarence* and the King
In deadly hate, the one againſt the other: 40
And if King *Edward* be as true and iuſt,

38. *By...Dreames*] Transposed to follow l. 40. Johns.

selves so atrociously wicked as they really were; but, transported by lawless passions, deceived themselves, and were barbarous without perceiving their guilt. Yet the view which Shakespeare has given us of Richard's deliberate guilt is not inconsistent. With his other enormities and defects, he represents him incapable of feeling, though he may perceive the difference between virtue and vice. . . . I will indeed allow that the effect would have been as powerful, and the representation better suited to our ideas of human nature, had Richard, both here and in other scenes, given indications of his guilt rather by obscure hints and surmises, than by an open declaration.—COURTENAY (*Commentaries*, etc., ii, 64): The insinuation that Edward's jealousy of Clarence was brought about by Gloucester is one of the instances which abound in the play, of that which may, indeed, be almost deemed its design, the blackening of the character of the king whom the grandfather of Queen Elizabeth had dethroned.—JESSE (*Richard III.*, etc., p. 113): Two of the most bigoted of the Tudor Chroniclers, Hall and Holinshed, not only are silent on the charge of Gloucester's having been the instigator of his brother's death, but admit that he impugned the rigour of the sentence passed upon Clarence. . . . Had Richard availed himself of his privilege as a peer, and sat and voted at Clarence's trial, presumptive evidence would have been afforded that he desired his brother's death. But not only is there no evidence of his having sat at that tribunal, but, on the contrary, there is much more reason to believe that at the time of Clarence's trial and execution Richard was quietly discharging the duties of his government in the north of England. [Holinshed was not altogether silent on the subject of Richard's complicity, since he copied the following from More's *Life of Richard:* 'Somme wise menne also weene, that his [Gloucester's] drifte couertly conuayde, lacked not in helping furth his brother of Clarence to his death: whiche hee resisted openly, howbeit somwhat (as menne demed) more faintly then he that wer hartely minded to his welth' (p. 10).—ED.]

37. **Inductions**] JOHNSON: Preparations for mischief. The 'induction' is preparatory to the action of the play. [Compare IV, iii, 7: 'A dire induction am I witness to'; also, *1 Henry IV:* III, 1, 2: 'Our inductions full of prosperous hope.' WEBB prefers to take 'induction' in its technical, musical sense 'Of a beginning in a scheme of music,' as has been already suggested by Carleton; see note by Wright on 'descant,' l. 32.—ED.]

38. **drunken Propheſies**] Compare II, i, 132: 'a drunken slaughter'; or see SCHMIDT, § 14, p. 1423.

41. **Edward . . . iuſt**] WARBURTON'S interpretation 'if Edward be as open-hearted, and free from deceit' seems hardly relevant. JOHNSON interprets 'if Edward keep his word'; to both of these MONCK MASON objects, preferring: 'If Edward hold his natural disposition and be true to that.' VAUGHAN says: 'even if the king were as just as I [Richard] am treacherous, yet Clarence should today be in prison.' WRIGHT'S interpretation 'as true and just, and therefore the less likely to entertain any suspicion,' is, I think, the best.—ED.

As I am Subtle, Falſe, and Treacherous,
This day ſhould *Clarence* cloſely be mew'd vp:
About a Propheſie, which ſayes that G,
Of *Edwards* heyres the murtherer ſhall be.

43. *mew'd*] *mewed* Q. *mewd* Q_5.
44, 45. *About...be*] Om. Pope.
44. *Propheſie*] *adroheſie* Q_4Q_5. *Prophecy* F_4.
45. Edwards] Eedwards Q_5. Edward's F_3F_4.
murtherer] Ff,+, Cap. *murtherers* Q_1Q_2, Knt, Wh. i, Huds. *murderer* Var. '78 et cet.

43. **mew'd vp**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): In English, the sense of a cage is the oldest, whence the verb *mew*, to enclose. At a later date the verb *mew* also meant, *to moult*, which is the original sense in French.

44. **a Prophesie**] The misprint *adrohesie* in Q_4 would hardly be worth the noting were it not that this Quarto has several other like slight divergences from the preceding Qq, *e. g.*, I, i, 78: 'secure' Q_3; *securde* Q_4; I, i, 144: 'Bussards' Q_1Q_2; *Buzars* Q_3Q_4; I, ii, 95: 'didst' Q_5; *didest* Q_4; I, ii, 104: 'bloudy' Q_3; *bloodly* Q_3Q_4; I, ii, 149: 'revengd' Q_5; *revengde* Q_4. These few examples are taken from the First Act only; doubtless the list might be extended. Those interested will find materials for comparison in the *Text. Notes* throughout the rest of the play. There is, however, one small point which may possibly be worth notice: had the compositor a printed page before him, these slight changes would not have been likely to occur; but were he composing from dictation, the chances for such variations would be increased. It will be noticed from the *Text. Notes* that Q_5, with scarcely an exception, repeated these misprints, which, I think, points to the inference that possibly Q_5 was set up from the *printed* copy of Q_4.—ED.

44, 45. **Propheſie, . . . be**] 'Some haue reported that the cause of this nobleman's death rose of a foolish prophesie, which was, that, after K. Edward, one should reigne, whose first letter of his name should be G. Wherewith the king and queene were sore troubled, and began to conceiue a greeuous grudge against this duke, and could not be in quiet till they had brought him to his end.'—Holinshed, *Edward IV.*—OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, p. 65): These following lines reveal the weakest part of this soliloquy; Shakespeare should at least have thought of a better motive for Edward's spite against Clarence. Holinshed, indeed, could easily have afforded him one, in the insolent and ambitious bearing of his turbulent brother. Holinshed refers to this prophecy, about the letter G, as current among the people; but to represent Richard as the originator of it is a grave error, since it might quite as well refer to Gloucester himself—Holinshed says that after Richard's usurpation the people so interpreted it.—MARSHALL'S observation that 'Shakespeare's authority for this, and the following lines, is Hall, who got it from Polydore Vergil,' is not quite correct. Neither Polydore Vergil, nor Hall, Holinshed, and More connect Gloucester in any way with the origin of this prophecy. As the existence of such a warning is mentioned by both Hall and Holinshed, it seems as needless as impossible to say which historian was Shakespeare's authority. —ED.—CHURCHILL (p. 51): John Rous [*Historia Regum Angliæ*, circa 1490] represents the prophecy about G as the sole cause of Clarence's death. In the days of Henry VII. it appears such a prophecy was considered cause enough. [Churchill also calls attention to the fact that Rous is the first of the Chroniclers

Diue thoughts downe to my ſoule, here *Clarence* comes. 46

Enter Clarence, and Brakenbury, guarded.

Brother, good day : What meanes this armed guard
That waites vpon your Grace?

Cla. His Maieſty tendring my perſons ſafety, 50

46. *Diue...comes*] Two lines, ending *ſoule...comes* Qq.

47. and...guarded.] with a guard of men. Qq. (gard Q_1Q_2.) guarded, and Brackenbury. Rowe ii et seq.

48. *day*] *dayes* Qq. (*daies* Q_6.)

49–51. *That... Tower*] Lines end, *Maieſty...appointed... Tower*. Pope et seq.

50, 51. *His...appointed*] One line, Qq.

50. *tendring*] QqFf, Rowe. *Tend'-ring* Pope, +, Wh. i. *Tendering* Var. '73 et cet.

---

who mentions such a prophecy. WRIGHT, after quoting the foregoing passage from Holinshed, refers to Heywood's *2 Edward IV.* (*Works*, i, 131–134), wherein the authorship of this prophecy is attributed 'to a Friar Anselm, of St. Bartholomew's.'—ED.]—J. R. LOWELL (p. 81): In the *Mirour for Magistrates* these lines are put into the mouth of the Duke of Clarence: 'A prophesie was found, which sayd a G, Of *Edwards* children should destruction bee.' [—ed. 1610, p. 385. The title of this legend is: '*How George Plantagenet third sonne of the Dvke of Yorke, was by his brother King* Edward *wrongfully imprisoned, and by his brother* Richard *miserably murdered the* 11 *of Januarie, An. Dom.*, A. D. 1478.' It appeared in the First Edition of the *Mirour*, 1559, and is attributed to Baldwin.—ED.]

46. **Diue thoughts**] WEBB: On the first approach of another human being Richard prepares to dissemble, and bids his real thoughts disappear like so many evil spirits to the most secret recesses of his soul.

47. **Enter Clarence**] RAMSAY (ii, 422, *footnote*) says that Clarence's estates were confiscated as from 'Michaelmas 1477, but no evidence of the date of his arrest has yet been found.' He was impeached before a Parliament summoned for the 16th January, 1478. [For a detailed account of the charges against Clarence, and also of the trial, see either RAMSAY, ii, 419–425, or LINGARD, IV, ch. ii, p. 207 et seq.—ED.]

47. **Brakenbury**] WRIGHT: At the time of Edward's death the Marquis of Dorset is said to have been Constable of the Tower (Bayley: *History of the Tower of London*, i, 64). Sir Robert Brakenbury was not confirmed in his office till March 9, 1483–4. [*Syllabus* of Rymer's *Fœdera*, p. 502.—FRENCH (p. 221) says that Edward made John Howard Constable of the Tower in 1470, but there is apparently an error in this date, as at that time Edward was suppressing a rebellion in the North, and was not restored to the throne until after the Battle of Barnet, April 14, 1471. Rymer (*op. cit.*) has not recorded any such appointment during the years 1470 or 1471.—ED.]

50. **His Maiesty**] BARNARD: An anachronism. The title used by Edward IV. was 'most high and mighty prince.' Sometimes the term *Invictissimus* was applied to him: he had won every battle in which he commanded.—BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* d. 2): In England [his, your, her] majesty occurs, in its Latin form, from the twelfth century, though examples of the vernacular form are not met with before

Hath appointed this Conduct, to conuey me to th'Tower
Rich. Vpon what cauſe ?
Cla. Becauſe my name is *George.*
Rich. Alacke my Lord, that fault is none of yours :
He ſhould for that commit your Godfathers.
O belike, his Maieſty hath ſome intent,
That you ſhould be new Chriſtned in the Tower.

55. *Godfathers*] *goodfathers* Q_4Q_5. *Grandfathers* Ff. *god-fathers* Q_8. *god-father* Steev. Rep. (footnote).
56. *O*] Om. Pope, +.
57. *ſhould*] *ſhall* Qq, Cap. Mal. Var. Dyce, Sta. Cam.
new Chriſtned] *new christened* Theob. *new-christen'd* Cap. Mal. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +, Huds.

---

the fifteenth century. It was not until the seventeenth century that 'your majesty' entirely superseded the other customary forms of address to the sovereign. Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were often addressed as 'Your Grace' and 'Your Highness,' and the latter alternates with 'Your Majesty' in the dedication of the Bible of 1611 to James I.

50. **tendring**] For examples of 'tender' in the sense *having regard for*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

51. **Hath . . . Tower**] POPE'S rearrangement of lines 49–51 (see *Text. Notes*) avoids the apparent Alexandrine in line 51 as given in the Qq and Ff, but at the same time alters the accent on the word 'Conduct,' throwing it back on the first syllable—possibly the noun and verb were accented alike; as is partly confirmed by the line in *Rom. & Jul.*, V, iii, 116, 'Come bitter conduct, come unsavory guide.'—ED.

54. **Alacke**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): Said in some dictionaries to be 'a corruption of *alas!*' which would be an unusual phonetic change. It is more probably a corruption of *ah! lord!* or *ah lord Christ!* Otherwise, it may be referred to Middle English *lak*, signifying *loss, misfortune.* 'God in the gospel grymly repreueth All that lakken any lyf, and lakkes han hem-selue,' *Piers Plowman*, x, 262. Thus 'alack' would mean *ah! failure*, or *ah! a loss*, and *alackaday* would stand for *ah! a loss today!* It is almost always used to express failure. In modern English *lack* seldom has this sense, but merely expresses want. [MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) accepts this derivation by Skeat.—ED.]

56. **O**] MARSHALL: Pope's omission [see *Text. Notes*] makes the transition of thought from l. 55 somewhat too abrupt.

56. **belike**] WRIGHT (*Note* on I, i, 130; *Mid. N. Dream*): This word is unusual if not singular in form. It is recorded in Nodal and Milner's *Lancashire Glossary* as still in use. [Wright, in a note on the present line, adds: 'If *like* be regarded as an adverb, we may perhaps compare the formation of this word [belike] with that of *beyond, beneath.*']—GUEST (p. 36): The prefix *be* is found elided in the works of almost all our dramatists, but in some cases there is reason to believe that the word which is represented shorn of a syllable is, in fact, the root of the compound, instead of being its remnant. We find *'long* not infrequently written for *belong*, although the rhythm requires but one syllable.

57. **new Christned**] BARNARD: Apart from the reference to the prophecy,

But what's the matter *Clarence*, may I know? 58
Cla. Yea *Richard*, when I know : but I proteſt
As yet I do not: But as I can learne, 60
He hearkens after Propheſies and Dreames,
And from the Croſſe-row pluckes the letter G:
And ſayes, a Wizard told him, that by G,
His iſſue diſinherited ſhould be.
And for my name of *George* begins with G, 65
It followes in his thought, that I am he.
Theſe (as I learne) and ſuch like toyes as theſe,
Hath moou'd his Highneſſe to commit me now.
Rich. Why this it is, when men are rul'd by Women: 69

58. *what's*] *what is* Q_{3-8}.
Clarence,] Clarence? Cap. et seq.
59. *I know*] *I doe know* Q_{6-8}.
but] Ff, Rowe, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal. *for* Qq et cet.
61. *Propheſies*] *prophecies* QqF_4.
62. *Croſſe-row*] *cross row* Var. '73 (misprint).
66. *It followes*] *It fellowes* Q_5. *If follows* F_2.
67. *ſuch like*] *ſuch* F_3F_4. *such-like* Knt ii, Dyce, Huds.
68. *Hath*] F_2F_3. *Haue* Qq et cet.
69. *rul'd*] *rulde* Qq. *ruled* Cam.+.

there seems to be an anticipatory allusion to the Malmsey wine in which Clarence was drowned. This would be unconscious on Gloucester's part, but the audience would be familiar with the tradition. [It is perhaps worth noting that in the *Mirour for Magistrates, Legend of Clarence*, occurs the following: 'And in a But of Malmesey standing by, New christned me because I should not cry.'—ed. 1610, p. 891.—ED.]

61. **hearkens after**] WRIGHT: That is, *listens to*, and so, *enquires about*. Compare *Much Ado*, V, i, 216: 'Hearken after their offence, my lord.' So also *listen after* is used in the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third:* 'I will listen after successe of the Duke of Buckinghame.' [—*Appendix*, p. 525.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) gives numerous examples of 'hearken after' used in the sense *to enquire about;* the earliest quotation is dated 1523; among them he also quotes the foregoing line from *Much Ado*, but not the present line, which is earlier in date. To these two examples Schmidt adds the third and only remaining one—*Love's Labour's*, I, i, 219.—ED.]

62. **Crosse-row**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): The alphabet, from the figure of the cross formerly prefixed to it; = Christ-cross-row. *ante* 1529 Skelton *Against Venemous Tongues* 'In your crosse row nor Christ crosse you spede' . . . 1531 Tindale *Exp. 1 John 2* 'A man can by no meanes reade, excepte he be taught the letters of the crosserowe.'

63. **Wizard told him**] See note by WRIGHT, l. 44, above.

65. **for**] For examples of 'for' used in sense *because of*, see ABBOTT, § 151.

67. **toyes**] See SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) for other examples of 'toy' used in sense of *idle folly, fancy*.

69. **this it is**] WRIGHT: Compare *Two Gentlemen*, V, ii, 49: 'Why, this it is to be a peevish girl'; and *Ant. & Cleo.*, II, vii, 12: 'Why, this it is to have a name

'Tis not the King that ſends you to the Tower,
My Lady *Grey* his Wife, *Clarence* 'tis ſhee.
That tempts him to this harſh Extremity.

71. *ſhee.*] *ſhe*, Q_1Q_2Ff. *ſhe* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
72. *tempts*] Q_{2-8}Ff, Rowe,+, Cap. Var. Mal. Coll. i, ii. (*temps* Q_3.) *tempers* Q_1 et cet.
72. *harſh*] Ff, Rowe,+, Cap. Var. Mal. Sing. Ktly. Om. Qq et cet.
Extremity.] *extremitie*: Q_5.

in great men's fellowship.' [It is, perhaps, worth notice that in these three passages the phrase 'this it is' is introduced by 'Why.'—ED.]

71. **My Lady Grey**] See *Dram. Person.*: Queen to Edward IV.

72. **tempts**] MALONE: We should undoubtedly read *tempers* as in Q_1. To *temper* is *to mould, to fashion.* So in *Titus And.*, IV, iv, 109: 'And temper him with all the art I have.' In Q_2 *tempts* was corruptly printed for *tempers*. The metre being then defective, the Editor of F_1 supplied the defect by adding 'harsh' to the line.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 4): I think the reading of Q_1 is probably what Shakespeare wrote, because *tempers* is more likely to have been corrupted into *tempts* than the reverse. The mistake may have arisen from the use in the MS of the contracted form of *per*. . . . The insertion of 'harsh' is a correction which the author himself might have made if he found the imperfect line in the copy which he was correcting, and did not remember what he had originally written. There is not much to choose between the two lines.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 80): I cannot agree with Spedding in his conjecture as to the 'contracted form of *per*.' For the corrupted form *tempts* is found first in Q_2, which was printed, not from MS, but from Q_1. As the error of the Second Quarto is reproduced substantially by all the following Qq, there can be very little doubt, I think, that the copy which the corrector used, at least as far as this passage is concerned, was one of the later Qq, probably the Third. [By 'the corrector' Pickersgill here refers to the author of certain changes in the Folio text as compared to that of the Qq. Spedding classifies these alterations under a number of heads, regarding them as due to various causes. The present change Spedding attributes to the printer of the Folio. See *Appendix: Text.*—ED.] We come then to the heart of the question—can we suppose that the corrector was Shakespeare? Can we suppose that Shakespeare would adopt the reading *tempts*, which a mere printer's error had introduced into the copy which he was revising? I cannot see any propriety in the reading of the Folio. Why should Lady Grey be said to tempt the King, when she is represented throughout Gloucester's speech as having him completely under her control? Only three lines before, Gloucester had cited the committal of Clarence as an illustration of what occurs when 'men are ruled by women.' Eve *tempted* Adam, it is true, but Jezabel *stirred up* (nearly = *tempered*) Ahab; and the latter is certainly the true analogy. Upon the other hand, if the corrector were not the author, he would, of course, accept the reading which he found, as it no doubt gives a fair sense.—HALLIWELL: This is a remarkable and decisive instance of the First Folio's want of authority as regards part at least of the present drama. A MS corrector of my copy of ed. 1629 alters the line to—'That tempts him now,' etc.—WRIGHT: The reading of Q_1 is undoubtedly correct. Compare *Two Gentlemen*, III, ii, 64: 'Where you may temper her by your persuasion To hate young Valentine . . . '

Was it not ſhee, and that good man of Worſhip, 73
Anthony Woodeulle her Brother there,
That made him ſend Lord *Haſtings* to the Tower? 75

74. Woodeulle] Wooduile Qq. Woodville F_2F_3. Woodvil F_4, Rowe, +. *Woodeville* Cap. et cet. (subs.)
her] *he her* Han.

75, 76. *Tower?...deliuered?*] *tower? ...deliuered.* Ff, Rowe ii, +, Sing. Ktly. *tower...delivered.* Rowe i. *tower, ...deliuered?* Qq et cet.

[The *Text. Notes*—hard food for minds—show in no uncertain fashion the reading which has received the largest popular approval. Moreover, is not this a case where the excellent scholastic rule, *Durior lectio preferenda est*, exactly applies? '*Tempts*' is more easily comprehended than *tempers*.—ED.]

73. **good man of Worship**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 81): Perhaps there is historical evidence that the Plantagenet princes were accustomed to speak thus of the Woodviles. If not, it ought to be remembered that, whatever his father may have been, the mother of Woodvile was of the house of Luxemburgh, Jaquetta, Duchess of Bedford.

74. **Anthony Woodeulle**] FRENCH (p. 224): Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, was the eldest brother to the Queen of Edward IV., who made him a Knight of the Garter and appointed him governor to his son, the Prince of Wales. As one of the faithful friends, as also being uncle to the young princes, Earl Rivers was looked upon with great dislike by the Duke of Gloucester.

74. **Anthony . . . there**] MALONE, who seldom hesitates to sacrifice sound to metre, here suggests that 'there' is to be pronounced as a disyllable. STEEVENS, although himself somewhat too fond of such 'procrustean scansions,' querulously remarks that he has too often been obliged to say that he has 'no faith in this disyllabical pronunciation of "there,"' and prescribes as a cure for the metre that 'Woodeville be pronounced as a trisyllable,' and adds that it is still so pronounced 'by a gentleman of that name.' Steevens is, I think, anticipated by CAPELL, who says: 'The metre in this line is made out by what may be call'd a new amendment—a quaint spelling of the family name of Earl Rivers, covering a piece of witty abuse, which we shall leave to decypherers.' [See *Text. Notes.*] WEBB also suggests that the pronunciation *Woodeville* is intended as a pun on Wooddevil. But the spelling of all names, both in Qq and Ff, is far too erratic, I fear, to form any safe guide to pronunciation. (See this name in *Text. Notes;* also 'Gloster,' l. 5.) Neither Malone's note nor Steevens's answer appears in the *Variorum* of 1821: Although the word 'there' has attached to it the figure 8, there is no note on the line at the foot of the page; moreover, the words 'Humbly complaining' (l. 83) are also numbered 8, which last figure corresponds to Johnson's note on that and the next line. Possibly Malone withdrew his suggestion and Boswell purposely omitted the note, but neglected to remove the figure, which now remains as the only record, on the page of the *Variorum* of 1821, of this little tilt between Steevens and Malone. COLLIER'S MS corrector improves the metre by reading 'her *same* brother,' an addition that Collier says (*Emendations*, p. 324) 'is a considerable increase of contempt as well as an improvement in the verse.' SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 165) strongly disapproves of this last addition, remarking, with an ungentlemanly innuendo, that 'The interpolation only adds "a considerable increase of contempt" for such impertinent meddlars.' Both KEIGHTLEY and ABBOTT prefer to take 'Woodeville' as a trisyllable.—ED.

75. **That . . . Tower**] WRIGHT: The histories say nothing directly of the com-

From whence this preſent day he is deliuered? 76
We are not ſafe *Clarence*, we are not ſafe.
Cla. By heauen, I thinke there is no man ſecure
But the Queenes Kindred, and night-walking Heralds,
That trudge betwixt the King, and Miſtris *Shore*. 80
Heard you not what an humble Suppliant
Lord *Haſtings* was, for her deliuery? 82

76. *preſent*] Om. Rowe, +.
78. *heauen*] *heav'n* Pope, +.
there is] *there's* Cap.
~ *man ſecure*] Ff. *man is ſecurde* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *man ſecurde* Q_4. *man ſceurde* Q_5. *man ſecur'd* Q_6Q_7. *man ſecurd* Q_8. *man is secure* Cap.
80. *trudge betwixt*] *truge betweene* Q_7Q_8. *trudge between* Pope, +, Cap.
81. *you*] *ye* Huds. Cam. +.
~ 82. *was, for her*] *was, for his* F_2F_3. *was for his* F_4, Rowe. *was to her for his* Qq et cet.

mittal of Hastings to the Tower, although it is implied in the narrative of Sir Thomas More. [The following passage is from More's *Life of Richard*, p. 77; Wright quotes from Holinshed, who copied almost verbatim from More.—ED.] 'Upon the very tower wharfe so nere the place where his head was of so sone after, there met he with one Hastinges a perseuant of his own name. And of their meting in that place, he was put in remembraunce of an other time . . . At which other tyme the Lord Chamberlein had ben accused vnto king Edward, by the lord Riuers the quenes brother, in such wise that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kinges indignacion, and stode in gret fere of himselfe.'

78. **secure**] VAUGHAN (iii, 7): Shakespeare (*Tempest*, II, i, 309) makes use of the active participle 'securing' in the sense of *making and keeping safe:* 'Whiles we stood here securing your repose.' As he has used the active, so is it not improbable that he might use the passive, participle in the same sense. I would read, therefore, partly with the Qq, 'there's no man is secured.'

79. **night-walking Heralds**] DELIUS: An ironical designation of those courtiers who are the accredited emissaries between Edward and Jane Shore. [Is there not something more than irony in Gloster's adjective 'night-walking'? I think that what he implies is that it is not safe for honest men to be abroad at night, and that none but those who are on a dishonest errand may pass the King's guards unmolested. There was but one mission for a herald whose 'limited service' was nocturnal between the King and Jane Shore.—ED.]

82. **was . . . deliuery**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 4): Here the Folio is evidently wrong. [See *Text. Notes.*] But the error may have arisen from an interlinear correction misunderstood. The corrector, who evidently disliked lines of twelve syllables,—I do not call this line [as in the Qq] an Alexandrine, meant, I think, to strike out *to her*. But if the correction was not clearly made, or if the printer was careless, it might easily happen that 'her' was left instead of *his*.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 81): It appears to me the omission of the words *to her* leaves the sense, or at all events the perspicacity, of the passage defective, and that this was evident to the corrector himself, who therefore deliberately altered *his delivery* to 'her delivery' in order to make it clear to whom Lord Hastings addressed his prayers. Spedding holds

Rich. Humbly complaining to her Deitie,
Got my Lord Chamberlaine his libertie.
Ile tell you what, I thinke it is our way,
If we will keepe in fauour with the King,
To be her men, and weare her Liuery.
The iealous ore-worne Widdow, and her felfe,
Since that our Brother dub'd them Gentlewomen,
Are mighty Gofsips in our Monarchy.
Bra. I befeech your Graces both to pardon me,
His Maiefty hath ftraightly giuen in charge,

83, 84. Rich. *Humbly...libertie*] Clarence. *Humbly...libertie* Johns. conj.
83. *Humbly*] *Humble* Q_5.
85. *is*] *were* Q_7Q_8.
88. *ore-worne*] *oreworne* Qq. (*ore-werne* Q_5.) *o're-worn* F_3F_4. *o'er-worn* Rowe et seq. (subs.)
90. *our*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *this* Qq et cet.
91. Bra.] Bro. Qq.
befeech] *beg* Pope,+.
me,] *me ?* Qq.
92. *ftraightly*] *straitly* Pope.
giuen] *giv'n* Pope,+.

that the passage, as it stands in the Folio, cannot be *Shakespeare's;* I have given good reason, I think, for supposing that it is the *corrector's*. [See ABBOTT, § 494.]

85. **way**] For examples of 'way' in sense of *course, means*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.* 5).

88. **ore-worne**] MARSHALL: Elizabeth Woodville was born in 1437, so that even if we take 1477 as the date of the present Act, her age would be no more than forty. But Richard is sneering at the fact that she had been married before she became Edward's wife.

88. **Widdow . . . selfe**] JOHNSON: That is, the Queen and Jane Shore.

89. **that**] For examples of 'that' as a conjunctional suffix see ABBOTT, § 287.

89. **Gentlewomen**] WRIGHT: The Queen's kindred were ennobled after her marriage, but they were hardly 'made gentlefolks,' for her father was of a good Northamptonshire family, and had been created Baron Rivers in 1448, and Earl Rivers in 1466; and her mother was the Dowager Duchess of Bedford. Mistress Shore had never any title of rank conferred upon her.

90. **Gossips**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The old sense of 'gossip' was *sponsor in baptism;* literally, *god-relative* (god-sib). The word *sib* in Anglo-Saxon means *peace*, but there was a derived word meaning *relative*, of which there are some traces.

91. **I beseech**] DYCE, in his second Edition, omits the 'I' for the sake of improving the metre; WRIGHT acknowledges the justice of such an omission, and both HUDSON and MARSHALL follow Dyce. See ABBOTT, § 456.

92. **His Maiesty . . . charge**] WRIGHT: The Act for Clarence's attainder was passed in the 17 Edward IV., and on February 8, 1477–8, the Duke of Buckingham was appointed Lord High Steward of England, to see the sentence carried out. Clarence's death was on February 18. [See note on l. 47 *supra*.]

92. **straightly**] WRIGHT: That is, *strictly*. Compare *Matt.* ix, 30: 'And Jesus straitly charged them, saying, see that no man know it.'

That no man ſhall haue priuate Conference
(Of what degree ſoeuer) with your Brother.
Rich. Euen ſo, and pleaſe your Worſhip *Brakenbury*,
You may partake of any thing we ſay :
We ſpeake no Treaſon man ; We ſay the King
Is wiſe and vertuous, and his Noble Queene
Well ſtrooke in yeares, faire, and not iealious.

94. *your*] Ff, Rowe, +, Coll. Wh. i. *his* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
95. *ſo,*] *ſo ?* Cap. Var. '73, Sing. Ktly. *and*] *an't* Pope, +. *an* Cap. et seq.
95, 114. Brakenbury] *Brokenbury* Qq.
96. *partake*] *pertake* Q_2.
98. *his*] *the* Q_7.
99. *ſtrooke*] *ſtroke* Q_2. *struck* Var. '78 et seq.
faire] *yet fair still* Cap. *fair loving* Seymour.
iealious] F_2. *iealous* QqF_3F_4. *over-jealous* Han. *jealous* Rowe et cet.

95. **and**] KEIGHTLEY (*Exp. Preface*, p. iv) acknowledges that he did not read through the *Variorum* of 1821 until after making all his emendations; and whenever he found that he had been anticipated it 'was a source of real pleasure' to him, as a 'proof of the correctness of his emendation.' In the present case the *Variorum* might not have excited this feeling of pleasure, but had Keightley looked through Pope's or Theobald's Edition he would have seen that he had been anticipated in proposing to read *an't* instead of 'and.'—ED.

96. **partake**] WRIGHT: That is, *share;* and so, *hear*. Used absolutely in *Coriol.*, IV, iv, 184: 'O slaves, I can tell you news,—news, you rascals! What, what, what? Let's partake.'

99. **Well . . . iealious**] WALKER (*Vers.* 154) gives a number of examples wherein 'jealous' must, for the sake of the metre, be pronounced as spelt in this line, though, as Keightley observes, none of Walker's examples is from Shakespeare. KEIGHTLEY (*Exp.*, p. 262) prefers 'reading "years" and "fair," as more suited to the slow, chaffing tone of Gloucester.' ABBOTT thinks it might be possible to scan as Keightley suggests, but prefers taking 'jealious' as a trisyllable. (See GUEST, p. 198.) WRIGHT points out that '"iealious" is the uniform spelling in the First Folio of Othello, even where the metre does not require it.' In a note on 'beautious,' *Love's Labour's*, IV, i, 72, this edition, the Editor says: 'There is a noticeable tendency on the part of Shakespeare's compositors to insert an additional syllable in such words as *jealous, dexterous, stupendous*, etc., which they spell *jealious, dexterious, stupendious*. (See note in *Twelfth Night*, IV, iii, 30, of this edition.) This has been generally considered a corruption, but I incline to think that it was an allowable pronunciation, sometimes even available for rhythm's sake. This preference for the form *-ious* is found in words where the simpler form does not exist, such as *prolixious, robustious, superbious, splendidious*, and cannot be attributed solely to the compositors; we have it now-a-days in the vulgar *mischievious*. Possibly such words as *tedious, gracious, delicious*, may be responsible for this tendency. . . . In the note on *Twelfth Night*, IV, iii, 30, cited above, are gathered examples of this termination in *-ious*. To them add from Milton: "All with incredible, stupendious force."—*Samson Agonistes*, line 1628.' As an instance of the small dependence to be placed on the spelling of the Folio, see the spelling 'ielous' in l. 88.—ED.

We ſay, that *Shores* Wife hath a pretty Foot, 100
A cherry Lip, a bonny Eye, a paſsing pleaſing tongue:

101. *A cherry Lip*] One line, Steev. Var. '03, '13.
cherry] *chery* Q_1.
101. *a bonny Eye*] Om. Pope,+, Cap.

99. **strooke in yeares**] WRIGHT: Here 'struck' is from the Anglo-Saxon *strican*, to go quickly, to run, Early English *striken*. In the *Ormulum*, ll. 14804, 14810, 'strac inn' is *went in*. Hence is derived the substantive *stroke* in the sense of *pace*. Consequently, 'well struck' is *far advanced*. . . . With this may be compared the phrase 'stepped in years' which occurs in old writers. For example: Holland's *Pliny*, vii, 46: 'Now this Aglaus was, good honest man, well stept in yeeres.'—WORDSWORTH (*Sh. Knowledge*, etc.): We find in *Luke* i, 7: 'They had no child because that Elizabeth was barren, and they both were now well stricken in years.' In Tyndale's translation, 1534, and Cranmer's, 1539, the words were 'well stricken in age'; which we find also in *Genesis* xviii, 11, and xxiv, 1. Is it possible that our translator of St. Luke altered the expression out of deference to this passage of Shakespeare? Steevens, in his note in the *Variorum* edition, calls the phrase 'an odd, uncouth expression.' It does not appear to have occurred to him that it is used several times in the English Bible; still less that our poet might have *chosen* it in this passage because the Queen spoken of was also an Elizabeth, wife of Edward IV.

100, 101. **Shores Wife . . . tongue**] Shakespeare was perhaps indebted to More for this characterisation of Jane Shore: 'Proper she was and faire: nothing in her body that you wold haue changed, but if you would haue wished her somewhat higher. . . . Yet delited not men so much in her bewty, as in her plesant behauiour. For a proper wit had she, and could rede wel and write, mery in company, redy and quick of aunswer, neither mute nor ful of bable, some time taunting without displesure and not without disport,' p. 83.—ED.

101. **cherry Lip**] SEYMOUR: There seems to have been something lost in the enumeration of the lady's features, perhaps words like these: 'fair forehead dimpled cheeks.' [It is somewhat difficult to understand why Seymour should wish to add six extra syllables to a line already too long, as it appears in the Qq and Ff. It is possible that he had before him either Steevens 1793, or Reed's Steevens 1803; 1813, wherein the words 'A cherry lip' are printed as one line; these with Seymour's addition will complete a line of ten syllables.—ED.]—GUEST (p. 272): The difference in the flow of this line and the next was certainly not accidental. The Libertine sneer upon the wretched mistress was to be contrasted with the bitter sarcasm levelled at more formidable, and therefore more hated rivals. But in the text, as 'corrected' by Steevens, this happy turn of the rhythm is lost.—KEIGHTLEY (*Exp.*, p. 79): It has never to my knowledge been sufficiently noticed that Shakespeare makes occasional use of the seven foot verse of Golding's *Ovid* and Phaer's *Virgil*, works in which it is evident he was extremely well-read. This line is such a verse. Compare also *Much Ado*, II, i, 99: 'My visor is Philemon's roof within the house is Jove.—Why then your visor should be thatch'd.—Speak low if you speak love.' [ABBOTT, § 498, classifies this line in *Rich. III.* as 'a pure Alexandrine, or nearly so, if the text be correct.' 'Much virtue in If.'—ED.]

And that the Queenes Kindred are made gentle Folkes. 102
How ſay you ſir? can you deny all this?

Bra. With this (my Lord) my ſelfe haue nought to doo. 105

Rich. Naught to do with Miſtris *Shore*?
I tell thee Fellow, he that doth naught with her
(Excepting one) were beſt to do it ſecretly alone.

Bra. What one, my Lord?

Rich. Her Husband Knaue, would'ſt thou betray me? 110

102. *And that*] *That* Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. *And* Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Coll. MS.
Kindred] *kin* Marshall.
gentle Folkes] *gentle-folks* Rowe. *gentle-folk* Theob. Warb. Johns.
103. *ſir?*] *ſir* Qq.
104. *haue*] *hath* Q_7.
nought] *naught* Dyce.
106–108. *Naught...one*] Ff, +. Two lines, ending *fellow, ...one*, Qq et cet.
106, 107. *Naught...thee Fellow,*] *What, fellow? nought...you Sir,* Pope, +.
Naught] *Nought* Q_7.
106. *to*] Om. Vaughan.
Miſtris] *Miſtreſſe* Qq. Miſtriſs F_3. *Miſtreſs* F_4.
107. *doth*] Om. Wh i (misprint).
doth...with her] In sens. obs.
108, 109. *were...Lord?*] As one line, omitting *alone* Cap.
108. *were*] *'Twere* Cap.
– *to*] *he* Qq, Cam. Webb, Taw. Om. Han.
alone] Om. Pope, +, Cap.
109, 110. Bra. ...*me?*] Om. Q_1.
110. *me?*] *me? ha?* Cap.

---

106. **Naught**] COLLINS (p. 112) compares the 'whole turn of this passage, with the play on the word,' to *Tit. And.*, IV, ii, 73–76.

107, 108. **he that . . . were best to**] WRIGHT: [In the Qq] there is first of all a confusion of construction, the second 'he' being superfluous, and rendering the previous 'he,' with its attendant clause, a kind of suspended nominative. Further, the expressions *I were best, he were best*, are possibly corruptions of *me were best* = it were best for me, etc. See ABBOTT, §§ 230, 352.

108. 109, **were . . . one**] STEEVENS: Surely the adjective 'alone' is an interpolation. Besides, this word deranges the metre, which, without it, would be regular—for instance, 'Were best to do it it secretly. What one.'—MALONE: The above note is a good specimen of Steevens's readiness to suppose an interpolation in the old copies, whenever he chose to disturb the text. He does not seem ever to have perceived that many short prosaical sentences are frequently interposed in Shakespeare's metrical dialogues. Of this kind are the words—'What one, my lord?—and the following line: Her husband, knave, etc. [Steevens was, however, not the first offender in this instance. See *Text. Notes.*—ED.]—BOSWELL: These four speeches were probably all designed for prose. What verse can be made out of line 114?

110. **would'st . . . me**] That is, would you make me say openly what might be considered treason? Perhaps Richard means to imply that he himself is also as guilty as the King.—ED.

Bra. I do beſeech your Grace
To pardon me, and withall forbeare
Your Conferenee with the Noble Duke.
Cla. We know thy charge *Brakenbury*,and wil obey.
Rich. We are the Queenes abiects,and muſt obey.
Brother farewell, I will vnto the King,
And whatſoe're you will imploy me in,
Were it to call King *Edwards* Widdow, Siſter,

111. *I do*] Om. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
- *do*] Ff, +, Coll. Om. Qq et cet.
111–113. *I...Duke*] Two lines, ending *me...Duke* Pope, +. Two lines, ending *withal...duke* Cap. et seq.
- 111, 112. Bra. ...*forbeare*] One line, Qq.
112. *withall*] *to* Pope, +.
113. *Conferenee*] *Conference* Ff. *conferencs* Rowe i. *conferences* Rowe ii. *conf'rence* Pope, +.
Noble] Om. Pope, +.
~ 117. *whatſoe're*] *whatſoeuer* Qq, Cap. Var. '03, '13, '21, Cam. Globe, Taw.
you will] *you'll* Cap.

---

111. **I . . . beseech**] See note, line 91 *supra*.

115. **We . . . obey**] SEYMOUR: I cannot but suspect that Richard's remark was suggested by words different from those uttered by Clarence, who, in the meekness of his loyalty, might naturally have said: 'We're the king's subjects and we will obey.'

115. **abiects**] JOHNSON: That is, not the queen's *subjects*, whom she might protect, but her 'abjects,' whom she drives away.—MONCK MASON: I cannot approve of Johnson's explanation. Gloucester forms a substantive from the adjective *abject*, and uses it to express a lower degree of submission than is implied by the word 'subject,' which otherwise he would naturally have made use of. The 'Queen's abjects' means *the most servile of her subjects*, who must, of course, obey all her commands; which would not be the case of those whom she had driven away from her. In a preceding passage Gloucester says of Shore's wife—'I think, it is our way, If we will keep in favour with the king To be her men and wear her livery'; the idea is the same in both places, though the expression differs. In Jonson's *Every man out of his Humour* Puntarvolo says to Swift: 'I'll make thee stoop, thou abject.'—STEEVENS: This substantive was not of Shakespeare's formation. We meet with it in *Psalm* xxxv, 15: '—yea, the very abjects came together against me unawares.' [MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) gives two examples of 'abject,' in the sense of *an outcast*, earlier than that quoted by Steevens, but does not note the present line as an example of the meaning, correctly interpreted, as I think, by Mason. For a somewhat similar use of 'abject' in opposition to *subject* compare: 'I accompt all those abiects, that be not hir [Elizabeth's] subiectes,' Lyly, *Euphues Glass for Europe*.—p. 208, ed. Bond.—ED.]

116. **I will vnto the King**] For examples of 'ellipsis of verb of motion before a preposition or adverb,' see ABBOTT, § 405.

118. **Widdow**] JOHNSON: This is a very covert and subtle manner of insinuating treason. By slipping, as it were casually, 'widow' into the place of *wife*, he tempts Clarence with an oblique proposal to kill the king. [Did Johnson forget that he himself had explained 'widow,' line 88 above, as referring to the

I will performe it to infranchiſe you.
Meane time, this deepe diſgrace in Brotherhood,
Touches me deeper then you can imagine.
Cla. I know it pleaſeth neither of vs well.
Rich. Well,your impriſonment ſhall not be long,
I will deliuer you, or elſe lye for you:
Meane time, haue patience.
Cla. I muſt perforce: Farewell. *Exit Clar.*
Rich Go treade the path that thou ſhalt ne're return:
Simple plaine *Clarence*, I do loue thee ſo,
That I will ſhortly ſend thy Soule to Heauen,
If Heauen will take the preſent at our hands.
But who comes heere? the new deliuered *Haſtings*?

Enter Lord Haſtings.

119. *infranchiſe*] *enfranchiſe* Q_1.
120, 125. *Meane time*] *Meantime* Knt.
120. *in*] *of* Ff, Rowe,+.
124. *elſe*] Om. Qq, Sta.
125, 126. *Meane...Farewell*] As one line, Steev. et seq.
125. *patience*] *patlence* S. Walker.
126. *perforce*] *preforce* Q_5.
126. *Farewell*] Om. Han.
Exit Clar.] Ex. Brak. Clar. Rowe et seq. (subs.)
127. *ne're*] *neare* Q_2.
130. *our*] *my* Han.
131. *new deliuered*] *new-delivered* Pope,+.
Haſtings?] *Haſtings* Q_7.

Queen, where there is no insinuation of any kind?—ED.]—STEEVENS: King Edward's widow is, I believe, only an expression of contempt, meaning the widow Grey whom Edward had chosen for his queen. Gloucester has already called her 'the jealous o'erworn widow.'

119. **infranchise**] WRIGHT: That is, to set you at liberty. The word is still used in a technical sense in reference to copyhold land, or to persons who have no vote as citizens; but in its literal meaning it is not employed, though it frequently occurs in Shakespeare.

121. **Touches me deeper**] TAWNEY: There is, no doubt, an intentional ambiguity in the phrase. Richard intends Clarence to take it in the sense, 'afflicts me more profoundly,' but it may also mean 'concerns me more'; probably in the sense, 'I had more hand in it than you imagine.'

124. **lye for you**] I. REED: That is, be imprisoned in your stead. To 'lie' was anciently to *reside*, as appears by many examples.—[There is here doubtless a play upon the word, as in Sir Henry Wotton's definition: 'An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth.'—ED.]

126. **I must**] STEEVENS: Alluding to the proverb: 'Patience perforce is medicine for a mad dog.' [Ray's *Proverb's*, p. 100, ed. 1815.—ED.]

129. **I will . . . to Heauen**] BOAS (p. 151): This light-hearted mirth in a fratricide appalls us, but to Richard the moral aspect of the situation never presents itself: he is simply tickled by its irresistible humor.—[See note by COURTENAY, l. 37 *supra*.]

Haſt. Good time of day vnto my gracious Lord.
Rich. As much vnto my good Lord Chamberlaine:
Well are you welcome to this open Ayre,
How hath your Lordſhip brook'd impriſonment?
Haſt. With patience (Noble Lord) as priſoners muſt:
But I ſhall liue (my Lord) to giue them thankes
That were the cauſe of my impriſonment.
Rich. No doubt, no doubt, and ſo ſhall *Clarence* too,
For they that were your Enemies, are his,
And haue preuail'd as much on him, as you,
Haſt. More pitty, that the Eagles ſhould be mew'd,
Whiles Kites and Buzards play at liberty.
Rich. What newes abroad?
Haſt. No newes ſo bad abroad, as this at home:
The King is ſickly, weake, and melancholly,
And his Phyſitians feare him mightily.
Rich. Now by S.Iohn, that Newes is bad indeed.

133. *gracious*] *gratious* Q_1.
135. *Well are you*] *Well, are you* Q_7. *Well, you are* Q_8.
– *this*] *the* Q_1Q_2, Pope, +, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
– 143. *Eagles*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal. *Eagle* Qq et cet.
– 144. *Whiles*] Ff, Rowe. *While* Qq et cet.
144. *Kites*] *kights* Q_2.
Buzards] *buſſards* Q_1Q_2. *buzars* Q_{3-5}. *Buzzards* Rowe.
– *play*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *prey* Qq et cet.
– 149. *S.Iohn*] Ff, Rowe. *Saint Paul* Qq et cet.
– *that*] Ff, +, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Coll. *this* Qq et cet.

133. **Good time of day**] WRIGHT: A common mode of salutation, which appears in a fuller form in *2 Henry IV:* I, ii, 107: 'God give your lordship good time of day.'

142. **preuail'd**] For other examples where 'prevail' means *to overcome*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

143. **Eagles**] The Ff reading is, I am inclined to think, the correct one, since the other two nouns, 'Kites' and 'Buzzards,' are plural. If the Qq were composed from dictation, it would be almost impossible to distinguish 'Eagle should,' from 'Eagles should.'—ED.

143. **mew'd**] See note, l. 43 *supra*.

144. **play**] It would be, perhaps, difficult to find a single example wherein Rowe follows any text other than that of the Ff; it is not strange, therefore, that he here prints what is evidently a compositor's error, either of eye or ear. With Pope the case is, however, different; many Qq readings which he adopts, without comment, are not as obviously correct as the present one. See *Text. Notes.*—ED.

148. **feare**] For examples of the 'omission of the preposition after certain verbs which may be regarded as transitive,' see ABBOTT, § 200.

149. **S.Iohn**] That the Qq is the correct reading may be seen by comparing

O he hath kept an euill Diet long,
And ouer-much conſum'd his Royall Perſon:
'Tis very greeuous to be thought vpon.
Where is he, in his bed?
Haſt. He is.
Rich. Go you before, and I will follow you.
Exit Haſtings.
He cannot liue I hope, and muſt not dye,
Till *George* be pack'd with poſt-horſe vp to Heauen.
Ile in to vrge his hatred more to *Clarence*,
With Lyes well ſteel'd with weighty Arguments,
And if I faile not in my deepe intent,
Clarence hath not another day to liue:
Which done, God take King *Edward* to his mercy,
And leaue the world for me to buſsle in.
For then, Ile marry Warwickes yongeſt daughter.

150. *an euill*] *on ill* Q_7. *an ill* Q_8.
151. *ouer-much*] *ouermuch* Qq, Cam. + (subs.)
152. *greeuous*] *grieuous* Q_1. *greevous* F_2. *grievous* F_3F_4.
153, 154. *Where...is*] As one line, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Ktly.
153. *Where is he,*] Ff, Rowe,+, Knt. *What is he* Q_{1-3}. (*What!* Q_8.) *Where is he?* Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *What, is he* Q_4 et cet.
154. *He is*] *He is, my Lord* Han.
155. *you*] *yon* Q_3.
158. *poſt-horſe*] *posthorse* Knt, Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. *post-haste* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Huds.
160. *With*] *Which* $Q_8F_3F_4$, Rowe.
164. *buſsle*] *buſſell* Qq. *buſtle* F_4.

I, ii, 40, 46; III, iv, 85; V, iii, 250. More was Holinshed's authority, and thereby, perhaps, Shakespeare's also, for giving this form of oath to Richard, 'by saynt Poule (quod he) I wil not to dinner til I se thy hed of' (p. 73).—ED.

150. **an euill Diet**] 'They thinke that he long time in king Edward's life forethought to be king; in case that the king his brother (whose life he looked that euill diet should shorten) should happen to deceasse while his children were yoong.' —*Holinshed.*—WRIGHT: 'Diet' here denotes generally *mode of life.*

158. **post-horse**] SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 165): [Collier's MS corrector's change] Of 'post-horse' to *posthaste*, we may allow to be an admissible correction of a probable misprint, and therefore possibly right.—DYCE: I believe the old text is right; 'with post-horse'—meaning *with the speediest possible conveyance.*

164. **bussle**] TAWNEY: The expression is an instance of rhetorical understatement. Richard intended to display a *mischievous activity.*

165. **Warwickes yongest daughter**] MALONE: Lady Anne, the widow of Edward Prince of Wales. [See *Dram. Person. s. v.* Anne, l. 39.]—VAUGHAN (iii, 10): This line possesses an interest as contrasting the historical knowledge of Shakespeare writing *Richard III.*, with that of the poet who composed *3 Henry VI.* In that play the wife of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI., is twice erroneously

What though I kill'd her Husband, and her Father, 166

166. *kill'd*] *kild* Qq. *her Father*,] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Sta. *her father!* Wh. i, Ktly. *his father*, Booth. *her father?* Pope et cet.

described as the eldest daughter of Warwick: that is, in II, iii, and in IV, iv; and yet that wife is the 'Warwick's youngest daughter of this scene.

166. **I kill'd her Husband**] 'Sir Richard Crofts . . . brought foorth his prisoner prince Edward, . . . whom when king Edward had aduised, he demanded of him, how he durst so presumptuouslie enter into his realme with banner displaied? Wherevnto the prince boldlie answered, saieng: "To recouer my fathers kingdome & heritage, from his father and grandfather to him, and from him after him to me, lineallie descended." At which words king Edward said nothing, but with his hand thrust him from him, or (as some saie) stroke him with his gantlet; whom incontinentlie, George duke of Clarence, Richard duke of Glocester, Thomas Greie marquesse Dorcet, and William lord Hastings, that stood by, suddenlie murthered.'—Holinshed, *Edward IV.*—WALPOLE (p. 6): A cotemporary names the king's *servants* as perpetrators of this murder: Is not that more probable than that the king's own brothers should have dipped their hands in so foul an assassination? Richard, in particular, is allowed on all hands to have been a brave and martial prince: he had great share in the victory at Tewkesbury. . . . Such men may be carried by ambition to command the execution of those who stand in their way, but are not likely to lend their hand, in cold blood, to a base and, to themselves, useless assassination. How did it import Richard in what manner the young prince was put to death? If he had so early planned the ambitious designs ascribed to him, he might have trusted his brother Edward, so much more immediately concerned, that the young prince would not be spared. If those views did not, as is probable, take root in his heart till long afterwards, what interest had Richard to murder an unhappy young prince? This crime therefore was so unnecessary, and is so far from being established by any authority, that he deserves to be entirely acquitted of it.—GAIRDNER (p. 16): If this was Richard's first heinous crime, it was probably one in which he was only an accessory, or in which, if a principal actor, he received great encouragement from those about him. On the other hand, to suppose him altogether guiltless in this matter is a great violation of all reasonable probability. For however feeble may be the direct evidence of his complicity, it would be absurd to suppose that he either disapproved the act, or was greatly shocked at it.—LEGGE (i, 108): Carte, whom Horace Walpole describes as 'one of the few modern historians who seem not to have swallowed implicitly all the vulgar tales propagated by the Lancastrians to blacken the house of York,' distinctly says that the murder was perpetrated by Dorset and Hastings (*History of England*, ii, 190). If the fact of the murder could be established, they were certainly the most likely agents. What appears least likely is that Richard, the youngest of the four implicated, a lad of eighteen, described as good-natured and obsequious, would, in the presence of his elders, to whom he had always shown deference, execute the royal vengeance and in so doing claim precedence over them. And this is confirmed by Buck, who says [p. 81] he had seen 'in a faithfull Manuscript Chronicle of those times, that the Duke of Gloucester onely of all the great persons, stood still and drew not his sword.' Such an attitude is precisely what we should expect from the young chivalrous knight, who, however willing to strike

The readieſt way to make the Wench amends,
Is to become her Husband, and her Father:
The which will I, not all ſo much for loue,
As for another ſecret cloſe intent,

168. *Is to*] *Is—to* Mal. Steev. Var.

down a foe in fair fight, would not sully his honour by slaying in cold blood a prostrate enemy.—BROOKE: (*Sh. Trans.*, 1880–6, p. 512): It is a total absence of Love, and therefore of conscience, which makes Richard try to do things which to any one who believed in love would seem impossible. No other man would have wooed lady Anne as he does, or asked Elizabeth for her daughter. It is only these wants in Richard which make on his side these scenes natural. [The three lines beginning: 'What though,' etc.] are incredible on the lips of any one who had ever loved. It is only when he has won her that he is astonished; and in the astonishment a faint gleam of belief in the existence of moral right and wrong *for others* comes upon him. 'She has God and her conscience against her.' But this only serves to deepen his scorn of himself and others, and the mixture of bitterness, contempt, and isolation is wonderful in the soliloquy which ends the wooing scene. [This article on *Richard III.* is reprinted in Brooke's volume *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 100, with many slight verbal changes. Any minute discussion of the question of Gloucester's share in this murder is, I think, out of place here—it is sufficient for Shakespeare's purposes that Richard's complicity is mentioned both by Hall and Holinshed; and the question then resolves itself into an enquiry into the historical accuracy of these two chroniclers. In all such historical discussions we must strictly remember that 'The play's the thing,' and that historical accuracy is not the thing.—ED.]

166. **her Father**] WRIGHT: In the battle of Barnet, where Warwick was slain, Richard commanded the vanguard of his brother's army, but the death of Warwick is attributed to one of Edward's soldiers. 'He lept vpon a horse to flie, and comming into a wood where was no passage, one of king Edwards men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.'—*Holinshed*, p. 685.—TAWNEY: I believe 'Father' refers to Henry VI. The word is used in the sense of *father-in-law* in I, iii, 144, and in many other passages.

169. **The which**] See ABBOTT, § 270.

169. **not . . . for loue**] JESSE (*Memor. of Richard III.*, etc., p. 55): May it not have been at Middleham [the establishment of Warwick] in the days of their childhood, that Richard was first inspired by that memorable passion which was destined to triumph over all human opposition, even when Anne Neville had become the betrothed, if not the bride, of another, and which was eventually rewarded by her becoming his wife and queen? [Jesse, in a preceding passage, shows that Richard was sent, as a young boy, to Middleham to be under the supervision of Warwick; and for his military education.—ED.]

170. **secret close intent**] HUDSON: This probably was to get into his hands the son and daughter of Clarence, who had been left in the care of their aunt, Lady Anne, and had succeeded to the large portion of the vast estates of their grandfather, the Earl of Warwick.—WRIGHT: It is not clear how Richard's marriage with Anne could be supposed to favour his plans for obtaining the crown.—WARNER (p. 170): Richard's object in the marriage was twofold: first, to get Anne's enor-

By marrying her, which I muſt reach vnto. 171
But yet I run before my horſe to Market:
Clarence ſtill breathes, *Edward* ſtill liues and raignes,
When they are gone, then muſt I count my gaines. *Exit* 174

Scena Secunda.

171. *By...vnto*] *Which I, by marrying her, must reach unto* Han. *Which I must reach unto by marrying her* Ktly.
marrying] *marring* Q_7.

173. *breathes, ...raignes*] *liues, ...Edward ſtill raignes* Q_7Q_8.
1. Scena Secunda.] Om. (scene continued) Qq.
A Street. Theob. et seq. (subs.)

mous property, and second, perhaps, to unite himself ever so slenderly with the Lancaster family, in preparation for his future assault upon the throne.

172. **But . . . Market**] BARNARD: The notion seems to be that the horse is carrying to market articles for sale, or perhaps is to be sold there itself.

1. **Scena Secunda.**] CAPELL (ii, 174): The action of this scene (that is, the enterrment) is in truth the play's first, according to history; upon which the poet is trespasser six year at least, in making the commitment of Clarence a prior incident: but the step was necessary for the better knitting together this life's enormities, and disposing them into a play; which is done with great artifice, difficulties being considered.—COURTENAY (ii, 66): It is remarkable that Shakespeare, while he introduces Gloucester courting the widowed Anne in the public streets, had not heard the circumstances of the marriage, as related by a contemporary. The Croyland Continuator tells us that Clarence concealed his sister-in-law from the pursuit of Gloucester, but that she was at last discovered in London, in the disguise of a cook-maid, and then placed in sanctuary. Although the marriages of the fifteenth century—perhaps the women of that time—are not to be judged by our present notions, I cannot but regard the marriage of Anne as a material point in the evidence which disproves Gloucester's part in the death of Prince Edward and King Henry.—JESSE (*Memor. of Rich. III.*, p. 101): At the time when the corpse of Henry VI. was on its way to Chertsey, Richard was marching with his brother, King Edward, against the Bastard Falconbridge.—SKOTTOWE (i, 192): Sober criticism will question whether dramatic effect be not lessened by this scene. The confidence of the wooer is inconsistent with his previously expressed opinion, that his assumption of the character of a lover would be preposterous. His surprise at his success pleads guilty, by anticipation, to the objection which might be justly urged against the probability of his preceding conquest.—RICHARDSON (p. 18): In considering this scene, it is necessary that we keep in view the character of Lady Anne. The outlines of this character are given us in her own conversation; but we see it more completely finished and filled up, indirectly indeed, but not less distinctly, in the conduct of Richard. She is represented by Shakespeare of a mind altogether frivolous; incapable of deep affection; guided by no steady principles of virtue, produced or strengthened by reason and reflection; the prey of vanity, which is her ruling passion; susceptible of every

[I. Scena Secunda.]

feeling and emotion; sincere in their expression while they last, but hardly capable of distinguishing the propriety of one more than another; and so, exposed alike to the influence of good and bad impressions. There are such characters: persons of great sensibility, of great sincerity, of no rational or steady virtue, and consequently of no consistency of conduct. They now amaze us with their amiable virtues; and now confound us with apparent vices. Richard, in his management of Lady Anne, having in view the accomplishment of his ambitious designs, addresses her with the most perfect knowledge of her constitution. He knows that her feelings are violent; that they have no foundation in steady determined principles of conduct; that violent feelings are soon exhausted; and that the undecided mind, without choice or sense of propriety, is equally accessible to the next that occur. All that he has to do, then, is to suffer the violence of one emotion to pass away, and then as skilfully as possible to bring another, more suited to his designs, into its place. Thus he not only discovers much discernment of human nature, but also great command of temper and great dexterity of conduct. In order, as soon as possible, to exhaust her temporary grief and resentment, it is necessary that they be swollen and exasperated to their utmost measure. In truth, it is resentment, rather than grief, which she expresses in her lamentation for Henry. Accordingly Richard, inflaming her disorder to its fiercest extreme, breaks in abruptly upon the funeral procession. This stimulates her resentment; it becomes more violent by his appearing altogether cool and unconcerned at her abuse; and thus she vents her emotion in fierce invectives and imprecations. But before the vehemence of her anger can be entirely abated, she must bring home to her fancy every aggravating circumstance, and must ascertain every particular wrong she has suffered. When she has done this, and expressed the consequent feelings, she has no longer any topics or food for anger, and the passion will, of course, subside. Richard, for this purpose, pretends to justify or to extenuate his seeming offences; and thus, instead of concealing his crimes, he overcomes the resentment of Lady Anne by bringing his cruelties into view. This has also the effect of impressing her with the belief of his candour.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 82) is not wholly satisfied with Richardson's estimate of Anne's character, and does not consider that it *is* borne out by her later behaviour. He adds: 'What great interest could this wooing-scene arouse, if we are to consider Anne as wicked, if indeed we regard her as mentally insignificant? I think Shakespeare wishes her to be recognised, both intellectually and morally, as a true daughter of Eve, with the normal weakness, and especially the normal vanity of her sex, no more, no less. "Frailty, thy name is woman." Wherein would lie the great charm of this scene, if Anne be not considered of the ordinary type? The acting of this short part of Anne affords great scope and deep study; I know scarcely any other rôle wherein mere histrionic intuition would be of less avail than here.'—HARTLEY COLERIDGE (ii, 172): 'O *Μακαρίτης*, whose dealings with Shakespeare sometimes remind me of Bentley's Milton, disliked this scene so much that he would not admit it to be of Shakespeare's original conception, though he could not deny that the words, as they stand at present, were of his composition. Of that, indeed, there can be no doubt. Any one of the old writers in such a scene would have been far more gross and offensive. Still it is possible that he borrowed the situation from an older play; and, as it is admirably adapted for acting, to have omitted it would have offended both the audience and the actors.—GERVINUS (i, 377): Not often

[1. Scena Secunda.]

has a task like that of the poet's here been ventured upon, when he produces a scene full of improbability, in which the principal part is played by Anne, whose character is prepared or delineated in no other scene, where, in the most unnatural situation, vanity, self-complacency, and weakness must be displayed in a moment; the part of the Matron of Ephesus in a tragedy, which is, however, neither incredible nor forced. We must, at the same time, bear in view that the murder of her relatives admits of excuse, as among the unavoidable evils of war and defence. We must take into account the extraordinary degree of dissimulation, which deceives even experienced men; and for this reason the artist who is to play Richard must woo indeed, more as an actor than as a lover, but must still go to the very limits of deception even for the initiated spectator. We have further to consider how the part of repentance, and atonement becomes a valiant soldier, and how pardonable is the womanly weakness which delights in the idea of endeavoring to support and save such a penitent; we must remember that the unwonted mildness of the tyrant is three times more effective than the gentleness of the weak. How little Shakespeare scrupled at this scene, he seemed to desire to prove, by repeating it towards the end of the play in Richard's suit with the mother,—his sworn enemy,—for her own daughter.—HUDSON (*Sh.; his Life*, etc., p. 150): This scene is, indeed, far from being the best, or even among the best, in the play; but it combines a remarkable variety of characteristic points, and happily exemplifies Shakespeare's method of diverting off the offensiveness of Richard's acts by the entertainment of his gifts. . . . Lady Anne's seeming levity in yielding to the serpent-flatteries of the wooing homicide is readily forgiven in the sore burden of grief which it entails upon her, in her subdued gentleness to other destined victims, and in the sad resignation with which she forecasts the bitterness of her brief future. Her nature is felt to be all too soft to stand against the crafty and merciless tormentor into whose hand she has given herself.—WARNER (p. 213): To my mind there is one explanation, and one only, of the mental and moral attitude of Lady Anne. Richard was the strong man of his times. Ugly and deformed, still he was a powerful individuality. By sheer force of intellectual strength he dominated and fascinated men as well as women. If by any chance Anne had come under the spell of Richard's magic, winning power, she could easily proceed step by step, from hatred of his crimes and contempt for his person, to admiring his genius, and exulting that even in seeming, the strong man was at her feet. She might not have really believed that her 'beauty was the cause of that effect,' but she must have been moved to hear it so alleged. In other words, Anne was in love with Richard, and all that sparring of the courtship scene is the resistance of one who expects to be captured and desires to be. It must be remembered, of course, that even with such a dissembler as Richard one interview would not accomplish all he achieved. Nearly two years of romantic pursuit, baffled again and again by the jealousy of Clarence, is crowded within the compass of these lines.—LOUNSBURY (p. 188): Voltaire, in order to give to the Marquise du Deffand a full comprehension of the ridiculousness of the pretensions put forth in behalf of Shakespeare, furnished her with a slight sketch of *Richard III.* His account is not so far out of the way, for Voltaire, as might have been anticipated. There are probably in it not more than half a score of instances of errors of fact, or of inference. Voltaire took the special mourner at the funeral of Henry VI. to be the widow of Henry. It required almost a genius for inaccuracy to make this particular mistake, with the text of the original

Enter the Coarſe of Henrie the ſixt with Halberds to guard it, Lady Anne being the Mourner.

Anne. Set downe, ſet downe your honourable load,
If Honor may be ſhrowded in a Herſe;
Whil'ſt I a-while obſequiouſly lament
Th'vntimely fall of Vertuous Lancaſter.
Poore key-cold Figure of a holy King,

2, 3. Enter...Mourner.] Enter Lady Anne, with the hearſe of Harry the 6. Qq. (Laydy Q_3. Henrie the ſixt. Q_7). Enter the Corpse of Henry the Sixth, born in an open Coffin, and slenderly attended: Gentlemen bearing Halberds, with it; and Lady Anne as Mourner. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

4. Anne.] Lady An. Q_1Q_2. Lady Anne Q_{3-6}.

4. *Set.../et*] *Sit.../it* Q_2.

load] *l* Q_1 (Ashbee). *Lord* Qq.

6. *Whil'ſt*] *Whileſt* Q_{2-6}. *Whilſt* Q_7 et cet.

a-while] Ff, Rowe. *awhile* Pope,+, Dyce, Sta. Cam. Huds. Coll. iii, Rlfe. *a while* Cap. et cet.

8. *key-cold*] *key cold* Pope. *clay-cold* Han.

---

before his eyes. Still he accomplished it. Richard is, therefore, represented as wooing, not a young woman, but the fierce Margaret of Anjou, who was actually more than a score of years older than himself. Had Voltaire found in Shakespeare a blunder so gross, there would have been hardly any limit to the delight with which he would have gloated over it, or to the frequency with which he would have called it to the attention of his correspondents and readers.

2. **Halberds**] WRIGHT: This means the same as, *Gentlemen with halberds*, as 'ancient' or 'ensign' is *ensign bearer*, and 'trumpet' signifies *trumpeter*.

4. **Set downe . . . load**] DYCE (*Few Notes*, p. 103): Shakespeare had in his recollection a line at the commencement of a scene in the *Sec. Part of the Troublesome Raigne of King John:* 'Set downe, set downe, the loade not worth your paine.' (Sig. K 4, ed. 1622.) [Is it not a little temerarious to assert positively what Shakespeare had, or had not, in his recollection?—ED.]

5. **If Honor . . . Herse**] To this parenthesis there is one that is possibly similar in Holinshed's account: 'The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueid with billes and glaues pompouslie (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the Church of Saint Paule,' etc.—ED.

6. **obsequiously**] See SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) for other examples of 'obsequious' used as applying to *mourning*.

8. **key-cold**] STEEVENS says: 'A key, on account of the coldness of the metal of which it is composed, was anciently employed to stop any slight bleeding.' He gives as an example, 'It is best you hide your head, for feare your wise braines take key-colde.'—*Satiro-mastix*, Dekker, 1602. This quotation seems hardly to illustrate the explanation, or even to apply to the present passage. MALONE gives, I think, a more apposite and earlier use of the phrase, 'And then in key-cold Lucrece' bleeding stream He falls.'—*Rape of Luc.*, line 1774. KNIGHT finds fault with Steevens's note on the ground that it is 'forced,' and quotes: "'But for Christ and obtaining an interest in him, O how key-cold are they."—Gurnall's *Chris-*

Pale Aſhes of the Houſe of Lancaſter;
Thou bloodleſſe Remnant of that Royall Blood,
Be it lawfull that I inuocate thy Ghoſt,
To heare the Lamentations of poore *Anne*,
Wife to thy *Edward*, to thy ſlaughtred Sonne,
Stab'd by the ſelfeſame hand that made theſe wounds.
Loe, in theſe windowes that let forth thy life,
I powre the helpleſſe Balme of my poore eyes.
O curſed be the hand that made theſe holes:
Curſed the Heart, that had the heart to do it:

11. *Be it*] *Be 't* Pope,+.
– 13. *ſlaughtred*] Q_{3-5}, Ff, Rowe. *ſlaughter'd* Pope,+. *ſlaughtered* Q_1 et cet.
– 14. *hand*] *hands* Qq.
– *wounds*] *holes* Qq.
– 15. *theſe*] *thoſe* Qq.
forth] *foorth* Q_1Q_{3-5}.
16. *Balme*] *blame* Q_5.
– 17. *O curſed*] *Curſt* Qq. *Curs'd* Pope,+ (–Var. '73), Sta. *Cursed* Cam.+.
– *theſe*] *theſe fatall* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+ (–Rlſe). *the fatall* Qq.
– 18. *Curſed*] *Curſt be* Qq. *Curs'd be* Pope,+.
do it] *do 't* Walker (Vers. 79).

---

tian in Complete Armour, a popular work of the seventeenth century.' That 'key-cold' was employed in two senses is shown by MURRAY (*N. E. D.*), who divides the examples of its use under two heads—those referring to *cold in death*, others to *devoid of warmth of feeling; having no zeal or fervour*. Under the first head Murray quotes: '1529 More, Dyaloge II, Works, 185; 2. That body bereth them yet about, sicke and noughty and cay colde as thei be. 1593 Tell Troth's New Year's Gift, 4. Joyning burning Sommer with kea-cold winter.' Under the second heading Murray gives a number of examples extending from 1534 to 1734. Knight's quotation properly belongs, I think, to this second class; and the present line to the first. WRIGHT quotes a passage from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Bk, VI. (ed. Pauli), vol. iii, p. 9: 'For certes there was neuer keie Ne frosen is vpon the walle More inly cold, than I am alle.' Can this possibly furnish a slight reason for taking a key as a standard of coldness, not solely on account, as Steevens says, of the 'coldness of the metal,' but because the large house-key was hung, possibly, near the door, against the cold stones of the wall, and was, therefore, necessarily colder than other objects of iron in the room?—ED.

11. **inuocate**] For two other examples of 'invocate' used in this sense, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

13. **Wife to thy Edward**] See Anne Neville, *Dram. Person.*

15. **windowes . . . life**] TAWNEY: The metaphor is perhaps based upon the superstitious custom of leaving open the window when a person is dying. Compare *King John*, V vii, 29: 'It would not out at windows nor at doors.'

16. **helplesse**] For examples of other adjectives used in active sense, see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 87.

Cnrſed the Blood, that let this blood from hence :
More direfull hap betide that hated Wretch
That makes vs wretched by the death of thee,
Then I can wiſh to Wolues, to Spiders, Toades,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that liues.

19. *Cnrſed*] F_1.
~ *Cnrſed...hence*] Om. Qq, Pope, +.
~ 22. *Wolues, to*] Ff, Rowe, Wh. Rlfe. *adders*, Qq et cet.
23. *venom'd*] *venomde* Qq.

19. **the Blood**] For numerous examples wherein 'blood' may mean *disposition*, or *temper*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

22. **to Wolues . . . Toades**] R. G. WHITE: It has been remarked that the next line shows that the Qq give the true reading, because wolves are not 'creeping things.' If the Folio had merely 'wolves' for *adders*, this reasoning would be good, if not conclusive; but it has 'to wolves, to spiders,' etc., where the repetition of the preposition cuts off the connection which would otherwise exist between 'wolves' and 'creeping venom'd thing,' which refers only to spiders and toads. The change seems clearly to have been made, upon the revision of the play, for the purpose of giving the passage variety of thought and rhythm.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 161): That Shakespeare first thought of Gloucester as like a 'wolf,' seems to be the simplest explanation of this reading of the Folio. Afterwards, on rearranging the sentence, he perhaps placed the amendment in the margin—*to adders* instead of 'to wolves, to'—an emendation that the anonymous editor of the Quarto seems alone to have noticed.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 4) also thinks the Folio reading to be an unfinished correction by Shakespeare, and adds: 'There seems to be nothing to induce another to alter anything. But Shakespeare himself, on reading the passage over, may, perhaps, have observed that, the particular act which calls forth the curse, being one of open violence and not of secret treachery, there is an incongruity in wishing to the actor the fate of "creeping venom'd things," and he may have *meant* to alter it by the substitution of wolves, and noxious creatures of that kind. If it be thought extravagant to suppose that Shakespeare would not have completed the correction when he was about it, inquire of our poets what they do, when they cannot quite make up their minds, on the instant how to finish a passage which they have begun.'—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 82): I regard the reading 'wolves' as confirmatory of the theory, that the Folio (*minus* the corrector's emendations) gives us the play as it was originally composed. I can see no difficulty in supposing that Shakespeare, in the outpour of his invention, wrote down the lines as we have them in the Folio. In fact, I think we want 'wolves' here, as well as 'spiders' and 'toads'—the former, to express the bloodthirsty ferocity of Gloucester, and the latter, to indicate the loathing with which Anne regards him. I consider the correction of the Quarto a deliberate correction, but I am very doubtful whether it is Shakespeare's.

23. **venom'd**] WRIGHT: Compare 'The gilded newt and eyeless venom'd worm,' *Timon*, IV, iii, 182. Similarly *poisoned* is used for *poisonous* in Lyly's *Euphues* (ed. Arber), p. 196: 'Nylus breedeth the precious stone and the poysoned serpent.' [For another familiar example see *Macbeth*, IV, i, 4: 'In the poisoned entrails throw.']

If euer he haue Childe, Abortiue be it,
Prodigeous. and vntimely brought to light,
Whoſe vgly and vnnaturall Aſpect
May fright the hopefull Mother at the view,
And that be Heyre to his vnhappineſſe.
If euer he haue Wife, let her be made
More miſerable by the death of him,
Then I am made by my young Lord, and thee.
Come now towards Chertſey with your holy Lode,
Taken from Paules, to be interred there.
And ſtill as you are weary of this waight,
Reſt you, whiles I lament King *Henries* Coarſe.

24. *Abortiue*] *abrotiue* Q_3.
be it] *be 't* Walker (*Vers.* 79).
–28. *And...vnhappineſſe*] Om. Qq.
–30. *More...the*] *As...as* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
death] *health* Vaughan.
– 31. *young*] *poore* Qq, Cam.+.
32. *towards*] *tow'rds* Pope,+. *toward* Var. '78, '85, Steev. Var.
Chertſey] *Chertley* Q_6. *Cherſey* Q_8.
34 *weary*] *aweary* Q_3. *a wearie* Q_4Q_5.
– 34. *this*] Ff,+, Coll. Wh. i. *the* Qq et cet.
35. *whiles*] *while* Pope,+.
Coarſe] *fate* Daniel.
– 35, 37, 40, 41. *Coarſe*] Q_3-8, Ff,+. *Corſe* Q_2 et cet. (*courſe* Q_4.)
35, 36. *Coarſe.* Enter...] QqFf,+, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Sta. Cam.+. *corſe.* Bearers take up the Corpse and move forward: Enter... Cap. et cet.

---

25. **Prodigeous**] That is, *portentous, monstrous.*

26. **Aspect**] ABBOTT (§ 490) gives numerous examples of the shifting of accent in certain words.

28. **vnhappinesse**] STEEVENS: That is, disposition to mischief. So, in *Much Ado*, I, i, 361: 'Dreamed of unhappiness and waked herself with laughing.' WRIGHT notes that these are the only passages in Shakespeare wherein the word occurs.

30. **death**] SIR WILLIAM BLACKSTONE (*Sh. Soc. Papers*, i, 98) conjectures that we should here read *life*, since, when Anne repeats the curse, IV, i, 86, she says, 'As miserable by the life of thee.' Blackstone was, however, anticipated by Cibber, whose arrangement was first published in 1700, nine years before Rowe's.—ED.

30. **of him**] For other examples of a pronoun used for a pronominal adjective see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 225.

32. **Chertsey**] ORDISH (p. 59): Richard, we may imagine, after watching his brother Clarence pass on towards the fateful Tower, had lingered in Candlewick Street (now Cannon Street), in expectation of the funeral cortege; the destination, Chertsey, suggests that he may have intercepted the procession on its way from the Cathedral to Paul's wharf.—MARSHALL: Chertsey is in Surrey near the Thames, not far below Staines. There was a very ancient Abbey there, having a mitred Abbot with a seat in the House of Lords. The convent buildings have long since been demolished, and only a very few fragments are now remaining.

Enter Richard Duke of Gloſter. 36

Rich. Stay you that beare the Coarſe, & ſet it down.
An. What blacke Magitian coniures vp this Fiend,
To ſtop deuoted charitable deeds?
Rich. Villaines ſet downe the Coarſe, or by S. Paul, 40
Ile make a Coarſe of him that diſobeyes.
Gen. My Lord ſtand backe, and let the Coffin paſſe.
Rich. Vnmanner'd Dogge,
Stand'ſt thou when I commaund:
Aduance thy Halbert higher then my breſt, 45
Or by S. Paul Ile ſtrike thee to my Foote,
And ſpurne vpon thee Begger for thy boldneſſe. 47

36. Enter...Gloſter.] Ff, +. Enter Richard. Cap. Var. '73. Enter Gloſter, *or* Glouceſter. Qq et cet.
– Gloſter] Glocester Q_2.
– 37. Rich.] Glo. Qq (throughout).
– 38. An.] La. Qq. Anne F_4.
Magitian] *Magician* F_3F_4.
39. *deeds?*] *deedes.* Q_2.
– 40. *Villaines*] *Villaine* Qq. *Villains* Ff.
42. *My Lord*] *My L.* Q_3. Om. Q_6.
43, 44. *Vnmanner'd...commaund*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
43. *Vnmanner'd*] *Vnmannerly* Q_8.
– 44. *Stand'ſt*] *ſtand* QqFf et seq.
45. *Halbert*] *halberd* Cap. et seq.
47. *boldneſſe.*] QqFf, +, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Sta. Cam. +. *boldness.* [Corpse set down. Cap. et cet.

---

40. **Villaines**] WRIGHT thinks the Quarto reading may perhaps be the true one, since Richard's speech is 'addressed to the Gentleman in command of the party of halberdiers.' But is not this first speech of Richard's addressed directly to the bearers? Possibly the Quarto reading originated in the similarity in sound between 'Villain set' and 'Villains set.'—See also I, i, 143. Do not these examples prove that the compositors followed the voice of him who read aloud the copy to them?—ED.

41. **Ile . . . disobeyes**] JOHNSON: Compare *Hamlet*, I, iv, 85: 'I'll make a ghost of him that lets me.'

44. **Stand'st thou**] PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 82): As I cannot see that the printer was likely to fall into error here, I am disposed to attribute the reading of the Folio to the corrector. He frequently displays an inability to appreciate the force of a recurrent word, and 'stand'st thou when I command?' furnishes a sufficient sense, if we give to 'stand' the meaning of *withstand, oppose.*

45. **Halbert**] WRIGHT: That is, a kind of pole-axe, or long-handled axe, with a pike attached. In Icelandic *barda* signifies an axe, and Professor Skeat connects the first part of the word with *helm*, a *helve* or *handle*, the form in Middle High German being *helm barte*, or *helbarte*. It may be that the Icelandic *barda* is derived from the Middle High German *barta*, a broad axe, and as this in Old High German is *parta*, it is also possible that 'halberd' and *partisan*, as they denote similar weapons, may be etymologically connected.

47. **spurne vpon**] WRIGHT says: 'Elsewhere in Shakespeare "spurn" is fol-

Anne. What do you tremble? are you all affraid? 48
Alas, I blame you not, for you are Mortall,
And Mortall eyes cannot endure the Diuell. 50
Auant thou dreadfull minifter of Hell;
Thou had'ft but power ouer his Mortall body,
His Soule thou canft not haue: Therefore be gone.
Rich. Sweet Saint, for Charity, be not fo curft.
An. Foule Diuell, 55
For Gods fake hence, and trouble vs not,
For thou haft made the happy earth thy Hell:
Fill'd it with curfing cries, and deepe exclaimes:
If thou delight to view thy heynous deeds,
Behold this patterne of thy Butcheries. 60

48. *tremble?*] *tremble*, Qq.
- 51. *Auant*] Q_{3-8}Ff,+. *Auaunt* Q_1 et cet.
dreadfull] *fearefull* Q_6.
53. *haue*] *hurt* Han.
- 55, 56. *Foule...not*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
55. *Diuell*] *dev'l* Pope,+.
56. *and*] Om. Pope,+.
59. *heynous*] *hainous* QqF$_4$, Rowe i. *heinous* F$_3$ et cet.

lowed by *at* or *against*.' According to Bartlett's *Concordance*, Shakespeare uses 'spurn' or 'spurned' thirty-three times: in eight cases with the preposition *at*, and once each with *against* and *upon*. As an example of the construction 'spurn on,' Wright quotes: 'She had on suche a chaunce sporned That all her mod [disposition] was overtorned.'—Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Bk. IV (ed. Pauli), vol. ii, p. 44.

49. **you are Mortall**] Are we to infer from this that Anne considers herself *divine*? she is not only able to bear the sight of Richard, but even to command him to depart.—ED.

50. **Mortall eyes**] BARNARD: Shakespeare probably means us to understand that Richard possessed the power of *fascination* through the evil eye, a faculty conferred upon him by a compact with the devil. [Previous to this note in his edition of this play, Barnard had written an article (*N. & Q.*, 23d May, 1896, p. 402) on *Richard III. and the Evil Eye;* therein he presents as proofs of Shakespeare's intention a number of passages from the play wherein allusions to 'sight,' 'eyes,' 'devil,' occur. Barnard's remarks will be found under the passages to which they directly refer.—ED.]

54. **curst**] That is, *shrewish*, as in Shakespeare *passim*.

55. **Diuell**] For instances of monosyllabic pronunciation of certain words composed of two short syllables, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 64, or GUEST, p. 52.

58. **exclaimes**] Compare IV, iii, 139; *Rich. II:* I, ii, 2; *Tro. & Cress.*, V, iii, 91; and *Tit. And.*, IV, i, 86. For other examples of like forms, see ABBOTT, § 451.

60. **patterne**] WRIGHT: Compare 'Thou cunning'st pattern of excelling nature,' *Othello*, V, ii, 11. And, 'That peerlesse paterne of Dame Natures pride,' *Faerie Queene*, IV, vi, 24.

Oh Gentlemen, ſee, ſee dead *Henries* wounds,
Open their congeal'd mouthes, and bleed afreſh.
Bluſh, bluſh, thou lumpe of fowle Deformitie:
For 'tis thy preſence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty Veines where no blood dwels.
Thy Deeds inhumane and vnnaturall,
Prouokes this Deluge moſt vnnaturall.
O God! which this Blood mad'ſt, reuenge his death:
O Earth! which this Blood drink'ſt, reuenge his death.
Either Heau'n with Lightning ſtrike the murth'rer dead:

62. *afreſh*] *a-freſh* F_3F_4, Rowe i.
65. *where ... dwels*] *whence ... wells* Warb. conj.
66. *Deeds*] Ff,+. *deed* Qq et cet.
67. *Prouokes*] *Provoke* F_4,+.
68. *mad'ſt*] *madeſt* Q_{1-3}.
70. *Either*] *Or* Pope,+ (—Var.'73). *Either*, Cap.
Heau'n] *heauen* Qq. *heaven*, Cap. et seq.
murth'rer] *murtherer* Cap. Knt. *murderer* Var.'78 et cet.

62. **Open . . . bleed afresh**] Referring to the belief that a murdered body will bleed afresh in the presence of the murderer. CHURCHILL (p. 223) says this 'reference to the reopening of Henry's wounds rests upon Holinshed's account of Henry's burial (derived from Warkworth); there is no mention of the fact in Hall.' The widespread belief in this superstition is attested by the numerous examples of its mention by earlier authors. STEEVENS quotes a remark by TOLLET that 'this opinion seems to be derived from the ancient Swedes, or Northern nations from whom we descend; for they practised this method of trial in dubious cases, as appears from Pitt's *Atlas, in Sweden*, p. 20.' See GREY, ii, 53, or KNIGHT (*Historical Notes*, at end of play) for an account of a trial wherein this belief was used to testify against a murderer. REED cites King James's *Demonologie*, ed. 1608, p. 422, as having a reference to this superstition. WRIGHT refers to Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth* where the body of Proudfute is exposed in the church of St. John for the purpose of applying this test for the discovery of his slayer. He cites also Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (Bohn's Antiq. Library), iii, 229.—ED.

64. **exhales**] WRIGHT: That is, *draws forth*. Shakespeare always uses the word in this sense, as when he speaks of 'some meteor that the sun exhales' (*Rom. & Jul.*, III, v, 13), connecting the latter part of the word with the English *hale*, and not with the Latin *halare*, to breathe. In the inflated language of Pistol, *Hen. V:* II, i, 66, exhale is simply draw [*sc.* a sword]: 'The grave doth gape and doting death is near, Therefore exhale.'

69. **Earth . . . drink'st**] TAWNEY: Compare *Genesis*, iv, 2, 'the ground which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand'; and *1 Hen. IV:* I, i, 5, 6: 'No more the thirsty entrance of this soil Shall daub her lips with her own children's blood.' There is a still bolder figure in *3 Henry VI:* II, iii, 23: 'Then let the earth be drunken with our blood.' [See also IV, iii, 32, 33, of this play.—ED.]

70. **Either**] For examples of monosyllabic pronunciation of certain disyllables ending in *-ther*, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 103.

Or Earth gape open wide, and eate him quicke, 71
As thou doſt ſwallow vp this good Kings blood,
Which his Hell-gouern'd arme hath butchered.
Rich. Lady, you know no Rules of Charity,
Which renders good for bad, Bleſſings for Curſes. 75
An. Villaine, thou know'ſt nor law of God nor Man,
No Beaſt ſo fierce, but knowes ſome touch of pitty.
Rich. But I know none, and therefore am no Beaſt.
An. O wonderfull, when diuels tell the truth!
Rich. More wonderfull, when Angels are ſo angry: 80
Vouchſafe (diuine perfection of a Woman)

71. *Earth*] *Earth*, F_3F_4 et seq.
72. *doſt*] *doeſt* Q_{1-5}. *didſt* Q_6.
73. *his*] *this* F_3F_4.
74. *Rules*] *rule* Q_7Q_8.
75. *renders*] *render* Q_7Q_8.
76. *nor law*] Ff,+, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *no law* Qq et cet.
81. *Vouchſafe*] *Voutſafe* Q_1.

71. **Earth . . . quicke**] WRIGHT: There is probably a reference here to *Number*, sxvi, 30: 'But if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them up, with all that appertain unto them, and they go down quick into the pit; then ye shall understand that those men have provoked the Lord.' [Compare *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke:* 'Maie that ground gape and swallow me alive.' *Sh. Soc. Reprint*, p. 122.—ED.]

73. **butchered**] WRIGHT: It is worth while to draw attention, once for all, to the unusual number of instances in this play in which the participial termination *-ed* is accentuated. [A noteworthy reminder. No one who has pondered over every syllable of this play, for the purposes of collation, can fail to be struck with this peculiarity.—ED.]

74–76. **you . . . thou**] See ABBOTT, § 233, and compare III, ii, 137, 138.

77. **but knowes**] For examples of omission of subject in relative clauses, following 'but,' see ABBOTT, § 123.

77. **touch**] That is, *sensation, feeling*. For other examples, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.* 4).

78. **But . . . no Beast**] Richard's reasoning seems to be that if to know some trace of pity be the mark of a beast, inasmuch as he does not show that mark he cannot be a beast. Anne's next remark applies to the first part of his speech; she hardly hears its ending.—ED.

81. **Vouchsafe (diuine perfection of a Woman)**, etc.] RICHARDSON (p. 22): Here also we may observe the application of those flatteries and apparent obsequiousness, which, if they cannot take effect at present, otherwise than to give higher provocation, yet when her wrath subsides, will operate in a different direction, and tend to excite that vanity which is the predominant disposition of her mind, and by means of which he will accomplish his purpose. It was not alone sufficient to provoke her anger and her resentment to the utmost, in order that they might immediately subside; but, by alleging apparent reasons for change of sentiment, to assist them in their decline. Though Lady Anne possesses no decided, determined virtue, yet her moral nature, uncultivated as it appears, would

Of theſe ſuppoſed Crimes, to giue me leaue 82
By circumſtance, but to acquit my ſelfe.
An. Vouchſafe (defus'd infection of man) 84

82. *ſuppoſed Crimes*] Ff, +, Knt, Wh. i, Huds. Rlfe. *ſuppoſed euills* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
83. *acquit*] *acquite* Qq.
84. *Vouchſafe*] *Voechſafe* Q_2.
defus'd] Qq, Cam.+. *diffuſ'd* F_3F_4 et cet.
-- *man*] *a man* Qq,Ff et seq.

discern impropriety in her conduct; would suggest scruples, and so produce hesitation. Now, in order to prevent the effect of these, it was necessary to aid the mind in finding subterfuge or excuse, and thus assist her in the pleasing business of imposing upon herself. Her seducer accordingly endeavours to gloss his conduct, and represents himself as less criminal than she at first apprehended.—BOAS (p. 151): The whole process of this wooing is a masterpiece, and a cardinal illustration of Richard's methods. With complete confidence in his powers he makes no attempt to smooth away difficulties, but lays siege to Anne under what seem wantonly unfavourable conditions. Dissimulation as a fine art cannot go further than in this scene, and Richard may well, as soon as Anne's back is turned, break into ecstatic self-congratulations.—MACREADY (p. 142): 'Macready's courtship of Lady Anne, though by no means the most successful of his scenes, is, nevertheless, deserving of particular mention for one reason. That reason is that it was conducted in a spirit of assumed sincerity, and with a total disregard of those sarcastic touches which tell so well in the acting, while they detract from the consistency of Richard's dissimulation.'—J. Haines in *Morning Chronicle*, London, 26 October, 1819.

82. **supposed Crimes**] R. G. WHITE: If *evils* were the original word, the change was evidently made with intention, and is a great improvement; for it opposes *known evils* to *supposed crimes;* and the evils which Anne actually suffered, and for which she claims the right to curse, were the direct consequence of crimes which Richard calls 'supposed.' By the change, too, Shakespeare freed the line of a superfluous and harmful syllable in a part of the verse in which he solicitously avoided irregularity.

84. **defus'd**] JOHNSON: I believe 'diffus'd' in this place signifies *irregular, uncouth;* such is its meaning in other passages of Shakespeare.—STEEVENS: It may mean, 'thou that art as dangerous as a pestilence, that infects the air by its diffusion.' It may, however, mean *irregular*. So, in *Merry Wives:* 'rush at once With some diffused song,' IV, iv, 54. Again in Greene's *Farewell to Follie*, 1617: 'I haue seene an English gentleman so defused in his sutes; his doublet being for the weare of Castile, his hose for Venice.' [p. 253; ed. Grosart. See also *Hen. V:* V, ii, 61: 'defused attire and everything that seems unnatural.'] —R. G. WHITE: I suspect that 'defus'd' is a misprint for an epithet antithetical to 'divine' in Richard's speech. If '*deprav'd* infection of a man' had been found in any old copy, I think that it would have been adopted without question.—WRIGHT: 'Defus'd infection' is a phrase coined to match 'divine perfection,' and the play upon words was more aimed at by the writer than their appropriateness. 'Defused' is properly *disordered* and must here mean *shapeless*.—WEBB: The word 'defus'd' would have more point if taken, not from *di-*, in various directions, and *fusus*, poured, but in the sense of *decocted*, giving the prefix *de-* its usual sense of

Of theſe knowne euils, but to giue me leaue
By circumſtance, to curſe thy curſed Selfe.
Rich. Fairer then tongue can name thee, let me haue
Some patient leyſure to excuſe my ſelfe.
An. Fouler then heart can thinke thee,
Thou can'ſt make no excuſe currant,
But to hang thy ſelfe.
Rich. By ſuch diſpaire, I ſhould accuſe my ſelfe.
An. And by diſpairing ſhalt thou ſtand excuſed,
For doing worthy Vengeance on thy ſelfe,
That did'ſt vnworthy ſlaughter vpon others.
Rich. Say that I ſlew them not.

– 85. *Of*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *For* Qq et cet.
86. *curſe*] *accuse* Spedding.
89–91. *Fouler.../ſelfe*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. Two lines, ending *make.../ſelfe* Qq et cet.
89. *heart*] *art* Knt i.
90, 91. *currant, But to...*] *that will be currant, Unleſs thou...* Rowe, Pope, Han.
92. *diſpaire*] *deſpaire* $Q_1Q_2F_2$. *diſpare* Q_4Q_5. *deſpair* F_3F_4.
93. *diſpairing*] *deſpairing* Q_1Ff. *diſparing* Q_{3-5}.
–ſhalt] *ſhouldſt* Qq, Cam.+, Huds.
95. *That*] *Which* Qq, Sta. Cam. Globe.
did'ſt] *diddeſt* Q_4Q_5.
96. *not.*] Q_1Q_{3-8},Ff,+. *not?* Q_2 et cet.
96, 97. As one line, Steev. et seq.

from. The whole phrase would then mean 'essence of poison,' as if she looked upon Richard as some refinement or quintessence of villainy.—BARNARD: 'Infection' is a word regularly used of the 'evil eye.' [See note on line 50; compare also l. 168.]

85. **euils**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 6): I suppose it was for the sake of the metre that 'evils' was not changed to *crimes* in this line [see *Text. Notes*, l. 82]. It could not have been done without some further alteration; and as the necessary alteration could have involved no difficulty for the author, it must be admitted to be more like the work of a corrector who was not the author; although the corrector of this play, whoever he was, has shown himself quite capable of dealing with such a difficulty.

88. **patient leysure**] Compare, for a somewhat similar construction, 'At your kind'st leisure,' *Macbeth*, II, i, 24; and: 'At your best leisure,' *Jul. Cæs.*, III, i, 5.—ED.

90. **currant**] That is, *genuine*, in the same sense as the word is now applied to money.

93. **dispairing . . . excused**] SEYMOUR: This argument is urged to Cromwell in the Introduction to the famous pamphlet, *Killing No Murder:* 'Let this consideration arm and fortify your highness's mind against the fears of death and the terrors of an evil conscience, that the good you shall do by your death will, in some sort, atone for the evils of your life.'

96–100. **Say that . . . slaine . . . I did not . . . aliue**] For other examples of apparent Alexandrines with trimeter couplets, see ABBOTT, § 500.

An. Then ſay they were not ſlaine:
But dead they are, and diuelliſh ſlaue by thee.
Rich. I did not kill your Husband.
An. Why then he is aliue.
Rich. Nay, he is dead, and ſlaine by Edwards hands.
An. In thy ſoule throat thou Ly'ſt,
Queene *Margaret* ſaw
Thy murd'rous Faulchion ſmoaking in his blood:
The which, thou once didd'ſt bend againſt her breſt,
But that thy Brothers beate aſide the point.
Rich. I was prouoked by her ſland'rous tongue,
That laid their guilt, vpon my guiltleſſe Shoulders.
An. Thou was't prouoked by thy bloody minde,
That neuer dream'ſt on ought but Butcheries:
Did'ſt thou not kill this King?

97. *Then...ſlaine*] *Why then they are not dead* Qq, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
99, 100. As one line, Steev. et seq.
101. *hands*] Ff,+. *hand* Qq et cet.
102, 103. *In...ſaw*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
102. *ſoule*] *soul's* Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13.
Ly'ſt] Ff,+, Cap. Var. Mal. *li'st* Wh. i. *lieſt* Qq et cet. (subs.)
103. Margaret] Marg'ret Pope,+.
104. *murd'rous*] Ff,+. *bloudy* Q_1Q_2. *bloodly* Q_{3-6}. *bloody* Q_7. *murth'rous* Wh. i. *murtherous* Rlfe. *murderous* Var. '73 et cet.
Faulchion] *falchion* Coll. et seq.
106. *thy*] *my* Q_7.
Brothers] *brother* Q_{3-5}.
107. *prouoked*] *provok'd* F_4.
ſland'rous] *ſlaunderous* Q_{1-3}. *ſlanderous* Q_4Q_5, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Cam.
108, 110. *That*] *Which* Qq, Mal. Sta. Cam. Taw. Webb, Barn.
108. *their*] *her* Q_7.
110. *dream'ſt*] Ff, Rowe, Knt. *dreamt* Qq et cet.
ought] QqFf, Rowe, Pope, Han. Cap. *aught* Theob. et cet.
111, 112. *Did'ſt...ye.*] As one line, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Huds.
111. *King?*] *king.* Q_1.

---

99. **I . . . your Husband]** See note on I, i, 166; or JESSE (*Mem. of King Rich.*), p. 85 et seq.

101. **by Edwards hands]** WRIGHT: In *3 Hen. VI:* V, v, Edward, Clarence, and Richard all stab the young prince.

104. **Faulchion]** SKEAT (*Dict.*): This word may have been really taken from the French *fauchon*, and afterwards altered to *falchion* by the influence of the Italian or Low Latin *falci*, crude form of *falx*, a sickle.

105, 106. **The which . . . the point]** See *3 Hen. VI:* V, v, 41–43.

105. **bend]** That is, *direct, aim.* For numerous examples of this use of 'bend,' see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*). WRIGHT quotes Stow's *Annales* (ed. 1580, p. 1082) '. . . the next morning, he bent seauen great peeces of Ordinance Culuerings, and Demi Canons, against the foote of the Bridge.'—TAWNEY calls attention to a similar use of Lat. *tendo.*

Rich. I graunt ye.
An. Do'ſt grant me Hedge-hogge,
Then God graunt me too
Thou may'ſt be damned for that wicked deede,
O he was gentle, milde, and vertuous.
Rich. The better for the King of heauen that hath him.
An. He is in heauen, where thou ſhalt neuer come.

112. *I graunt*] *I did, I grant* Marshall.
ye] *yea* Q_1Q_2. *yee* Q_{3-5}. *ye, yea* Ritson.
113, 114. *Do'ſt...too*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
113. *Hedge-hogge,*] *hedge-hog?* Pope et seq.
115. *damned*] *damnd* Q_1Q_2.
117. *better*] Ff, Rowe. *fitter* Qq et cet.

112. **I graunt ye**] 'He slewe with his owne handes king Henry the sixt, being prisoner in the tower, as menne constantly saye, and that without commaundmente or knoweledge of the king . . . '—*More*, p. 9.—"The occasion of the murder of Henry VI. hath no other proof but the malitious affirmation of one man; for many other men more truly did suppose that he died of mere grief and melancholy, when he heard the overthrow of his cause and friends, with the slaughter of the prince his son: and Johannes Majerus saith it was reported, King Henry VI. died of grief and thought.'—*Buck*, bk, iii, 81.—WESSELS (p. 13): It appears that the murder of Henry is imputed to Richard more upon vague reports than any sufficient ground, and, moreover, it seems difficult to explain why Richard should have committed so foul a deed from which he could not derive any advantage for himself. Edward and even Clarence were much more interested in it. According to Shakespeare, Richard is concerned in the death because Henry stands between him and the crown, but in reality there is no proof whatever, not even any probability, that Richard should have begun to covet the crown as early as King Henry's death.

113. **Hedge-hogge**] TAWNEY gives as a reason for Anne's use of this epithet that 'the hedge-hog was an ill-omened beast,' but was it not also the *hump-backed* appearance of that animal which suggested its application to 'crook-backed Richard.' And may there not be also a subaudition of Richard's crest? See I, iii, 237.—ED.

117. **The better . . . him**] STEEVENS: Compare *Pericles*, IV, i, 10: 'I'll do 't: but yet she is a goodly creature. The fitter then the gods should have her.'—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 158): 'So much the better is it for the King of Heaven who has him,' replies Gloucester in frivolous mockery of the praise which Anne has given to the dead King. But the Anonymous Corrector, by changing this to *the fitter*, weakens and anticipates, by this tautology, a thought amplified by Gloucester in his next speech: 'he was fitter for that place than earth.' [Might not 'the better' refer to King Henry?—ED.]

118. **heauen . . . come**] There is a curious resemblance between this line and some lines in a Scottish ballad, *The Daemon Lover:* '"O yon are the hills of Heaven" he said "Where you will never win."'—CHILD, pt. viii, p. 360, where the editor says that this ballad was first published in Scott's *Minstrelsy*, 5th Edition, 1812.—ED.

Rich. Let him thanke me, that holpe to ſend him thither :
For he was fitter for that place then earth.
An. And thou vnfit for any place, but hell.
Rich. Yes one place elſe, if you will heare me name it.
An. Some dungeon.
Rich. Your Bed-chamber.
An. Ill reſt betide the chamber where thou lyeſt.
Rich. So will it Madam, till I lye with you.
An. I hope ſo.
Rich. I know ſo. But gentle Lady *Anne*,
To leaue this keene encounter of our wittes,

119. *holpe*] *help'd* Pope,+. *holp* Cap. Var. '73 et seq.
123. *you*] *ye* Q_{3-5}.
124, 125. As one line, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Huds.
dungeon.] *dungeon, perhaps.* Steev. conj.
125. *Bed-chamber*] *bedchamber* Q_1Q_2.
127. *till*] F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '73. *'till* F_2 et cet.
128, 129. *I hope*...Anne] QqFf,+, Cap. Var. Mal. Knt, Sta. As one line, Steev. et cet.
129. *I*] *And I* Han.
ſo. But] *ſo, but* Qq.
130. *keene*] Q_1. *kinde* Qq (subs.)
our] *your* Q_7Q_8.

119. **holpe**] WRIGHT: This form, both of the preterite and the participle, is the more common in Shakespeare.

129. **But . . . Anne**] RICHARDSON (p. 26): Richard was well aware that a declaration of love from him would, of course, renew her indignation. He accordingly manages her mind in such a manner as to soften its violence, by suggesting the idea of his passion, in the part of the dialogue containing, in his language, the 'keen encounter of their wits,' as a matter not altogether serious; and afterwards when he announces it more seriously, by mentioning it, as it were, by chance and indirectly. Still, however, with those precautions to introduce the thought with an easy and familiar appearance, it must excite violent indignation. Here, therefore, as in the former part of the scene, he must have recourse to the same command of temper, and of the same means of artfully irritating her emotion, till it entirely subsides. Accordingly, he adheres without deviation to his plan; he persists in his adulation; provokes her anger to its utmost excess; and, finally, by varying the attitudes of his flatteries, by assuming an humble and suppliant address, he subdues and restores her soul to the ruling passion. In the close of the dialogue the decline of her emotion appears distinctly traced. It follows the same course as the passion she expresses in the beginning of the scene. She is at first violent; becomes more violent; her passion subsides; yet, some ideas of propriety wandering across her mind, she makes an effort to recall her resentment. The effort is feeble; it only enables her to express contempt in her aspect; and at last she becomes the prey of her vanity. In the concluding part of the dialogue she does not, indeed, directly comply with the suit of Richard, but indicates plainly that total change in her disposition which it was his purpose to produce.

130. **To leaue . . . wittes**] THE COWDEN-CLARKES: The dialogue here in its

And fall ſomething into a ſlower method. 131
Is not the cauſer of the timeleſſe deaths
Of theſe *Plantagenets*, *Henrie* and *Edward*,
As blamefull as the Executioner.
An. Thou was't the cauſe, and moſt accurſt effect. 135

131. *ſomething*] Ff,+, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *ſomewhat* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
132. *timeleſſe*] *teem-leſſe* Q_4.
134. *Executioner.*] Q_1. *executioner?* QqFf et seq.
135. *was't*] F_2F_3. *art* Qq, Cam. Globe, Taw. Webb. *waſt* F_4 et cet.
and] *of that* Edwards (Supplement, Canons of Crit.)
effect] *th'effect* Han. Huds.

---

smartness of retort and brisk interchange of repartee partakes much of the style of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which is confirmatory of our opinion respecting the early date at which the present play was written.—LLOYD: I doubt whether the exact extent to which it is true that the lady's retorts had ceased to be expressions of living hate and indignation can be truly appreciated in reading, or otherwise than as heard with the natural emphasis that they command for themselves when spoken and with the gestures visible that they inspire in an accomplished and sensitive performer. It is not that the poet leaves blanks and vacancies to be filled up by actors, adding to the delineation somewhat of their own which the words do not define and prescribe for them, but that there is some histrionic illustration prescribed by the words which only makes itself felt, and breaks forth into expression in the heat and urgency of actual realization. It was for the actual scene that the plays were written, and the conveniences of readers are forgotten and sacrificed while security is taken against undue exaggeration there. [This note by LLOYD seems almost to have been written in answer to LAMB in his Essay *On the Tragedies of Shakespeare:* 'It may seem a paradox, but I cannot help being of opinion that the plays of Shakespeare are less calculated for performance on a stage than those of almost any dramatist whatever. Their distinguishing excellence is a reason that they should be so. There is so much in them which comes not under the province of acting, with which eye, and tone, and gesture, have nothing to do.'—*Works*, iii, 20.—ED.]

130. **our**] The reading of Q_1 *your* might possibly have occurred through the resemblance of the written f in 'of,' to *y*. In general, Q_1 follows Q_5.

131. **something**] For other examples of 'something,' see WALKER, *Crit.* i, 222.

131. **slower**] STEEVENS: As *quick* was put for *spritely*, so 'slower' was put for *serious*. In the next scene Lord Grey desires the Queen to 'cheer his grace with quick and merry words.'

132. **timelesse**] WRIGHT: This appears to have been a favourite word with Shakespeare in his early days, for it occurs in *Lucrece*, [l. 44] and in those plays which must be referred to this first period of his career.

135. **cause . . . effect**] WARBURTON: 'Effect' for executioner. He asks was not the causer as ill as the executioner? She answers, thou wast both. But, for *causer*, using the word 'cause,' this led her to the word 'effect,' for *execution*, 'executioner.' But Hanmer will make a fine oratorical period of it. [See *Text. Notes.*]—JOHNSON: I cannot but be rather of Hanmer's opinion than Warburton's,

Rich. Your beauty was the cauſe of that effect: 136
Your beauty, that did haunt me in my ſleepe,
To vndertake the death of all the world,
So I might liue one houre in your ſweet boſome.
An. If I thought that, I tell thee Homicide, 140
Theſe Nailes ſhould rent that beauty from my Cheekes.

137. *that*] Ff, Rowe,+, Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. *which* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.

139. *liue*] *reſt* Qq. *lie* Lettsom ap. Dyce ii.
one] *that* Q_5.

141. *rent*] Ff. *rend* Qq et cet.

---

because effect is used immediately in its common sense, in answer to this line.—CAPELL: 'Thou wast the *causer*, and most accurs'd *effecter*' of the deaths above mention'd. Thus interpreted, the execration is direct gainst her enemy's person; and that it might be so, was probably the temptation for putting a constraint, which is us'd presently as it ought: was it so in this place (as it is made by an alteration contended for) [see *Text. Notes*] there seems something of impropriety, if not absurdity, in the epithet's application.—STEEVENS: I believe the obvious sense is the true one. So in the *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1608: 'thou art cause, Effect, quality, property; thou, thou, thou' [p. 281, col. *a*. Folio 1685]. Again, Sidney's *Arcadia*, Bk, ii: 'Both cause, effect, beginning, and the ende Are all in me' [p. 241 *vers.* 1590; ed. Sommers.]—THE COWDEN-CLARKES: That is: Thou wast the cause and this was thy 'most accurs'd effect'; 'effect' being here used for *deed*, or that which was effected.—MARSHALL: 'Effect' has here the meaning of agent somewhat as in expressions like: 'I'll be the death of him.' The word 'effect' is used because of its occurrence in the next line, in order to make a sort of antithesis between the two speeches.—VAUGHAN (iii, 13): I think that 'effect' means the immediate effect of the first cause, and the immediate cause of the final effect—in fact, the *second* cause, or, as Shakespeare calls it sometimes, 'the second means.' 'Effect' has elsewhere this sense of *direct second cause*, as in *Tro. & Cress.*, V, iii, 108: 'Words, words, mere words, no matter from the heart, The effect doth operate another way.' SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) interprets 'effect' as here meaning *performance, realization*, the abstract for the concrete.—WRIGHT: It is difficult in such a quibbling dialogue to attach very strict meanings to the words employed. 'Cause and effect' would seem to be used as a comprehensive phrase to denote the whole of any action from beginning to end, and Anne perhaps means to imply that the murder of Henry and his son was altogether the work of Richard, who was both prompter and executioner. We have other instances of this play upon words in *Hamlet*, II, ii, 101–103.

140. **Homicide**] According to MURRAY (*N. E. D.*), this word is applied both to the act and to the agent, among early writers, in about equal proportion; Shakespeare uses it, however, in reference to the agent only. Compare *Macbeth*, III, i, 32, where 'parricide' is used for the act.—ED.

141. rent] WRIGHT: This is the frequent form of the word [rend] in the Authorised Version of 1611, although in modern editions it is only found in *Jeremiah*, iv, 30: 'Though thou rentest thy face with painting.' It occurs several times in Shakespeare.

Rich. Theſe eyes could not endure ẏ beauties wrack,
You ſhould not blemiſh it, if I ſtood by;
As all the world is cheared by the Sunne,
So I by that: It is my day, my life.
An. Blacke night ore-ſhade thy day, & death thy life.
Rich. Curſe not thy ſelfe faire Creature,
Thou art both.
An. I would I were, to be reueng'd on thee.
Rich. It is a quarrell moſt vnnaturall,
To be reueng'd on him that loueth thee.
An. It is a quarrell iuſt and reaſonable,
To be reueng'd on him that kill'd my Husband.
Rich. He that bereft the Lady of thy Husband,
Did it to helpe thee to a better Husband.
An. His better doth not breath vpon the earth.
Rich. He liues, that loues thee better then he could.
An. Name him.
Rich. *Plantagenet.*
An. Why that was he.
Rich. The ſelfeſame name, but one of better Nature.
An. Where is he?
Rich. Heere: *Spits at him.*

142. *not*] *neuer* Qq, Cam. Taw.
ẏ] *ſweet* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Cam. Taw. Barn. *that* F_3F_4 et cet.
wrack] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i, Wh. i, Rlfe. *wreck* Theob. ii et cet.
143. *it*] *them* Qq.
146. *ore-ſhade*] *ouerſhade* Qq. *o're-ſhade* F_3F_4.
147, 148. *Curſe...both*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
149. *reueng'd*] *reuengde* Q_{3-5}.
151. *reueng'd*] *reuengde* Q_4Q_5.
thee] *you* Qq, Cam.+.
153. *kill'd*] *ſlew* Qq, Sta. Cam. Globe, Taw.
154. *the*] F_2F_3. *thee* Qq, F_4 et cet.
156. *breath*] Qq, Cap. *breathe* Ff et cet.
157. *He*] *Go too, he* Qq (subs.)
thee] *you* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+.
158–160. *Name...he*] One line, Steev. et seq,
162–164. *Where ... me*] One line, Steev. et seq.
162. *he?*] *he.* Q_2.
163, 164. *Heere: ...me.*] One line, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal.
163. Rich.] Om. F_2.
Spits...] She ſpitteth... Qq (after *he.* line 162, Q_1).

163. **Spits at him**] SEYMOUR: This indelicate action Rosalind was not ashamed either to commit or tell us of. [*As You Like It*, III, ii, 438.]—BARNARD (See note l. 50 *supra*): Anne spits to avert the 'infection' of the *evil eye*. Spitting was believed to be a preventive against fascination, as against other forms of danger or ill luck. [This is not the usual form of stage-direction, in a prompter's copy. It is not mandatory, but descriptive.—ED.]

Why doſt thou ſpit at me.
An. Would it were mortall poyſon, for thy ſake.
Rich. Neuer came poyſon from ſo ſweet a place.
An. Neuer hung poyſon on a fowler Toade.
Out of my ſight, thou doſt infect mine eyes.
Rich. Thine eyes (ſweet Lady) haue infected mine.
An. Would they were Baſiliskes, to ſtrike thee dead.
Rich. I would they were, that I might dye at once:

164. *thou*] Om. Q_7Q_8.
me.] *mee?* Qq. *him?* Q_8.
165. *Would*] '*Would* Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly.
166. *a*] Om. Rowe i.
167. *fowler*] *fouler* Ff.
168. *mine*] *my* Qq, Cam.+.
170. *Would*] '*Would* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Ktly.

165. **mortall poyson**] GREY (ii, 56): An allusion probably to the Sultan of Cambaya, who did eat poison from his cradle, and was of that poisonous nature that when he was determined to put any nobleman to death, he had him stript naked, spit upon him, and he instantly died.

167. **poyson . . . Toade**] 'All manner of toads, both of the earth and water are venomous, although it be held that the toads of the earth are more poysonful than the toads of the water . . . But the toads of the land, which do descend into the marishes, and so live in both elements, are most venomous, and the hotter the country is the more full are they of poyson.'—Topsel, p. 730.

170. **Basiliskes**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): A fabulous reptile, also called a *cockatrice*, alleged to be hatched by a serpent from a cock's egg; ancient authors stated that its hissing drove away all other serpents, and that its breath, and even its look, was fatal. So called, says Pliny, from a spot resembling a crown on its head; mediæval authors furnished it with 'a certain combe or coronet.' ['There is some question amongst writers about the generation of this serpent [the Cockatrice, or Basilisk]: for some affirm him to be brought forth of a cock's egg . . . which egg set upon by a snake or a toad bringeth forth the Cockatrice, being half a foot in length, the hinder-part like a snake, the former part like a cock, because of a treble combe on his forehead. . . . Among all living creatures, there is none that perisheth sooner than doth a man by the poyson of a cockatrice, for with his sight he killeth him, because the beams of the Cockatrices eyes do corrupt the visible spirit of a man, which visible spirit corrupted all the other spirits coming from the brain and life of the heart are thereby corrupted, and so the man dyeth.'—Topsel, *Hist. of Serpents*, p. 677.—For an interesting 'sense-history' of the word *Cockatrice*, see MURRAY, s. v.]

171. **I would they were**] HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, 149): Kean's courtship scene with Lady Anne is an admirable exhibition of smooth and smiling villainy. The progress of wily adulation, of encroaching humility, is finely marked by his action, voice, and eye. He seems, like the first Tempter, to approach his prey secure of the event, and as if success had smoothed his way before him. Cooke's manner of representing this scene was more vehement, hurried, and full of anxious uncertainty. This, though more natural in general, was less in character in this particular instance. Richard should woo not as a lover but as an actor—to show his

For now they kill me with a liuing death. 172
Thoſe eyes of thine, from mine haue drawne ſalt Teares;
Sham'd their Aſpects with ſtore of childiſh drops:
Theſe eyes, which neuer ſhed remorſefull teare, 175

172. *they*] *thy* Q_6.
kill] *kilſ* F_2.
~ 174. *Aſpects*] *aſpect* Qq, Sta. Cam. Glo.+.
~ 175–186. *Theſe...weeping.*] Om. Qq.

mental superiority, and power of making others the playthings of his will.—[HORN (iii, 140) and OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, p. 155) both think that it is the situation which here appeals to Anne more than what Richard says to her. The idea of a deadly enemy thus suing to her, and kneeling as a suppliant at her feet, has more effect towards moving her than even the sword, thrust into her hands accompanied by the request for death, if she think it deserved. Richardson's analysis of Anne's character (see I, ii, 1; 129) is, I think, a much more satisfactory explanation.—ED.]—MOULTON (p. 98): Such a scene as the wooing scene might be impossible as a fragment; it becomes possible enough in the play, where it has to be taken in connection with the rest of the plot, throughout which the irresistibility of the hero is prominent as one of the chief threads of connection. Nor is it any objection that the Wooing Scene comes early in the action. The play is not the book, but the actor's interpretation on the stage, and the actor will have collected even from the latest scenes elements of the interpretation which he throws into the earliest. The fascination of irresistibility, then, which is to act by instinct in every scene, may be arrived at analytically when we survey the play as a whole—when we see how, by Richard's innate genius, by the reversal in him of the ordinary relation of human nature to crime, especially by his perfect mastery of the successive situations as they arise, the dramatist steadily builds up an irresistibility which becomes a secret force clinging to Richard's presence, and through the operation of which his feats are half accomplished by the fact of his attempting them.

172. **a liuing death**] STEEVENS: The same conceit occurs in the *Trimming of Thomas Nash*, 1597: 'How happy the rat, caught in a trap, and there dies a living death.' Again in Watson's *Sonnets*, 1580: 'Loue is a sowr delight; a sugred greefe, a liuinge death' [*Hekatompathia, Sonnet* xviii.—ed. Arber].—MALONE: Compare also 'For I have heard it is a life in death That laughs and weeps, and all but with a breath.' *Ven. & Ad.*, ll. 412–414.

173. **Those eyes of thine**] ABBOTT (§ 239): *This of yours*, is now, as in early English, generally applied to one out of a class, whether the class exist or be imaginary . . . It is, however, commonly used by Shakespeare where even the conception of a class is impossible. [Compare:] 'Will not a calf skin stop that mouth of thine?' *King John*, III, i, 299.

175–186. **These eyes . . . weeping**] WRIGHT: This passage was perhaps added by Shakespeare to the original draft of the play.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 132) sees in this passage another evidence of Shakespeare's desire to unite the three parts of *Henry VI.* with *Richard III.* As a reason for its omission from the Quartos, Delius points out that *Richard III.* had been more successful than the trilogy and could therefore stand alone without aid. For further discussion on these lines, see *Appendix*, PICKERSGILL on the *Text*.—ED.

175. **These eyes**] WRIGHT: Compare *3 Hen. VI:* II, i, 79, where Richard,

No, when my Father Yorke, and *Edward* wept,
To heare the pittious moane that Rutland made
When black-ſac'd *Clifford* ſhooke his ſword at him.
Nor when thy warlike Father like a Childe,
Told the ſad ſtorie of my Fathers death,
And twenty times, made pauſe to ſob and weepe:
That all the ſtanders by had wet their cheekes
Like Trees bedaſh'd with raine. In that ſad time,
My manly eyes did ſcorne an humble teare:
And what theſe ſorrowes could not thence exhale,
Thy Beauty hath, and made them blinde with weeping.
I neuer ſued to Friend, nor Enemy:
My Tongue could neuer learne ſweet ſmoothing word.

176. *No,*] *Not* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
wept,] *wept.* F_3F_4.
179. *thy*] *my* F_3F_4.
183. *bedaſh'd*] *be-daſh'd* F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.
183. *raine. In*] *rain: in* F_3F_4 et seq.
188. *Tongue*] *tougue* Q_5.
ſmoothing] *ſoothing* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta.
word.] *words:* Qq, Rowe,+, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

---

after hearing the news of the slaughter of his father and brother, exclaims: 'I cannot weep; for all my body's moisture Scarce serves to quench my furnace-burning heart.' In the same scene the news is announced not by Warwick, as here represented, but by a messenger.

176. **No**] MALONE: The same phraseology occurs in a subsequent passage: 'I hope he is much grown since last I saw him. But I hear no' (II, iv, 8). [DYCE (ed. ii) declines to accept any similarity between these two passages, as does also the present ED.]

177. **Rutland**] BARNARD: This allusion to the scene of Rutland's death is unhistorical, for at that time York was either dead or a prisoner at the point of execution, while Edward was in Herefordshire, and Gloucester in London. [Polydore Vergil, Hall, and Holinshed have undoubtedly neglected to mention the fact that Edward and York heard, at the same moment, of the murder of Rutland; but then these same chroniclers have also omitted any account of this wooing of Anne. Since, then, it is a fictitious Richard who is here speaking, why should he be restricted to historic accuracy?—ED.]

182. **That**] For omission of *so* before 'that' see, if necessary, ABBOTT, § 283.

183. **bedash'd**] ROLFE calls attention to this as the only appearance of this word in Shakespeare.

185. **exhale**] See l. 64 *supra*.

188. **smoothing**] WRIGHT: That is, *flattering;* 'soothing' as in the Qq is used in the same sense. Compare I, iii, 311, and *Coriol.*, II, ii, 77: 'You soothed not, therefore hurt not.' In Bunyan's *Holy War* Mrs. Soothe-up is the wife of

But now thy Beauty is propos'd my Fee,
My proud heart ſues, and prompts my tongue to ſpeake.
She lookes ſcornfully at him.
Teach not thy lip ſuch Scorne ; for it was made
For kiſſing Lady, not for ſuch contempt.
If thy reuengefull heart cannot forgiue,
Loe heere I lend thee this ſharpe-pointed Sword,
Which if thou pleaſe to hide in this true breſt,
And let the Soule forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly ſtroke,
And humbly begge the death vpon my knee.
He layes his breſt open, ſhe offers at with his ſword.

– 191. She...him.] Om. Qq.
– 192. *lip...it was*] *lips...they were* Qq, Cam.+.
194. *forgiue,*] *forgive.* [kneels and gives his sword. Cap.
195. *ſharpe-pointed*] *ſharpe pointed* Qq.
196. *this true*] *true this* Q_3.
– 196. *breſt*] F_2. *boſome* Qq, Cam.+. *breaſt* F_3F_4 et cet.
197. *forth*] *fourth* F_2.
adoreth] *adorneth* Q_7Q_8.
198. *the*] *thy* Q_6F_3.
199. *knee*] *knees* Q_8.
– 200. He...ſword.] Om. Qq.
at] at it Ff et seq.

Mr. Flatter. [Compare also I, iii, 54: 'Smile in mens faces, smooth, deceive, and cogge.'—ED.]

189. **But now**] For other examples of the omission of *that* after 'now,' see ABBOTT, § 284 (p. 194).

192. **thy lip such Scorne**] In speaking would it not be difficult—almost impossible—to distinguish between 'thy lip such scorn' of the Folios and thy 'lips such scorn' of the Qq? The pronoun following would, of course, decide by its number, whether its antecedent were singular or plural. But is the plural to be here preferred? Is not the expression of scorn or contempt restricted to the lower lip? Compare *Wint. Tale*, I, ii, 431; where Polixenes tells Camillo that Leontes 'falling a lip of much contempt, speeds' from him.—ED.

196. **hide**] TAWNEY: The word means *sheathe* in *As You Like It*, II, vii, 119. *Abdo* is used by Virgil in the same sense—*Æneid*, ii, 553. [Is not 'sheathe,' *ex vi termini*, a peaceful action? It is so certainly in Orlando's case, where 'hide' may well be equivalent to it. But is it so equivalent here? or is it so in Virgil, when Pyrrhus plunged his sword up to the hilt in the side of Polites? *Sheathed* would be there, I think, a weak translation of *abdidit;* and would be, I speak in all modesty, equally so here, as a paraphrase of 'hide.'—ED.]

199. **the death**] WRIGHT: Used technically for a judicial punishment, as in *Henry V:* IV, i, 81: 'When they have feared the death, they have borne life away.' [For other examples of this technical use, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*), or ABBOTT, § 92.]

Nay do not pauſe : For I did kill King *Henrie,* 201
But 'twas thy Beauty that prouoked me.
Nay now diſpatch : 'Twas I that ſtabb'd yong *Edward,*
But 'twas thy Heauenly face that ſet me on.
She fals the Sword. 205
Take vp the Sword againe, or take vp me.
An. Ariſe Diſſembler, though I wiſh thy death,
I will not be thy Executioner. 208

201. *For*...Henrie] *twas I that kild your huſband* Qq, Sta.
Henrie] Henry F_3F_4.
203. *ſtabb'd yong* Edward] *kild king Henry* Qq, Sta.
203. *yong*] *young* F_3F_4.
205. She fals...] F_2. She falls... F_3F_4, +. She throws away... Cap. Here She lets fall... Qq et cet. (subs.)
208. *thy*] *the* Qq, Cam. Taw. Barnard.

201–203. **King Henrie . . . yong Edward**] The Folio reading of these two speeches by Richard is, I think, dramatically more effective than that of the Qq (see *Text. Notes*); the latter, it is true, preserves the correct chronological sequence of the murders of Edward and King Henry, but is it not somewhat in the nature of anticlimax that Richard should mention first, the greater cause of Anne's hatred? A somewhat similar change by the later Qq occurs in V, iii, 166 and 173, where, in Q_1Q_2, the ghosts of the two young Princes appear *before* that of Hastings; but as all the other ghosts enter in the order of their murders, Q_{3-8} reverse that given in Q_1Q_2.—ED.

202. **thy Beauty**] JOHNSON: Shakespeare countenances the observation that no woman can ever be offended with the mention of her beauty.

203. **I . . . ſtabb'd**] See notes on I, i, 166.

205. **fals the Sword**] For other examples of 'fall' used transitively compare V, iii, 153; 190, also *As You Like It,* III, v, 5; and, indeed, Shakespeare *passim.*

206. **Take vp**] MARSHALL: This line is perhaps burlesqued in the following passage from the *First Part of Jeronimo:* 'Take up thy pen, or I'll take up thee.'—Haz. Dods., iv, 368. [Is there not a confusion of dates here? In the preface to Hazlitt's Dodsley, p. 348, in a footnote, Gilchrist says: 'It appears from Henslowe's papers that the *Comedy of Hieronimo* was played by the Lord Strange's men the 10th April 1591.' The first Quarto of *Rich. III.* bears the date 1597. Is it probable that *Rich. III.* was so well known six years earlier that a line in it might be recognised in a burlesque?—ED.]

208. **Executioner**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*) quotes the present line as the earliest use of 'executioner' in the sense: 'one who puts another to death.' As applied exclusively to the 'official who carries out a sentence of death, a headsman,' Bradley quotes, '1561 Brende, *Q. Curtius,* viii, 153. He being a kynge had vsed the detestable office of an execucyoner.' SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) cites under 'a euphemism for a murderer,' *2 Hen. VI:* III, i, 276: 'Say you consent and censure well the deed And I'll provide his executioner.' As the speaker is here referring to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, who has been arrested for high treason, 'executioner' may mean the *official* as well as a *murderer.* Inasmuch as *2 Henry VI.* appeared in Quarto in 1594, three years before *Rich. III.*, we have, if Schmidt be right, a use of the word, in a restricted sense, earlier than that given by Bradley.—ED.

Rich. Then bid me kill my ſelfe, and I will do it.
An. I haue already.
Rich. That was in thy rage:
Speake it againe, and euen with the word,
This hand, which for thy loue, did kill thy Loue,
Shall for thy loue, kill a farre truer Loue,
To both their deaths ſhalt thou be acceſſary.
An. I would I knew thy heart.
Rich. 'Tis figur'd in my tongue.
An. I feare me, both are falſe.
Rich. Then neuer Man was true.
An. Well, well, put vp your Sword.
Rich. Say then my Peace is made.
An. That ſhalt thou know heereafter.
Rich. But ſhall I liue in hope.
An. All men I hope liue ſo.
Vouchſafe to weare this Ring.
**La.* To take is not to giue.

210, 211. *I...rage*] As one line, Steev. et seq.
211. *That*] *Tuſh, that* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *thy*] *the* Q_{3-7}.
212. *the*] *thy* Ff, +.
213. *This*] *That* Qq, Cam.+.
214. *thy*] *my* Q_8.
215. *ſhalt thou*] *thou ſhalt* Q_{2-8}, Globe+.
216–225. *I... Ring*] As six lines, ending *figur'd in...Man...ſword...know... men...Ring.* Steev. Var. '03, '13. As five lines, ending *tongue...true...made... hope? ...ring.* Sing. Ktly.
219. *neuer Man was*] *neuer was man* Q_1Q_2. *man Was never* Steev. Var. '03, '13.
222. *ſhalt thou*] *ſhall you* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *shall thou* Ktly.
223. *ſhall I*] *I ſhall* Q_{2-8}.
225. *Vouchſafe*] Ff. Glo. *Voutſafe* Q_1. Gol. *Vouchſafe* Q_2. Glo. *Vouchſafe* Qq et cet. (subs.)
225–227. *Ring.* Rich. *Looke...*] Ff. *ring. Look...* Rowe, +. *ring.* La. *To take is not to give.* Glo. *Looke...* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
225. *Ring.*] *ring.* [She puts on the ring. Johns.
226. * La. ...*giue*] Qq. Om. F_1, Ff.

216–225. **I would . . . Ring**] STEEVENS, struggling to avoid all irregularity in the pentameter lines, divides these ten lines, according to KNIGHT, 'into six of the vilest resemblances, to the eye, of blank verse that Steevens's botching ever achieved.' MALONE, in reply to a feeble apology by Steevens for 'a slight transposition in line 219, for the sake of the metre,' remarks: 'I have again and again had occasion to observe that short prose speeches are perpetually intermingled with the metrical dialogue of our poet and his contemporaries; but I am inclined to think that, in the present instance, these speeches were intended for the short metre of six syllables, as suited to this light and flippant courtship.' For examples of this use of the trimeter couplet, see ABBOTT, § 500.—ED.

225. **Vouchsafe to weare this Ring**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76;

Rich. Looke how my Ring incompaſſeth thy Finger,
Euen ſo thy Breſt incloſeth my poore heart:
Weare both of them, for both of them are thine.
And if thy poore deuoted Seruant may
But beg one fauour at thy gracious hand,

- 227. *my*] *thy* Ff. *this* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
thy] *my* Ff.
228. *my*] *me* Q_5Q_6.
229. *Weare*] *Were* Q_{4-6}.
230. *deuoted*] Om. Q_{2-6}.
- *Seruant*] *ſuppliant* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Var.'73, Sta. Cam.+.

p. 6): That the ring was given to Anne by Richard, and not to Richard by Anne, and that no change was intended in that, I hold to be certain. It is plainly no correction, but an ordinary accident of the press. The printer had missed out the whole of Anne's last half line speech. [See *Text. Notes.*] The reader (or whoever in those days was charged with correcting the first proof), finding Richard's name prefixed to two successive speeches, thus: *Anne.* All men I hope live so. *Rich.* Vouchsafe to wear this ring. *Rich.* Look, how this ring encompasseth, &c., struck out one of them, and (as it happened) he struck out the first . . . The state of the type bears traces of what occurred, for the word 'Vouchsafe' does not range with the other lines.

225. **Ring**] WESSEL here represents Richard as 'inducing' Anne to accept 'his ringlet,'—highly sentimental, but hardly what either Richard or Shakespeare presumably intended. COLLIER'S MS Corrector adds the same line as in the Qq. In referring to this addition of the MS, SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 166) says: 'it was most probably derived from some later edition, unless we are to suppose that this fortunate corrector had all the early editions at his command!—a supposition highly improbable.' OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, 79) thinks this line was intentionally omitted, in the Folio, by Shakespeare for æsthetic reasons. To this DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 165) takes exception on the ground that had such been the case Shakespeare would have been forced to modify the speeches before and after this one. Delius is the staunch advocate of the Folio as the authentic text. It is not quite clear how he accounts for the absence of the present line. SPEDDING'S is, I think, the simplest explanation.—ED.—SCHMIDT (*Jahrbuch*, xv, p. 314): It cannot be denied that by this answer of Anne the scene loses a certain amount of beauty. It may have been the most judicious of answers to have given, if any answer be necessary, but it is more poetical and more natural for Anne to remain silent, and only mutely suffer Richard to place the ring upon her finger. The stage-direction, '*She puts on the ring,*' is due to later editors and does not agree with Richard's words: 'Look how my ring encompasseth thy finger,' which words perhaps unwillingly suggest the stage performance, that here he has taken her hand in his and is regarding it.—TAWNEY: Anne apparently means that her betrothal or engagement would not be valid unless she gave a ring to Richard in exchange for his.

230. **Seruant**] COLLIER: The Old Corrector makes the Folio correspond with the Quartos in reading *suppliant;* we may therefore feel assured that this word was that of the Poet. [To this note SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 166) replies that Collier 'rejected it in his own edition, as a matter indifferent!']

Thou doſt confirme his happineſſe for euer.
An. What is it?
Rich. That it may pleaſe you leaue theſe ſad deſignes,
To him that hath moſt cauſe to be a Mourner,
And preſently repayre to Crosbie Houſe:
Where (after I haue ſolemnly interr'd
At Chertſey Monaſt'ry this Noble King,
And wet his Graue with my Repentant Teares)
I will with all expedient duty ſee you,
For diuers vnknowne Reaſons, I beſeech you,

232. *his*] *this* F_3F_4.
233. *What*] *Wat* Q_3.
234. *may...you*] *would...thee* Qq, Cam.+.
235. *moſt*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *more* Qq et cet.
236. *Croſbie*] *Croſby* F_4.
236. *Houſe:*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i, Rlfe. *place.* Qq (*place*, Q_1Q_5) et cet. (subs.)
237. *interr'd*] *enterred* Q_{3-5}.
238. *Monaſt'ry*] *Monastery* Knt, Coll. Dyce, Hal. Cam. Huds.
240. *duty*] *duetie* Q_3.

234. **leaue**] For this omission of *to* of the infinitive, see ABBOTT, § 349.

236. **presently**] For examples of presently,' meaning *immediately, straightway*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

236. **Crosbie House**] STEEVENS: This magnificent house was built in the year 1466, by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman.—WRIGHT: At the time at which the play opens Sir John Crosby was still living in his own house. After various vicissitudes of fortune, during which it was used as a Presbyterian meeting-house and a packer's warehouse, the fine hall of Crosby Place has been in recent times restored, and is an interesting example of the architecture of the period at which it was built. There seems to be no reason why the folios should in two passages read 'Crosby House' and in the third (I, iii, 363), 'Crosby Place.' Both More and Hall call it 'Crosbies place in Bishops gates strete wher the protectour kept his household.'—BOSWELL-STONE (p. 346): Richard's entreaty that she would go to Crosby Place, and receive a visit from him there, was perhaps suggested by the mention of his having 'kept his household' as Protector, at Crosbies in Bishops gates street (*Holinshed*, iii, 721). A slip of the pen, or a compositor's error, may account for Richard's order that the body be taken to White-Friars, not to Chertsey. After its removal from St. Paul's, Henry's corpse rested at Black-Friars and was thence conveyed to Chertsey. [While these pages are going through the press, the preservation of Crosby Hall is in perilous jeopardy.—ED.]

239. **wet**] For omission of *-ed* in participles formed from verbs ending in *d* or *t*, see ABBOTT, § 342.

240. **expedient**] That is, *quick, expeditious*.

241. **vnknowne**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*): That is, *such as I must not tell*. Compare 'That I have frequent been with unknown minds.'—*Sonn.* cxvii, 5. [This interpretation is, presumably, correct; still, may not 'unknown' here mean *unknown to you only?* Neither Hall nor Holinshed mentions any reason for Richard's anxiety

Grant me this Boon. 242
An. With all my heart, and much it ioyes me too,
To ſee you are become ſo penitent.
Treſſel and *Barkley*, go along with me. 245
Rich. Bid me farwell.
An. 'Tis more then you deſerue:
But ſince you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I haue ſaide farewell already. 249

~ 245. Treſſel] *Treſſill* Qq. *Trassel* Rowe ii, +.
Barkley] Ff, Rowe, +. Bartley Q_{3-8} (subs.) *Berkeley* Cam. +. *Berkley* Cap. et cet.
246, 247. One line, Steev. et seq.
249. *ſaide*] *ſayd* Q_3.
~ 249, 250. *already*. Exit.] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlſe. *alreadie*. Exit. Glo. *Sirs, take vp the corſe*. Qq et cet. (*Take up*...Han. *Take up* ...*sirs* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt.)

for an alliance with Anne Neville. From the *Croyland Continuator* Shakespeare might have learned of the quarrel between Richard and the Duke of Clarence, over Richard's designs upon the Neville property, through marriage with Anne, but if so, why should he make Richard, when speaking of his intention to woo Anne, say: 'not all so much for love, As for another secret close intent?'—I, i, 169. Richard, in his soliloquies, is usually outspoken; he takes us completely into his confidence; this withholding of a reason is, apparently, not according to his habit. Dare the hint be whispered that *possibly* the real reason was not yet decided upon definitely by Shakespeare?—ED.]

243. **With all my heart**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, p. 77): Rümelin thinks that Anne should here have answered: 'This is neither time nor place to speak with you.' But in my opinion the Anne who, in such a situation, could give such a thoroughly common-place answer, would not have so easily surrendered as does the Anne of Shakespeare.

244. **penitent**] It was Richard's preceding speech, I think, which turned the scale in his favour—he had made Anne's beauty the motive for his deeds; the excuse was pleasing, doubtless, yet at the same time was there not something of self-praise in it? was he not putting himself at least on a level with her? but when he humbly speaks of Henry as a 'noble King'; of himself as the chiefest mourner, about to wet Henry's 'grave with repentant tears,' the last barriers of Anne's resentment fall; the citadel surrenders.—ED.

245. **Tressel and Barkley**] FRENCH (p. 251): The latter person was no doubt meant for one of the noble family of that name, and may be intended for one of the sons of James, sixth Lord Berkley, who were Lancastrians. 'Tressel,' a name I have not found in any county history, is probably a misprint for *Trussel*, an eminent and ancient family seated in the county of Warwick in the time of Henry II. The Trussels were of consequence in the reigns of the first three Edwards.—WRIGHT: More probably the names were Shakespeare's own invention.

247–249. **'Tis more . . . already**] Anne means, I think, not that my bidding you farewell is more than you deserve, but to *fare well* is more than your due. —ED.

249. **Imagine . . . already**] DUPORT (i, p. 324): Even Gloucester's hypocrisy

Exit two with Anne. 250

Gent. Towards Chertſey, Noble Lord?

Rich. No : to White Friars, there attend my comming 252

– 250. Exit] Ex. F_4. Exeunt. Rowe,+.
...two with Anne.] Om. Qq. Lady, Tressel, and Barkley. Knt et seq. (subs.)
– 251. Gent.] Ser. Qq.
– *Chertſey*] *Chertſie* Qq.
251. *Lord?*] *Lord.* Q_1.
252. *No :*] *No,* Q_1Q_2. *Now* Ff, Rowe.
– *Friars*] *Friers* Q_1Q_2. *Fryers* Qq.

---

and adroitness of speech are insufficient to render actual so sudden a success; and, moreover, the scene loses interest through its lack of preparation.—STEEVENS: Cibber was so thoroughly convinced of the ridiculousness and improbability of this scene that he thought himself obliged to make Tressel say: 'When future chronicles shall speak of this They will be thought romance not history.' Thus also, in *Twelfth Night*, where Fabian, observing the conduct of Malvolio, says: 'If this were played upon a stage now, I could condemn it as an improbable fiction' [III, iv, 140]. From an account of our late unsuccessful embassy to the Emperor of China, we learn, indeed, that a scene of equal absurdity was represented at a theatre in Tientsin: 'One of the dramas particularly attracted the attention of those who recollected scenes, somewhat similar, upon the English stage. The piece represented an Emperor and Empress living in supreme felicity, when, on a sudden, his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel, who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routs the imperial army. The captive Empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of despair, naturally resulting from the loss of her husband and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension of that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair, and rending the skies with her complaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows with his compassion, talks of love and adoration, and like Gloucester with Lady Anne, prevails, in less than half an hour, on the Chinese Princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer.'—MARSHALL: This scene is not the only one of its kind. Rotrou, in his *Wenceslas* 1637, depicts the impunity and triumph of 'one of the worst characters that was ever drawn.' In that play the curtain drops on the 'vanishing reluctance of the heroine to accept the hand of a monster whom she hated, and who had just murdered her lover in the person of his own brother.'—Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, pt. iii, ch. vi, sect. 2, § 31. There is a somewhat similar scene at the end of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bloody Brother*. Corneille, too, in *Le Cid*, thought it not inconsistent with propriety that Chimène should marry Roderigue after he had killed her father.

252. **White Friars**] BARNARD: Black-Friars is probably correct; thence the body was to be taken by water to Chertsey. The house of the White-Friars did not abut on the river, while that of the Black-Friars did. [See note by BOSWELL-STONE on l. 236 above.]—ORDISH (p. 68): It is astonishing and delightful to find how many names, once familiar to Shakespeare, have survived to greet our eyes in the streets of Victorian London. In his day Whitefriars was a notorious locality, in character greatly altered since the period of Richard III., and to-day a street

Exit Coarſe 253

Was euer woman in this humour woo'd?
Was euer woman in this humour wonne? 255
Ile haue her, but I will not keepe her long.
What? I that kill'd her Husband, and his Father,
To take her in her hearts extreameſt hate,
With curſes in her mouth, Teares in her eyes,
The bleeding witneſſe of my hatred by, 260

253. Exit Coarſe] Rowe, Pope. Exeunt. manet Glo. Qq et cet. (subs.)
254. *woo'd?*] *woed*, Q_1. *woed?* Qq.
255. *wonne?*] *wonne:* Q_1.
256. *her,*] *her*— Rowe,+, Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Ktly.
257. *What? I that kill'd*] *What I that kild* $Q_1Q_2Q_4Q_5$. *What I? that kild* Q_3. *What I haue kill'd* Q_7. *What? I haue kill'd* $Q_8F_3F_4$. *What! I that kill'd* Rowe,+. *What! I, that kill'd* Cap. et seq.
257. *his*] *her* Q_{3-8}.
258. *hate*] *heate* Q_{2-8}.
260. *my*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Coll. Wh. i, Rlfe. *her* Qq et cet.

---

name testifies to the site. In Shakespeare's time the monastery and its church were things of the past.

255. **Was euer . . . wonne**] Compare *Titus Andronicus*, II, i, 82, 83: 'She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd She is a woman therefore may be won.' And also *1 Henry VI:* V, iii, 77, 78: 'She's beautiful and therefore to be woo'd She is a woman therefore to be won'; also *Son.* xli, 56: 'Gentle thou art, and therefore to be won, Beauteous thou art, therefore to be assailed.'

257. **What . . . Father**] VERPLANCK (i, 62): Whatever doubt later inquiry may have thrown on Richard's personal agency in the deaths of Anne's husband and his father, there can be no doubt that he was identified with their enemies; and that her husband was slain, if not by Richard's hand, by his comrades and soldiers. How it came to pass that, after this, Anne, the widow of Prince Edward, became the wife of Richard, is an historical, not a dramatic difficulty; and the poet's solution, that she was a weak and vain woman, easily won by the flattery of a man of the highest rank and talents, is at least as probable as any other, and is perhaps the one least discreditable to her memory.

257. **his Father**] See I, i, 166.

260. **my hatred**] DYCE: Surely l. 258 shows that the Quarto reading is correct.—HUDSON [in defence of the Quarto reading] Richard is speaking of the causes which the Lady Anne has for hating himself, and regards King Henry's death as one of them, and the presence of Henry's bleeding corse is a witness to that hatred. —R. G. WHITE: The bleeding corpse of King Henry was no witness to Anne's hatred: it bled in witness of Richard's. Compare l. 62 *supra*.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 7): I suspect that the Quarto reading represents Shakespeare's meaning; but the alteration is one which might suggest itself to any intelligent inattentive reader, and therefore cannot be fairly laid to the charge of the corrector. The dead body of Henry was not so much the 'witness' as the *motive* or *ground* of Anne's hatred, whereas it was really the 'witness' of Richard's hatred of her father-in-law.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 83): This is one of those passages,

Hauing God, her Conſcience, and theſe bars againſt me,
And I, no Friends to backe my ſuite withall,
But the plaine Diuell, and diſſembling lookes?
And yet to winne her? All the world to nothing.
Hah!
Hath ſhe forgot alreadie that braue Prince,
Edward, her Lord, whom I (ſome three monthes ſince)

261. *Hauing*] *With* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
— 262. *no Friends*] *nothing* Qq, Cam. +. *no thing* Sta.
— *withall*] *at all* Q_2Q_3, Cam. +. *with all* Q_4 (Bodl. ap. Cam.)
263. *lookes?*] *lookes*, Qq.
— 264, 265. *And...Hah!*] One line, Qq, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Sta.
264. *her? All*] Ff. *her all* Qq. *her, all* Cam. +, Ktly. *her—all* Rowe et cet.
to nothing.] *to nothing?* Q_6. *is nothing* Q_7Q_8.

---

the force of which one *feels* but might be puzzled to *demonstrate*. Suffice it to say that the reading of the Quarto is *poetry*, that of the Folio is *prose*. The alteration, therefore, is precisely what we might expect from the corrector,—a person, I believe, of fair intelligence, but absolutely devoid of taste. . . . The gross and self-evident blunders which are perpetuated through the whole series of the Qq of this very play, and even the mistakes of the Folio itself, point to the conclusion that the printers of Shakespeare's time were not in the habit of furnishing proofs at all.

261. **Hauing**] For other examples of ellision, or softening of *v*, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 242, or ABBOTT, § 466.

262. **no**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 39): It is not improbable that, between the writing of the play and the revision, the modern accentuation of *nothing* [as in the Qq] had become more general or more marked. [See WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 221) for numerous examples, both in Shakespeare and in his contemporaries, of the shifting accent of *something* and *nothing*. See, too: 'And fall something into a slower method,' l. 131 above.—ED.]

262. **withall**] DELIUS, who considers (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 148) the Folio text as the original, and the Quarto as one amended by an anonymous corrector, supposes that here the corrector misunderstood 'withal' as used by Shakespeare. He then adds in a foot-note: 'That the corrector did not understand "withal" in the Shakespearean sense is shown by another alteration further on, the Folio has, IV, iii, 294: "And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal"; the Quarto has *dry* for *wipe* and *therewith* for *withal*.'—WRIGHT thinks the Folio reading was made 'probably to avoid the repetition of *nothing* two lines below.'

267. **three monthes**] MALONE: Here we have the exact time of this scene ascertained, namely, August, 1471. King Edward is, however, in the Second Act introduced dying. That King died in April, 1483; so there is an interval between this and the next Act of almost twelve years. Clarence, who is represented in the preceding scene as committed to the Tower before the burial of Henry VI., was, in fact, not confined nor put to death till seven years afterwards, March, 1477–8. —WRIGHT: Three weeks would have been nearer the mark. The battle of Tewkesbury was fought on the 4th of May, 1471, and Henry's body was taken to Chertsey on Ascension Day, May 23.

Stab'd in my angry mood, at Tewkesbury? 268
A ſweeter, and a louelier Gentleman,
Fram'd in the prodigallity of Nature: 270
Yong, Valiant, Wife, and (no doubt)right Royal,

268. *Tewkesbury*] F_2, Knt, Coll. iii. *Tewxbury* Qq. (*Tewxbery* Q_1.) *Tewkf-bury* F_3F_4 et cet.

271. *Valiant, Wife*] *wise, and valiant* Pope, +. *valiant, wise, kind* S. Walker (Crit. ii, 16).

269–272. **A sweeter . . . affoord**] SARRAZIN gives (*Jahrbuch*, xxix, xxx, 1894, p. 92; quoted in *Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 338 of this edition) a number of passages in *L. L. L.*, whereto parallels in style are to be found in *Richard III.* and *Lucrece*. 'Sometimes the parallelism extends to the thought and even to the words as in [the present lines] and thus in the following passage from *Love's Labour's Lost*, II, i, 12: "Be now as prodigal of all dear grace As *nature* was in making graces dear When she did starve *the general world* beside, And *prodigally* gave them all to you."'

269–272. **A sweeter, and a louelier . . . affoord**] VAUGHAN (iii, p. 14): Both Pope's and Walker's changes [see *Text. Notes*] I believe are wrong. Shakespeare, according to his frequently adopted custom, has here made 'valiant' a trisyllable. There is, however, an incoherence in the sense. It ought to run, in accordance with the modern value of 'again,' either: 'So sweet and lovely a gentleman the world cannot again afford,' or 'A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman the world cannot afford'; otherwise 'again' is out of place, and so also is 'no doubt.' [If I understand VAUGHAN'S objection, it is to the use of 'again,' meaning *a second time*, with an adjective in the comparative degree; thus it would be incorrect to say: The world cannot a *second time* produce a lovelier gentleman; whereas what Richard wishes to say is that the world *never* produced *as* lovely a gentleman. Vaughan offers as a substitute for the present line, 'As sweet and as lovely a gentleman.'—ED.]

269. **louelier Gentleman**] WRIGHT: Hall describes Prince Edward as 'a goodly feminine & a wel feautered yonge gentleman,' which Holinshed changes to 'a faire and well proportioned yoong gentleman.'

271. **and . . . Royal**] JOHNSON: Of the degree of Royalty belonging to Henry VI. there could be *no doubt*, nor could Richard have mentioned it with any such hesitation: he could not, indeed, very properly allow him *royalty*. I believe we should read: *loyal*, that is, *true to her bed*. He enumerates the reasons for which she should love him. He was *young*, *wise*, and *valiant;* these were apparent and indisputable excellencies. He then mentions another not less likely to endear him to his wife, but which he had less opportunity of knowing with certainty, 'and, no doubt, right loyal.'—STEEVENS: Richard is not speaking of King Henry, but of Edward his son, whom he means to represent as *full of all the noble properties of a king*. 'No doubt, right royal,' may, however, be ironically spoken. [From Fabyan's *Chronicle* we learn that: 'This prynce beynge with all honour and reuerence sacryd & crystened, was named Edwarde, . . . whose noble mother susteyned not a little dysclaunder and obsequy of the comon people, saying he was not the natural sone of Kynge Henrye, but chaungyd in the cradell, to hyr dishonour and heuynesse, which I ouerpasse.' *Septima pars Henrici VI.*, p. 628, ed. Ellis.—ED.]

The ſpacious World cannot againe affoord: 272
And will ſhe yet abaſe her eyes on me,
That cropt the Golden prime of this ſweet Prince,
And made her Widdow to a wofull Bed? 275
On me, whoſe All not equals *Edwards* Moytie?
On me, that halts, and am miſhapen thus?
My Dukedome, to a Beggerly denier! 278

272. *World*] *Word* F_2.
affoord:] Q_1. *affoord.* Qq. *afford:* F_2. *afford*, F_3F_4.
— 273. *yet abaſe*] *yet debaſe* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +. *abaſe* F_2. *thus abaſe* F_3F_4, Rowe.
275. *Bed?*] *bed*, Q_1.
— 277. *halts*] Ff, Rowe. *halt* Qq et cet.
— 277. *miſhapen*] *vnſhapen* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *mis-shapen* Pope et cet. (subs.)
thus?] *thus.* Q_1Q_2.
278. *to a*] *to be a* Q_5.
Beggerly denier] *Widow's chaſtity* Cib.

272. **affoord**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): This word should have but one *f*. The double *f* is due to a supposed analogy with words that begin with *aff-* in Latin, where *aff* is put for *adf-*; but the word is not Latin and the prefix is not *ad-*. Besides this, the pronunciation has been changed at the end. Rightly it should be *aforth*, but the *th* has changed as in other words; *cf. murther, further*, provincially *furder*. Middle English *aforthen* = to afford, suffice, provide. 'And thereof was Piers proude, and put hem to worke, And yaf him mete as he myghte aforth [*i. e.*, could afford or provide], and mesurable huyre.'—*P. Plowman*, vi, 200.

276. **not equals**] For other examples of omission of *do* before 'not,' see ABBOTT, § 305.

276. **Moytie**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 122): The spelling in the Folio here indicates the pronunciation; indeed, the word is frequently, perhaps usually, spelt *moity*. [In the majority of passages wherein the word occurs in the Folio it is spelt 'moity.'—ED.]

277. **halts**] This third person singular is probably due to a species of attraction caused by 'equals' in the preceding line.

278. **Beggerly**] For examples of ellision of the vowel at end of syllable, see GUEST, p. 59.

278. **denier**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): A French coin, the twelfth of the sou; originally like the Roman denarius and English penny, of silver; but from 16th century a small copper coin. Hence used as the type of a very small sum. c 1425 Wyntoun *Cronicle*, VI, v, 60. To the kyrk ilka yhere Of Rome he heychte a denere. 1580 H. Gifford *Gilloflowers* (1875) 132. And in his purse to serve his neede, Not one deneere he had. 1611 Cotgrave, *Denier* a penny, a deneere; a small copper coin valued at the tenth part of an English pennie. [From these examples we may, I think, infer that it was pronounced as a disyllable, even if the metre did not suggest it in the present line.—ED.]—WARBURTON: This may be right, but perhaps Shakespeare wrote *Taniere*, French, *a hut* or *cave*.—EDWARDS (*Canons*, p. 95): It is more than 'perhaps,' that Shakespeare never thought of 'taniere'; which is a *den; caverne ou les bêtes sauvage se retirent:* and when it is used figuratively for the habitation of a man, it is considering him as living, not

I do miſtake my perſon all this while:
Vpon my life ſhe findes(although I cannot)
My ſelfe to be a maru'llous proper man.
Ile be at Charges for a Looking-glaſſe,
And entertaine a ſcore or two of Taylors,
To ſtudy faſhions to adorne my body:
Since I am crept in fauour with my ſelfe,
I will maintaine it with ſome little coſt.
But firſt Ile turne yon Fellow in his Graue,
And then returne lamenting to my Loue.

281. *maru'llous*] Ff, Rowe,+. *marvailous* Qq. *marvelous* Cap. et cet. (subs.)
282. *Charges*] *charge* Q_8.
283. *a*] *ſome* Qq, Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
284. *adorne*] *adore* Q_{3-5}.
286. *ſome*] *a* Q_{3-6}, Sta.
287. *yon Fellow in*] *you fellow in* Q_{4-6}. *yon fellow into* Han. *yon' fellow in* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal.

---

like a poor man, in a cottage, but like a beast. What put Warburton upon this emendation, I suppose, was that he thought a dukedom to a penny was no fair bet; and that the wager would be more equal, if the beggar were to *impone*, as Osric says, his cottage.

279. **I do mistake . . . while**] COLERIDGE (*Lect.*, p. 127): The inferiority of his person made Richard seek consolation and compensation in the superiority of his intellect; he thus endeavored to counterbalance this deficiency. . . . It was the same pride of intellect, or the assumption of it, that made John Wilkes vaunt that, although he was so ugly, he only wanted, with any lady, ten minutes' start of the handsomest man in England.

281. **maru'llous**] For the contraction, compare Jonson, *Every Man out*, etc.: 'I marle in what cold nook he found this lady out,' p. 63, ed. Gifford. For examples of adjectives used as adverbs, see Shakespeare *passim*.—ED.

281. **proper**] That is, *handsome, well formed.*

282. **at Charges**] WRIGHT: Baret, *Alvearie*, has: 'To be at part of the charges. In partem impensæ venire.' Compare *Acts*, xxi, 24: 'Them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them'; that is, lay out money upon them, or as Tyndale expresses it, 'do cost on them.' And 1 *Corinthians*, ix, 7: 'Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges?'

283. **entertaine**] That is, *take into service.*

285, 286. **I am crept . . . little cost**] ABBOTT (§ 193): The obvious interpretation is: since I have crept into the good graces of myself; but the second line shows the 'I' to be superior to 'myself' which is to be maintained by the 'I.' The true explanation is: since I have crept into (Lady Anne's) favour *with the aid of* my personal appearance, I will pay some attention to my person. Compare, probably, *Hamlet*, III, ii, 207.

287. **in**] For examples of 'in' used for *into*, see ABBOTT, § 159, or Shakespeare *passim*.

Shine out faire Sunne, till I haue bought a glaſſe,
That I may ſee my Shadow as I paſſe. *exit.* 290

Scena Tertia.

Enter the Queene Mother, Lord Riuers, and Lord Gray.

Riu. Haue patience Madam, ther's no doubt his Maieſty
Will ſoone recouer his accuſtom'd health. 5
Gray. In that you brooke it ill, it makes him worſe,
Therefore for Gods ſake entertaine good comfort,
And cheere his Grace with quicke and merry eyes 8

290. *Shadow*] *body* Mansfield.

1. Scena Tertia.] Scene continued, Qq. Act II, Sc. i. Irving.

Changes to the Palace. Theob.+. A Room in the Palace. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

2, 3. the Queene...Lord Gray.] Ff. Queene, Lord Riuers, and Gray. Qq, Rowe,+ (...and Dorset. Han.) the Queen, Lord Rivers her brother, and Lord Gray her son. Var. '73, '78, '85. Queen Elizabeth, Lord Rivers and Lord Gray. Mal. et cet. (subs.)

4. *ther's*] *theres* Qq. *there is* F_4, Rowe. *there's* F_2F_3 et cet.

6. *brooke*] *boroke* Q_2.

8. *eyes*] Ff,+, Wh. i. *words* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.

289, 290. **Shine . . . passe**] This rhyme is, I think, an echo of the lines in the first soliloquy, 'Why I (in this weak piping time of Peace) Have no delight to pass away the time Unless to see my shadow in the sun And descant on mine own deformity.' I, i, 30–32.—ED.

1. **Scena Tertia**] WRIGHT: The scene is laid in the palace at Westminster, which formerly stood on the south side of Westminster Hall. 'This hath been,' says Stow, 'the principal seat and palace of all the kings of England since the Conquest; for here have they in the great hall kept their feasts of coronation especially, and other solemn feasts, as at Christmas and such like, most commonly' (*Survey*, etc., pp. 172–174). The date of this scene is April, 1483.

3. **Lord Gray**] See FRENCH, *Dram. Person.*, l. 15.

4. **Maiesty**] For examples of softening unaccented syllables of a polysyllable, see ABBOTT, § 468.

6. **In . . . worse**] TAWNEY: There appears to be a confusion of two constructions, 'the fact that you take it ill makes him worse' and 'in that you take it ill, you make him worse.' The line may be literally paraphrased, 'Because you take it ill, the fact that you do so makes him worse.'

8. **eyes**] R. G. WHITE: It would seem that if *words* [of the Qq] were the original reading, the change was made in the revision. It was because the Queen appeared despondingly, 'brook'd it ill,' that the king was worse, as Gray would make it appear; and therefore he begs her to look upon her husband with lively, cheerful eyes.

Qu. If he were dead, what would betide on me?
If he were dead, what would betide on me?
Gray. No other harme, but loſſe of ſuch a Lord.
Qu. The loſſe of ſuch a Lord, includes all harmes.
Gray. The Heauens haue bleſt you with a goodly Son,
To be your Comforter, when he is gone.
Qu. Ah! he is yong ; and his minority
Is put vnto the truſt of *Richard Glouſter*,
A man that loues not me, nor none of you.
Riu. Is it concluded he ſhall be Protector?
Qu. It is determin'd, not concluded yet:
But ſo it muſt be, if the King miſcarry.

Enter Buckingham and Derby.

9. *on*] Ff, Rowe. *of* Qq et cet.
me?] *me.* Q_1Q_2.
12. *harmes*] *harme* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
15. *Ah!*] *Oh* Qq, Cam.+.
yong] *young* $Q_1F_3F_4$.
16. *vnto*] *in* Q_1Q_2. *into* Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '73, '78, '85, Ran.
16. Richard Glouſter] F_2. *Rich. Gloceſter* Qq. *Richard Glo'ster* Rowe,+. *Richard Gloucester* Cam.+. Richard Gloſter F_3F_4, Var. '73 et cet.
21. Derby.] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cam.+, Ktly. Darby. Qq. Stanley (throughout) Theob. et cet.

---

9. **If . . . me**] This is the last line at the foot of the column, in the Folio, and though the catchword is properly '*Gray*,' the compositor has repeated the line at the top of the next page. Possibly the stints given to the compositors were incorrectly marked.—ED.

9. **betide**] WRIGHT: 'Betide' is here used loosely for *become*. It properly means *to happen, come to pass*, and is sometimes followed by *to* and sometimes used without any preposition.

12. **The losse . . . harmes**] Compare 'Where the greater malady is fixed, The lesser is scarce felt,' *Lear*, III, iv, 8.—ED.

15, 16. **his minority . . . Glouster**] 'Than he [Edward the Fourth] made his Will, wherin he constitutyd his soones his heyres, whom he commyttyd to the tuytion of Rycherd his brother, duke of Glocester, and bestowyd muche goodes devoutly.'—*Polydore Vergil*, p. 171.

16. **vnto**] For a similar use of 'unto' meaning *into*, compare 'He hath turned a heaven unto a hell,' *Mid. N. Dream*, I, i, 207, wherein Q_2 and the Ff read *into;* and 'our wars Will turn unto a peaceful comic sport,' *1 Henry VI:* II, ii, 45.—ED.

19. **determin'd . . . concluded**] WRIGHT: It is resolved upon, though no formal record of the fact has been made. At Trinity College, Cambridge, the book, in which official entries are made of the decisions of the Master and Seniors, is called the *Conclusion Book*.

21. **Derby**] See *Dram. Person.*, Sir William Stanley, l. 24.

Gray. Here comes the Lord of Buckingham & Derby.
Buc. Good time of day vnto your Royall Grace.
Der. God make your Maieſty ioyful, as you haue bin
Qu. The Counteſſe *Richmond*, good my L. of *Derby*.
To your good prayer, will ſcarſely ſay, Amen.
Yet *Derby*, notwithſtanding ſhee's your wife,
And loues not me, be you good Lord aſſur'd,
I hate not you for her proud arrogance.
Der. I do beſeech you, either not beleeue
The enuious ſlanders of her falſe Accuſers:
Or if ſhe be accus'd on true report,
Beare with her weakneſſe, which I thinke proceeds
From wayward ſickneſſe, and no grounded malice.
Qu. Saw you the King to day my Lord of *Derby*.
Der. But now the Duke of Buckingham and I,

22. *comes*] Ff, Q_{3-8}. *come* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
Lord] Ff. *Lords* Qq et cet.
&c.] *and* QqF_4.
24. *bin*] *been* Q_1F_4. *beene* Q_2. *bene* Q_4Q_5.
25. *L. of* Derby] *Lo: of Darby* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *Lord of Darbie* Q_4Q_5.
26. *prayer*] *praiers* Q_1Q_{3-8}. *prayers* Q_2, Cam. +.
ſcarſely] *ſcarce* Q_7Q_8.
28. *Lord aſſur'd*] *Lo. aſſurde* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *Lord aſſured* Q_4Q_5.
29. *arrogance*] *arrogancie* Q_{3-8}.
30. *do*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
31. *falſe*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
32. *on*] *in* Qq, Cam. +.
35. Qu.] Riu. Qq (subs.), Cap. Ran. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii.
Lord of Derby.] *Lo: of Darby?* Q_1. *Lo. of Darbie?* Q_2. *Lord of Darbie?* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Lord of Derby?* Ff.

25. **Countesse Richmond**] MALONE: Margaret, daughter to John Beaufort, first Duke of Somerset. After the death of her first husband, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, half brother to Henry VI., by whom she had only one son, afterwards King Henry VII., she first married Sir Henry Stafford, uncle to Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham.

25. **good my L.**] For transposition of possessive adjectives, see ABBOTT, § 13.

32. **on**] WRIGHT quotes, as examples of the Q reading *in*, *2 Henry VI:* III, ii, 257: 'In pain of your dislike or pain of death,' and *Coriol.*, III, iii, 102: 'In peril of precipitation.'

33, 34. **Beare . . . malice**] Derby, in his anxiety to excuse his wife, here indirectly acknowledges that there are some certain grounds for the Queen's suspicions. He begins with speaking of 'slanders' and false accusations, and yet admits a cause for the slanderous reports which have reached the Queen.—ED.

35. **Qu.**] CAPELL (ii, 175): If what the Queen asks at l. 38 be consider'd by the judicious, the Quarto assignation of this speech will seem the gracefuller: Rivers, a wise and grave person, judges from the countenance of the lords he addresses that they had no bad news, and asks it to give his sister some comfort.

36. **But now**] That is, even now at this instant.

Are come from viſiting his Maieſty.
Que. What likelyhood of his amendment Lords.
Buc. Madam good hope, his Grace ſpeaks chearfully.
Qu. God grant him health, did you confer with him?
Buc. I Madam, he deſires to make attonement
Betweene the Duke of Glouſter, and your Brothers,
And betweene them, and my Lord Chamberlaine,
And ſent to warne them to his Royall preſence.

37. *Are come*] *Came* Qq.
38. *What*] *With* Q_1Q_2.
39. *ſpeaks*] *ſpeaketh* Q_3.
41. *I*] *Ay* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Huds.
I Madam] *Madame we did* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.
41. *he*] Om. F_3F_4.
deſires] *seeks* Pope,+.
to] Om. Q_4.
42, 43. *Betweene...betweene*] *Betwixt ...betwixt* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
44. *to*] *lo* Q_4.
to his] *ot his* Q_6. *of his* Q_7Q_8.

41. **I Madam**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 39): The Quarto line is distinctly irregular; which the Corrector alters, with the obvious intention of removing the irregularity.

41. **attonement**] More twice makes use of this word in speaking of the reconciliation between the Queen's kindred and that of the King: 'the late made attonemente, in whyche the kinges pleasure hadde more place then the parties willes' (p. 20), and 'hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce, then their new attonement' (p. 22).—ED.

42. **Duke of Glouster**] WRIGHT: Richard is charged by More with fomenting the quarrels with the queen's family: 'And for as muche as hee well wiste and holpe to mayntayn, a long continued grudge and hearte brennynge betweene the Quenes kinred and the kinges blood eyther partye enuying others authoritye, he nowe thought that their deuision shoulde bee (as it was in dede) a fortherlye beginnynge to the pursuite of his intente' (pp. 11, 12).

42. **Brothers**] CAPELL (ii, 175): In the opening of Act Second, where that atonement takes place which Buckingham speaks of, performance differs from his account; for there we find some sons of this Queen and but one brother: that there was design of atoning at least a second, his expressions are evidence; and who the intended second might be, may be gather'd with some certainty from expressions in Act Third and elsewhere: In that Act the Prince is made to lament, with great feeling, the absence of 'more uncles,' his speeches pointing plainly to a recent comitment just imparted.—WRIGHT: The only 'brother' of the Queen mentioned in this play is Earl Rivers. But the first Earl Rivers, Elizabeth's father, had seven sons and six daughters.—DANIEL (*Introd.*, p. xvi; foot-note): I suspect that the original author of the play was not very clear as to the relationship of his *dramatis personæ*, and that he supposed Grey, who is nowhere referred to as one of the Queen's sons, to be one of her brothers. In two places in the Quarto, I, iii, 73; IV, iii, 402, 'brothers,' of the Folio, is corrected to *brother*, though in the four other places this correction has been overlooked.

44. **warne**] That is, *summon*.

Qu. Would all were well, but that will neuer be,
Ifeare our happineſſe is at the height.

Enter Richard.

Rich. They do me wrong,and I will not indure it,
Who is it that complaines vnto the King,
Thar I (forſooth) am ſterne, and loue them not?
By holy *Paul*, they loue his Grace but lightly,
That fill his eares with ſuch diſſentious Rumors.
Becauſe I cannot flatter, and looke faire,
Smile in mens faces, ſmooth, deceiue, and cogge,
Ducke with French nods, and Apiſh curteſie,

45. *Would*] *'Would* Warb. Johns. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Ktly.
be,] *be.* Q_6.
46. *height*] *higheſt* Qq.
47. Richard] Gloceſter Qq. Gloucester Rowe, Pope, Warb. Johns. Gloucester and Hastings. Han. ...Hastings, and Dorset, with him. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
48. *indure*] *endure* $Q_1Q_2Q_3F_3F_4$.
it,] *it.* Q_{2-5}, Coll.
49. *is it*] Ff, Rowe, Wh. i. *are they* Qq et cet.
49. *complaines*] Q_{1-7},Ff, Rowe. *complain* Q_8 et cet.
49, 50. *King, ...not?*] *King, ...not:* Q_1. *King?...not:* Qq.
50. *Thar*] F_2.
51. *holy*] *wholy* Q_6.
52. *diſſentious*] *diſcentious* Q_1Q_3. *discentions* Q_2.
53. *looke*] Ff, Rowe, +. *ſpeake* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
54. *ſmooth*] *sooth* Theob. conj. (Nichols—Lit. Hist., ii, 454).

47. **Enter Richard]** COLLIER (*Emendations*, etc., p. 325): We meet with a very characteristic stage-direction [by the MS Corrector] here: it is, *Enter Richard, stamping angerly*, which, no doubt, shows the manner of some early actor of the part, perhaps of Burbage himself, the original Richard; for, supposing the corrector of the Folio, 1632, never to have seen him (he died in March, 1619), his peculiarities in the performance would, most probably, be traditionally handed down to his successors.

53, 54. **I cannot . . . cogge]** COURTENAY (ii, 68): It may be doubted whether this pretension to a rugged manner, and an inaptitude to the arts of cajolery, is quite consistent with the wooing of the Princess Anne, which has been described. [Is not the main purpose of Richard throughout, to seem a saint when most he plays the devil? And are we ever to expect consistency in him? He tells Anne that his tongue could never learn sweet smoothing word until prompted by her beauty. —ED.]

54. **smooth]** See note on *'smoothing,'* I, ii, 188.

54. **cogge]** WRIGHT (*Note* on *Coriol.*, III, ii, 133): That is, *cheat, cozen.* Cotgrave gives, *'Ioncher.* To strew. . . also, to gull; cog, or foist with; lie vnto, deceiue, giue gudgeons, beare in hand with vntruthes; also to dallie, ieast or toy with.'

55. **French nods]** STEEVENS: An importation of artificial manners seems to have afforded our ancient poets a never failing topic of invective. So, in a

I muſt be held a rancorous Enemy.
Cannot a plaine man liue, and thinke no harme,
But thus his ſimple truth muſt be abus'd,
With ſilken, ſlye, inſinuating Iackes?
Grey. To who in all this preſence ſpeaks your Grace
Rich. To thee, that haſt nor Honeſty, nor Grace:
When haue I iniur'd thee? When done thee wrong?
Or thee? or thee? or any of your Faction?
A plague vpon you all. His Royall Grace
(Whom God preſerue better then you would wiſh)
Cannot be quiet ſcarſe a breathing while,

56. *rancorous*] *rankerous* Qq. *ranc'rous* Cap. (corrected in Errata).
58. *his ſimple*] *in ſimple* Q_5. *in ſimpla* Q_6.
59. *With*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlſe. *By* Qq et cet.
60. Grey.] Ri. Qq. (Ry. Q_2.) Riv. Cam.+.
– *who*] *whom* QqFf et seq.
61. *nor Honeſty*] *not honeſtie* Q_4, Rowe, Pope.
62, 63. *thee? ... wrong? ... thee? ... thee?*] *thee, ...wrong, ...thee, ...thee,* Qq (*or the or the* Q_2).
63. *Faction?*] *faction:* Q_2.
64. *Grace*] *perſon* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.

Tragicall Discourse of the Haplesse Man's Life, by Churchyard, 1593: 'We make a legge and kisse the hand withall, (A French deuice nay sure a Spanish tricke) And speake in print, and say loe at your call I will remaine your owne both dead and quicke. A courtier so can give a lobbe a licke, And dress a dolt in motley for a while, And so in sleeue at silly woodcocke smile.'—WRIGHT: Mercutio, while he addresses Romeo with 'Signor Romeo, bon jour! there's a French salutation to your French slop,' has no terms to express his contempt of 'such antic, lisping affected fantasticoes' (*Rom. & Jul.*, II, iv). [This contempt for all things French survived until the time of Nelson. It will be remembered that one of the precepts given by him to all midshipmen under him is 'To hate a Frenchman as he would the Devil.'—ED.]

59. **Iackes**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The phrase 'thou Sire John' is in Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, 14816; on which Tyrwhitt remarks: 'I know not how it has happened that in the principal modern languages, *John*, or its equivalent, is a name of contempt, or at least of slight. So the Italians use *Gianni*, from whence *Zani;* the Spaniards *Juan*, as *bobo Juan*, a foolish John; the French *Jean*, with various additions; and in English when we call a man *a John*, we do not mean it as a title of honour. Chaucer, in l. 3708, uses *Jacke fool*, as the Spaniards do *bobo Juan*, and I suppose *Jack-ass* has the same etymology.' 'Go fro the window, Jacke fool, she said.' This Middle English *Jacke* is obviously borrowed from the French *Jaques*, but it is very remarkable that this common French name is considered as an equivalent to the English common name *John*, since it really answers to *Jacob*.

66. **Cannot ... scarse**] WRIGHT: The double negative is, perhaps, due to the adverb being separated from the verb. [See l. 95, *post*.]

66. **breathing while**] Compare *Ven. & Ad.*, 'It shall be fickle false and

But you muſt trouble him with lewd complaints.
Qu. Brother of Glouſter, you miſtake the matter:
The King on his owne Royall diſpoſition,
(And not prouok'd by any Sutor elſe)
Ayming (belike) at your interiour hatred,
That in your outward action ſhewes it ſelfe
Againſt my Children, Brothers, and my Selfe,
Makes him to ſend, that he may learne the ground.

69. *on*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i. *of* Qq et cet.
72. *That*] *Which* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
action] *actions* Qq, Cam.+.
73. *Children*] *kindred* Q_1, Cam.+. *kinred* Qq.
Brothers] *brother* Qq.
74. *Makes ... ground.*] Ff, Rowe. *Makes him to ſend, that thereby he may gather The ground of your ill will; and to remoue it.* Qq, Cam. ii. *Makes him to send that he may learn the ground Of your ill will, and thereby to remove it.* Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns. *Hath sent for you that he may learn the ground Of your ill will, and thereby may remove it.* Han. *Hath sent for you; that thereby he may gather The ground of your ill will, and so remove it.* Cap. *Makes him to send, that thereby he may gather The ground of your ill will; and so remove it.* Var. '73 et cet.
74. *him*] *time* Vaughan.

---

full of fraud Bud and be blasted in a breathing-while,' l. 1142. It is, perhaps, worth noting that these two are the only passages in which this phrase occurs, and that the dates of composition of *Venus & Adonis* and *Richard III.* are not widely separated.—ED.

67. **lewd**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.* s. v.): 5. Of persons, their actions, etc.: Bad, vile, evil, wicked, base; unprincipled, ill-conditioned; good-for-nothing, worthless, 'naughty.'

69–74. **The King ... Ayming ... Makes**] DELIUS: Shakespeare forgot that 'the king' is here the subject of 'makes,' and thus refers to the king as 'him,' just as though 'royal disposition' were the subject.—ABBOTT (§ 376): The participle with a nominative originally intended to be absolute seems here diverted into a subject, *i. e.*, the fact that the king guesses at your hatred makes him send.

69. **on**] For examples of 'on' meaning *in consequence of* see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 180. For '*of*' as in Qq, see § 168.

70. **else**] WRIGHT: Of course 'else' is superfluous, as in *Macbeth* V, viii, 4: 'Of all men else I have avoided thee.' The construction may be compared with that in the well-known lines of Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iv, 323, 324: 'Adam the goodliest of men since born His sons; the fairest of her daughters, Eve.' Professor Masson, in his note on that passage, refers to *Paradise Lost*, ii, 678, 679, for a similar instance: 'God and his Son except, Created thing naught valued he nor shunned.'

73. **Brothers**] See l. 42, *supra*.

74. **Makes ... ground**] R. G. WHITE: Whatever may be the case with regard to the missing line [as in the Quarto], nothing can be clearer than that in the Folio we have, not an accidental corruption, but a part, at least, of the result of a revision of the passage, in which Shakespeare rid this of the superfluous *thereby*, and, happily, both for sense and rhythm, substituted 'learn the ground' for 'gather

Rich. I cannot tell, the world is growne ſo bad,
That Wrens make prey, where Eagles dare not pearch.
Since euerie Iaeke became a Gentleman,
There's many a gentle perſon made a Iacke.
Qu. Come, come, we know your meaning Brother
You enuy my aduancement, and my friends: (Gloſter

75. *growne*] *growen* Q_1.
76. *make*] *way* Q_7Q_8.
make prey] *may prey* Q_{3-8}, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
prey] *pray* Q_1.
77. *Iaeke*] F_1.
80. *my aduancement*] *mine aduancement* Q_{2-8}.
friends] *friends'* Knt, Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Cam. +, Ktly, Coll. iii.
(*Gloſter*] Glo. Qq. (Gl. Q_1).

the ground.' What alteration he may have made in the remainder of the passage, accident has prevented us from knowing; and we are therefore obliged to take it from the unrevised copy.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: The construction in this speech is peculiar, and contains that want of strict consecution which Shakespeare is so fond of giving, in order to mark the utterer's agitation.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 8): Though the alteration here made in the Folio is a very considerable one, and might at first sight appear to be certainly intentional and deliberate, I am inclined to think that it was really accidental. The irregularity in the construction of the sentence (which, though natural enough in an eager speaker, does not seem to be wanted for any dramatic purpose) might naturally have recommended it for correction. But though the latter part of the sentence would have borne correction so well—I am inclined myself to think that it still needs some—the alteration made in the Folio does not touch it. It is difficult to see the motive of such an alteration, whoever made it, and I suspect that it has arisen from a misunderstanding by the printer of the directions in the copy. If the manuscript, or corrected copy, which was sent to the press could be produced, I should expect to find in it directions for an alteration such as that suggested by Pope. [See *Text. Notes.*]—WRIGHT: The Quarto reading is an instance of the construction, by which, when two infinitives depend upon an auxiliary verb, the second is often preceded by *to*. Compare *Cymb.*, III, ii, 64–66: 'How we may steal from hence, and from the gap That we shall make in time, from our hencegoing And our return, to excuse.' Again, in the Prayer Book Version of *Psalm* lxix, 26: 'Let their habitation be void: and no man to dwell in their tents,' and *Psalm* lxxxviii, 8: 'That they might put their trust in God: and not to forget the works of God.'

76. **Wrens**] BARNARD sees (*Notes & Queries*, 14 March, 1896) in this use of the name 'wren' a fourfold allusion to the Woodvilles thus: a scornful comparison with the size of the wren; the size of the Woodville family and the proverbially numerous progeny of the wren; the fact that the wren was regarded as unholy; finally, that, as the wren had been made king of the birds by a trick, so by sorcery Edward IV. obtained his wife Elizabeth Grey, to whom the Woodvilles owed their rise.

76. **make prey**] WRIGHT: 'Make' is frequently joined with a substantive so as to be equivalent to the cognate verb, so *make pursuit = pursue*, III, ii, 34; *make abode = abide*, *Two Gent.*, IV, iii, 23. See III, v, 90.

God grant we neuer may haue neede of you.
Rich. Meane time, God grants that I haue need of you.
Our Brother is impriſon'd by your meanes,
My ſelfe diſgrac'd, and the Nobilitie
Held in contempt, while great Promotions
Are daily giuen to ennoble thoſe
That ſcarſe ſome two dayes ſince were worth a Noble.
Qu. By him that rais'd me to this carefull height,
From that contented hap which I inioy'd,
I neuer did incenſe his Maieſtie
Againſt the Duke of *Clarence*, but haue bin
An earneſt aduocate to plead for him.
My Lord you do me ſhamefull iniurie,
Falſely to draw me in theſe vile ſuſpects.
Rich! You may deny that you were not the meane

82. *grants*] *grant* Q_{3-8}.
I] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Hal. *we* Qq et cet.
84. *diſgrac'd*] *diſgract* Q_1.
85. *while great*] *whilſt many faire* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *while many fair* Pope, +, Var. '21, Coll. iii. *while many great* Coll. i, ii, Hal.
88. *carefull*] *careful* F_4 et seq.
91. *bin*] *beene* Qq. *been* F_4.
92, 93. *aduocate...ſhamefull*] *aduocat ...ſhamfull* Q_4Q_5.
94. *theſe ... ſuſpects*] *ſuch ... ſuſpect* Q_7Q_8. *these wild suspects* Pope, +.
95. Rich!] F_1.
deny that you were not] *deny too that you were* Han. Cap.
meane] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *cauſe* Qq et cet.

87. **Noble**] WRIGHT: A very obvious pun, to which a worthy parallel may be found in *1 Henry VI:* V, iv, 23: 'You have suborn'd this man Of purpose to obscure my noble birth. 'Tis true I gave a noble to the priest The morn that I was wedded to her mother.'—BARNARD: The 'noble' was a gold coin worth 6s. 8d., or half a mark. It was first struck by Edward III., and took its name from the excellence of the metal. The sum survives in the solicitor's fee.

88. **carefull**] WRIGHT: Compare 'O full of careful business are his looks!' *Rich. II:* II, ii, 75.

89. **hap**] Compare I, ii, 20.

94. **in**] See I, ii, 287.

94. **suspects**] Compare III, v, 37.

95. **deny . . . not**] For examples of a double negative, see WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 66; and line 66, above for a triple negative, see *Twelfth Night*, III, i, 163; *As You Like It*, I, ii, 27, of this ed.—R. G. WHITE (ed. ii): As often happened, Shakespeare's heedlessness led him to write the reverse of what he intended to write. [Inasmuch as this 'often happens' in Shakespeare, it is to be regretted that R. G. WHITE has not furnished us with at least a few examples.—ED.]

95. **meane**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: It is noteworthy that not only does Shakespeare use 'mean' where now *means* is the word employed, but that on three occa-

Of my Lord *Haſtings* late impriſonment.
Riu. She may my Lord, for———
Rich. She may Lord *Riuers*, why who knowes not ſo?
She may do more ſir then denying that:
She may helpe you to many faire preferments,
And then deny her ayding hand therein,
And lay thoſe Honors on your high deſert.
What may ſhe not, ſhe may, I marry may ſhe.
Riu. What marry may ſhe?
Ric. What marrie may ſhe? Marrie with a King,
A Batcheller, and a handſome ſtripling too,
I wis your Grandam had a worſer match.

97. Riu.] Ryu. Q_1. Reu. Q_{3-5}.
Lord, for———] *Lord.* Qq.
98. *Lord* Riuers] *Lo: Ryuers* Q_1Q_2. *L. Riuers* Q_{3-5}.
102. *deſert*] *deſerts* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
103. *may ſhe*] *my ſhe* Q_5.
ſhe not,] *ſhe not?* Q_{3-5}.
may, ...ſhe.] *may, ...she*— Cap. Cam. +, Ktly. *may*— ...*she*— Rowe et cet.
I] *yea* Qq, Cam. +. *ay* Rowe et cet.
104, 105. *marry...marrie*] *mary... mary* Q_1.
104. *ſhe?*] *ſhe.* Q_1.
106. *Batcheller*] *batchelor* Q_1,F_4. *batcheler* Q_{2-5}.
and] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. Om. Qq et cet.
handſome] *handſom* F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob.
107. *I wis*] *Iwis* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *I-wis* Ktly.
had a] *had* Q_5.

---

sions he uses *means* as if it were a singular noun; and, moreover, this mode of parlance is still in use; we sometimes say: 'There is hardly a safer means of effecting it.'

105. **King**] This, of course, refers to Edward IV.

106. **stripling**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The sense is, one as thin as a strip, a growing lad not yet filled out. Compare 'you tailor's yard, you sheathe, you bow-case,' *1 Henry IV:* II, iv, 273.

107. **I wis**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): It is to be particularly noted that the Middle English prefix *i* (= Anglo Saxon *ge*) is often written apart from the rest of the word, and with a capital letter. Hence, by the mistake of editors, it is sometimes printed 'I wis,' and explained to mean *I know*. Hence, further, the imaginary verb *wis, to know*, has found its way into our dictionaries. But it is pure fiction, the verb being *wit*. 'I wis' means *certainly*.

107. **Grandam . . . worser match**] VAUGHAN (iii, p. 20): It is remarkable that Shakespeare, at first sight, seems to have here just missed a taunt which would have suited the language of Richard more precisely; for Lord Rivers's mother *did* marry much beneath her, and his father was, in consequence, fined by Henry VI. for his presumption in achieving this alliance. His grandmother, on the contrary, did not make a derogatory match, although she married a man of still lower rank, in the person of his grandfather, John de Wydevill, who was a simple esquire of the county of Northampton. In the general sense of the terms, she did not make

Qu. My Lord of Glouſter, I haue too long borne
Your blunt vpbraidings, and your bitter ſcoffes:
By heauen, I will acquaint his Maieſtie
Of thoſe groſſe taunts that oft I haue endur'd.
I had rather be a Countrie ſeruant maide
Then a great Queene, with this condition,
To be ſo baited, ſcorn'd, and ſtormed at,
Small ioy haue I in being Englands Queene.

Enter old Queene Margaret.

Mar. And leſned be that ſmall, God I beſeech him,
Thy honor, ſtate, and ſeate, is due to me.

Rich. What? threat you me with telling of the King?
I will auouch't in preſence of the King:

111. *Of*] *With* Qq, Cap. Mal. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
that oft I] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *I often* Qq et cet.
112. *ſeruant maide*] *serving-maid* Coll. Wh. i, Hal.
114. *ſo baited, ſcorn'd, ...ſtormed*] *thus taunted, ſcorned ... baited* Qq, Pope,+, Var. '21, Coll. Sing. Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
ſtormed] *ſtorm'd* F_4. *stormèd* Dyce, Huds.
116. Enter...] SCENE IV. Enter... Pope, Han. Warb. Johns. After line 114. Qq, Cap. Dyce, Wh. i, Cam.+.
116. old Queene Margaret.] Qu. Margaret. Qq (Margret Q_{3-5}.) Rowe,+ (subs.). ... at a distance. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
117. *leſned*] *lessen'd* Rowe et seq.
him] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. *thee* Qq et cet.
119. *telling of*] *telling, or* Q_2.
King?] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *King? Tell him and ſpare not, looke what I haue ſayd* Qq (*I ſayd* Q_{3-8}.) et cet.
120. *auouch't*] Ff, Rowe. *auouch* Qq et cet.

even a 'bad match,' because it was equal and suitable. But in truth it would have less well suited the Duke of Gloucester to allude to her mother's derogatory marriage, than to her grandmother's equal marriage, inasmuch as it would have recalled the only bright point of Elizabeth's descent—that is, the rank of her mother Jacquetta, daughter of the Earl of St Paul, who, when Duchess of Bedford, condescended to a union with Sir Richard Wydevill, who was only a knight.

107. **worser**] For examples of double comparative, see ABBOTT, § 11.

111. **Of**] That is, *about, concerning;* as in the titles of Bacon's *Essays.*

112. **seruant maide**] Rolfe notes that *serving-maid* (See *Text. Notes*) is a word 'which Shakespeare nowhere uses.'

114. **stormed**] See I, ii, 73, or WALKER (*Vers.*, p. 45). Compare *Mer. of Ven.*, I, iii, 138: 'Why look you, how you storm.' Also *Rom. & Jul.*, I, v, 62: 'Wherfore storm you so?'

117. **him**] For other instances of like substitution, see WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 215.

119. **with telling of the King**] Compare 'I mean your voice for crowning of the king,' III, iv, 34.

120. **I will . . . King**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 9): Though a slight change ['*avouch't*'] is introduced in this line, to save the grammar, which had

I dare aduenture to be ſent to th'Towre. 121
'Tis time to ſpeake,
My paines are quite forgot.
Margaret. Out Diuell,
I do remember them too well: 125

121. *I dare ... Towre*] Om. Qq, Pope, +.
to be] *be* Steev. conj.
122, 123. *'Tis...forgot*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
123. *My*] *when* Q_{6-8}.
124, 125. *Out...well:*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. One line, and reading *I remember* Qq et cet.
125. *them*] *thee* Theob. ii, Warb. Johns.

been disordered by the omission [of the Quarto line], I am inclined to think that the omission itself was an accident. This change may have been introduced by the reader or editor merely to make sense. But a new line [121] has been added to the passage, as in the Quarto, which, as the Cambridge editors adopt it, I presume they do not include among those which cannot be ascribed to Shakespeare. This line I suppose to have been inserted in a copy (containing the line omitted in the Folio) which was sent to the printer; and I suppose both the loss of the missing line and the insertion of the "t' in that which followed, to have been the work of the printing office, no other corrector having seen or had anything to do with it. . . . I have no doubt that in printing the first three lines as in the Quarto, and inserting the line which was added in the Folio, the Cambridge editors have restored the passage to the shape in which Shakespeare intended it to stand. ['Tell him and spare not look what I have said, I will avouch in presence of the King; I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.' This reading commended by SPEDDING is not the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS', but CAPELL'S, and is adopted by the majority of editors. —ED.]—PICKERSGILL (*Ibid.*, p. 84): It is perfectly true that there is scarcely any error more common with the early printers of Shakespeare's plays than the omission of a line; but it is not usual with them, as far as I know, to make alterations in order to remedy the disorder which is thereby occasioned. Take from this very play an instance, where the printer, through omitting a line, has produced absolute nonsense: 'These babes for Clarence weep, so do not they,' II, ii, 89. I am, therefore, of the opinion that the alteration was intentionally made by the corrector, and I can easily understand that the omitted line was too free and vigourous for his taste. With regard to the omitted line of the Folio, I should say that it is Shakespeare's, but it was intentionally omitted from the Quarto. To my mind it is much better away, and a judicious corrector would not have restored it.

124. **Out**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.* s. v. 'Out,' *interjection*): 1. As an imperative exclamation, with ellipsis of verb. 2. An exclamation expressing lamentation, abhorrence, or indignant reproach; often conjoined with *alas!* [Compare: 'Out on ye owls!' IV, iii, 543.]

125. **them**] Both Warburton and Johnson printed, I think, from Theobald's second edition, where the text here reads *thee* for 'them.' Warburton proposes and prints *No* instead of 'Out'; Johnson objects to this change and suggests that 'Out' be retained but that *thee* be amended to 'them,' unconscious of the fact that he is merely restoring the original text. Neither Warburton's nor Johnson's note was included in the *Variorum* of 1821.—ED.

Thou kill'd'ſt my Husband *Henrie* in the Tower,
And *Edward* my poore Son, at Tewkesburie.
Rich. Ere you were Queene,
I, or your Husband King :
I was a packe-horſe in his great affaires :
A weeder out of his proud Aduerſaries,
A liberall rewarder of his Friends,
To royalize his blood, I ſpent mine owue.
Margaret. I and much better blood
Then his, or thine.
Rich. In all which time, you and your Husband *Grey*
Were factious, for the Houſe of *Lancaſter* ;
And *Riuers*, ſo were you : Was not your Husband,
In *Margarets* Battaile, at Saint *Albons*, ſlaine ?

126. *kill'd'ſt*] *ſteweſt* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *kild'ſt* F_4.
127. *Tewkesburie*] *Teuxburie* Qq. (*Teuxbury* Q_1.) *Tewksbury* F_3F_4.
128, 129. *Ere...King*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
129, 134. *I*] *Yea* Qq, Cam.+. *Ay* Rowe et cet.
133. *ſpent*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *ſpilt* Qq et cet.
133. *owue*] F_1.
134, 135. *I...thine*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
137. Lancaſter] *Lancanſter* Q_3Q_4.
138. *you : Was*] *you, was* Q_1. *you. Ws* Q_2. *you. Was* Qq, Cam.+, Ktly, Coll. iii.
139. Margarets] *Marg'ret's* Pope,+. Albons] *Albones* Q_1. *Albans* F_3F_4.

128, 129. **Ere . . . King**] WRIGHT: In 1460, when Edward first became king, Richard was eight years old; but the dramatist has disregarded the facts of history throughout the play. [Is it not well to bear in mind that many allusions such as the present may really refer to incidents in the older play, the *True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of Yorke*, which later became *3 Henry VI.*, and hereby relieve Shakespeare, as a dramatist, from all inaccuracy as an historian? See note by MALONE on ll. 137–9, below.—ED.]

133. **royalize**] STEEVENS: So, in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, 1607: 'Who means tomorrow for to royalize The triumphs.'—WRIGHT: Florio (*Worlde of Wordes*, 1598) has, '*Realizzare*, to royalize or make kinglie.'

137–139. **Were factious . . . slaine**] JOHNSON: It is said in *3 Hen. VI:* III, ii, 6, that Sir John Grey died 'in quarrel of the house of York.'—MALONE (*Note on 3 Hen. VI:* III, ii, 6): This is in every particular a falsification of history. Sir John Grey fell in the second battle of St. Albans, which was fought on Shrove Tuesday, 1460–1, fighting on the side of King Henry. Shakespeare in new moulding this play [*3 Hen. VI.*] followed implicitly his author (for these five lines, with only a slight variation, are found in the old play) without giving himself the trouble to examine the history; but a few years afterwards, when writing *Richard III.*, he was not warped by a preceding misrepresentation of another writer: he stated from the chronicles this matter truly as it was; and this is one of the numerous

Let me put in your mindes, if you forget
What you haue beene ere this, and what you are:
Withall, what I haue beene, and what I am.
Q.M. A murth'rous Villaine, and ſo ſtill thou art.
Rich. Poore *Clarence* did forſake his Father *Warwicke*,
I, and forſwore himſelfe (which Ieſu pardon.)
Q. M. Which God reuenge.
Rich. To fight on *Edwards* partie, for the Crowne,
And for his meede, poore Lord, he is mewed vp:
I would to God my heart were Flint, like *Edwards*,
Or *Edwards* ſoft and pittifull, like mine;
I am too childiſh fooliſh for this World.
Q.M. High thee to Hell for ſhame, & leaue this World
Thou Cacodemon, there thy Kingdome is.

140. *mindes*] *minde* Q_5.
you] *yours* Qq.
141. *this*] *now* Qq, Var. '78, '85, Mal. Ran. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Huds.
143. *murth'rous*] Ff, Rowe, +, Wh. i. *murtherous* Qq, Knt. *murderous* Cam.+, Huds. *murd'rous* Johns. et cet.
148. *Lord*] *Lo:* Q_1Q_2.
151. *childiſh fooliſh*] Ff, Rowe. *childiſh, fooliſh* Q_1Q_2, Pope, Han. *childish-foolish* Theob. et cet.
152. *High*] F_2. *Hye* $Q_3Q_4F_3F_4$. *Hie* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
this] *the* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
153. *Cacodemon*] *Cacodæmon* F_3F_4. *cacadæmon* Cap. (corrected in Errata).

---

circumstances that prove incontestably, in my apprehension, that he was not the original author of *2* and *3 Henry VI.*

139. **Margarets Battaile**] RITSON: That is, Margaret's *army*.—WRIGHT: It is called 'Margaret's battle' because she was victorious in it, to distinguish it from the first battle, fought on Thursday, 22 May, 1455, in which Henry was defeated. No doubt there are plenty of instances in which 'battle' means *army*, but this is not one.

140. **Let me . . . forget**] CAPELL (ii, 176): The numbers of this line are so remarkable in themselves (three trochees with intervention of one iambus) and so accommodated to the passion and character, a reader's notice is due to them.

144. **Clarence . . . Warwicke**] See *3 Hen. VI:* V, i, or BOSWELL-STONE, p. 335. Clarence married Isabel Neville, Warwick's elder daughter.

147. **on Edwards partie**] Compare: 'hopes to find you forward Upon his party.'—III, ii, 54; also IV, iii, 565.

148. **meede**] That is, *reward*. See I, iv, 282.

148. **mewed**] WRIGHT: The pun is exceedingly bad, though perhaps not worse than those which abound in the three parts of *Henry VI.*

151. **childish foolish**] For other examples of compound adjectives, see WALKER, *Crit.* i, 21, or ABBOTT, § 2. See 'eluish-mark'd,' l. 237; gentle-sleeping, l. 300 *post.*

153. **Cacodemon**] WRIGHT: That is, evil demon, evil spirit. The word occurs

Riu. My Lord of Gloſter: in thoſe buſie dayes,
Which here you vrge, to proue vs Enemies,
We follow'd then our Lord, our Soueraigne King,
So ſhould we you, if you ſhould be our King.
Rich. If I ſhould be? I had rather be a Pedler:
Farre be it from my heart, the thought thereof.
Qu. As little ioy (my Lord) as you ſuppoſe
You ſhould enioy, were you this Countries King,
As little ioy you may ſuppoſe in me,
That I enioy, being the Queene thereof.
Q.M. A little ioy enioyes the Queene thereof,
For I am ſhee, and altogether ioyleſſe:

154, 156. *Lord*] *Lo:* Q_1Q_2.
156. *follow'd*] *follow* Q_2.
Soueraigne] *lawfull* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '78, '85, Ran. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *sov'reign* Pope, Han.
157. *we you*] *we now* Q_6Q_7.
you, if] *you if* Q_1.
ſhould] *would* F_3F_4.
159. *thereof*] *of it* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
160. Qu.] Q. M. Q_3Q_4. Qu. Nar. Q_5. Qu. Mar. Q_6Q_7. Q. Mar. Q_8.
162. *you may*] *may you* Qq, Cap. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
164. Q.M.] Om. Q_7Q_8.
A] *As* Heath, Dyce, Sta. Wh. ii, Marshall. *And* Wh. i.

---

nowhere else in Shakespeare, and savours rather of a playwright who had been to the University. It had made its way into Italian. Florio (*A Worlde of Words*, 1598) gives: '*Cacodemone*, an euill spirit or diuell.' It appears also to have been used in the language of astrology, 'Mars with the dragon's tail in the third house, . . . Then Jupiter in the twelfth the Cacodemon,' Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Bloody Brother*, IV, ii.

156. **Soueraigne King**] KNIGHT: The correction of the Folio was certainly necessary; for Rivers would hardly have ventured to use the epithet *lawful* (legitimate) in the presence of Gloucester.—MARSHALL: Compare, for a like sentiment, *3 Henry VI:* III, i, 95, 96, also Heywood, *2 Edward IV.*, (*Works*, p. 133). [The lines from *3 Henry VI:* appear, but with slight variation, in the older play, *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, III, iii, 50–52, ed. Cam.—ED.]

160–162. **As . . . As**] VAUGHAN: Either the second 'as,' it seems, should be altered into *so*, or the second 'as little joy,' omitted. If the present form is to be preserved, I have suspected that Shakespeare wrote 'A little joy.' This suggestion is confirmed by the language in which Margaret echoes this sentiment of Elizabeth. [According to the text of the Quartos and Ff, where a comma follows 'King,' Vaughan's grammatical criticism is, of course, just; but with a period after 'King,' as in the Ff, his criticism is, I think, needless. In the present text we have two parallel sentences: 'You suppose you would have little joy were you King; with equal right you may suppose that I would have little joy in being Queen.' There is no exact proportion intimated, as there would be in 'just as little joy as you would feel just so little joy I would feel'; but merely a parallel is implied in the Ff.—ED.]

I can no longer hold me patient. 166
Heare me, you wrangling Pyrates, that fall out,
In ſharing that which you haue pill'd from me: 168

166. *patient.*] *patient:* Q_1. *patient.* [advancing. Cap. et seq. (subs.) *patient.* [She advances. They all start. Coll. (MS).
167. *you*] *ye* Johns.
168. *In ſharing*] *In ſharing out* Qq. (*I ſhaking out* Q_1Q_2).
you] *yon* F_2.
pill'd] *pild* Qq.

166. **I can . . . patient]** WARBURTON: This scene of Margaret's imprecations is fine and artful. She prepares the audience, like another Cassandra, for the following tragic revolutions.—STEEVENS: Surely the merits of this scene are insufficient to excuse its improbability. Margaret, bullying the court of England in the royal palace, is a circumstance as absurd as the courtship of Gloster in a public street.—GERVINUS (i, 386): The excess and repetition of Margaret's revengeful curses alone are to be blamed, not the thing itself. We must be on our guard of appearing on the side of those interpreters who consider the introduction of Margaret, and her reproaches at court, absurd, as well as Richard's wooing in the street. It is a wise contrast, which necessitates the part assigned to Margaret, and even the glaring prominence given to her curses and their fulfilment has its wise intention. The more secretly the sins of this brood of hypocrites were practised, the more visibly and notoriously would punishment overtake them; the manifest retribution of God should appear all the more evident against the secrecy and the deceit of men; and the interference of eternal justice ought plainly to appear against the evil-doers who think to ensnare heaven itself; who believe not in an avenging power, nor in the curse, which rests on evil deeds themselves.—WRIGHT: The extravagance of the situation is in harmony with the exaggeration of the principal character. If we once accept Richard as a reality, nothing else in the play is out of proportion. In his world such things would not appear incongruous.—COLLIER (*Emendations*, etc., p. 325): Manuscript stage-directions are hardly as numerous in this as in some other plays; but still on all occasions they are sufficient for the due conduct of the representation; when, for instance, 'old Queen Margaret' arrives, a note of *behind* is made against every sentence she utters, until *she comes forth* with 'I can no longer,' etc. *Start all* is then added in the margin, to indicate the surprise, if not alarm, her sudden appearance created.

168. **In]** That is, *while, during*. For other examples, see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 164.

168. **sharing]** WRIGHT: For this earlier and literal (Anglo-Saxon *sceren, to divide*) sense, compare *Timon*, IV, ii, 23: 'The latest of my wealth I'll share amongst you.' Also *1 Henry IV:* II, ii, 104.

168. **pill'd]** SKEAT: Also spelt *peel*. But the words *peel*, to strip, and *peel*, to plunder, are from different sources, though much confused; we even find 'pill' used in the sense *to strip*. The sense of *stripping* goes back to Latin *pellis*, skin, or to *pilare*, to deprive of hair.—WRIGHT quotes, as an illustration of this use of 'pill,' *Richard II:* II, i, 246: 'The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes,' and Hall, *Edward IV:* p. 302: 'But what soeuer their outward words were, their

Which off you trembles not, that lookes on me?
If not, that I am Queene, you bow like Subiects;
Yet that by you depos'd, you quake like Rebells.
Ah gentle Villaine, doe not turne away. (ſight?
Rich. Foule wrinckled Witch, what mak'ſt thou in my
Q.M. But repetition of what thou haſt marr'd,
That will I make, before I let thee goe.
Rich. Wert thou not baniſhed, on paine of death?

169. *off*] F_1.
170. *am*] Ff, Rowe, Wh. i, Rlfe. *being* Qq et cet.
171. *by you*] *by ou* Q_3. *by on* Q_4. *depos'd*] *diſpoſed* Q_7Q_8. *Rebells.*] *rebels:* Qq. (*reabels:* Q_7.) *Rebells.* F_2. *Rebels.* F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i. *rebels?* Theob. ii et seq.
172. *Ah gentle*] *O gentle* Qq. (*gentile* Q_7.) Sta. Cam.+.
173. *mak'ſt*] *makest* Huds.
174. *marr'd*] *mard* Qq.
176–178. Rich. *Wert ... abode*] Om. Qq.
176. *baniſhed*] *banishèd* Dyce.

---

inward cogitacions were onlye hope of spoyle, and desyre to robbe and pyll.' [Compare also *Timon*, IV, i, 12.]

170. **I am Queene**] R. G. WHITE: The sense is clear enough in the Folio, and the construction preferable in respect to the impressiveness of the speech. I am convinced that the change [from the Quarto] was made by the author partly for these reasons, partly to avoid the very unpleasant cacophony *being queen.*—SPEDDING: This is one of those slight changes which easily *make themselves* in the process of printing. The meaning is clear enough, but the wording (though not altogether unlike the style in which Margaret sometimes expresses herself) is so unusual as to provoke conjectural emendation.

172. **gentle Villaine**] WARBURTON: We should read *ungentle villain.*—JOHNSON: The meaning of 'gentle' is not, as the commentator imagines, *tender* or *courteous*, but *high-born.* An opposition is meant between that and 'villain,' which means at once a *wicked* and a *low-born wretch.* So before: 'Since every Jack is made a *gentleman* There's many a *gentle* person made a Jack.'—J. M. MASON: 'Gentle' appears to me to be taken in its common acceptation, but to be used ironically.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: By the epithet 'gentle' we think is involved many significant and taunting allusions. She means he is high by birth, low by nature; a supreme or arch villain, a smooth-tongued or stealthy villain, who would creep away from her presence to avoid her reproaches.

173. **mak'st**] WRIGHT: That is, *what dost thou?* The temptation to pun upon 'make' and 'mar' seems to have been irresistible. Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 190–192; also *As You Like It*, I, i, 31–34.

176. **Wert thou not banished**] MALONE: Margaret fled into France after the battle of Hexham in 1464, and Edward soon afterwards issued a proclamation prohibiting any of his subjects from aiding her to return, or harbouring her should she attempt to revisit England. She remained abroad till the 14th of April, 1471, when she landed at Weymouth. After the battle of Tewkesbury, May, 1471, she was confined in the Tower until 1475. She died in France in

Q.M. I was: but I doe find more paine in baniſhment,
Then death can yeeld me here, by my abode.
A Husband and a Sonne thou ow'ſt to me,
And thou a Kingdome; all of you, allegeance:
This Sorrow that I haue, by right is yours,
And all the Pleaſures you vſurpe, are mine.
Rich. The Curſe my Noble Father layd on thee,
When thou didſt Crown his Warlike Brows with Paper,
And with thy ſcornes drew'ſt Riuers from his eyes,
And then to dry them, gau'ſt the Duke a Clowt,
Steep'd in the faultleſſe blood of prettie *Rutland:*
His Curſes then, from bitterneſſe of Soule,
Denounc'd againſt thee, are all falne vpon thee:
And God, not we, hath plagu'd thy bloody deed.

177. *I was*] One line, Dyce ii, iii.
178. *my*] Om. Ff.
179. *ow'ſt*] *oweſt* Qq, Cam.+, Huds.
to] *vnto* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
181. *This*] *The* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
182. *Pleaſures*] *pleaſure* Q_7.
are] *is* Q_{3-8}.
183. *my*] *me* Q_6.
183. *on*] *one* Q_7Q_8.
185. *ſcornes*] *ſcorne* Qq, Sta.
187. *faultleſſe*] Q_1Q_2. Om. Q_{3-8}.
189. *Denounc'd*] *Denounſt* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$.
all] Om. Q_{3-8},Ff.
190. *hath*] *have* F_3F_4, Rowe. *has* Pope,+.
plagu'd] *plagde* Q_1Q_2. *plagude* Q_3Q_5. *plaugde* Q_4.

1482. The present scene is in 1477; so that her introduction here is a mere poetical fiction.

183–187. **The Curse . . . Rutland]** See *3 Henry VI:* I, iv, 78–95.—MOULTON (p. 113): The key-note struck by Gloucester is taken up in chorus by the rest, who find relief from the crushing effect of Margaret's curses by pressing the charge home upon her. This is only a detail, but it is enough to carry the effect of the enveloping action a degree further back in time: the events of the play are a nemesis on York for wrongs done to Lancaster, but now it seems these old wrongs against Lancaster were retribution for yet older crimes Lancaster had committed against York. As in architecture the vista is contrived so as to carry the general design of the building into indefiniteness, so here, while the grand nemesis, of which Margaret's presence is the representative, shuts in the play like a veil, the momentary lifting of the veil opens up a vista of nemeses receding further and further back into history.

185. **scornes]** WRIGHT: The singular of the Quartos is less dissonant in a line already abounding in sibilants. Otherwise 'scorns' in the sense of *scoffs*, expressions of scorn, has plenty of authority. Compare *Hamlet*, III, i, 70: 'For who would bear the whips and scorns of time?' Also *Othello*, IV, i, 83.

190. **plagu'd]** MURRAY (*N. E. D.* s. v. *verb*, 1. *transit.*): To afflict with plague or calamity (especially in reference to divine punishment); to torment, harass. Perhaps sometimes like Latin *plāgāre*, to strike. Now rare or archaic.

Qu. So iuſt is God, to right the innocent.
Haſt. O,'twas the fouleſt deed to ſlay that Babe,
And the moſt mercileſſe,that ere was heard of.
*Riu.*Tyrants themſelues wept when it was reported.
*Dorſ.*No man but prophecied reuenge for it.
Buck. Northumberland, then preſent, wept to ſee it.
Q.M. What? were you ſnarling all before I came,
Ready to catch each other by the throat,
And turne you all your hatred now on me?
Did *Yorkes* dread Curſe preuaile ſo much with Heauen,
That *Henries* death, my louely *Edwards* death,
Their Kingdomes loſſe, my wofull Baniſhment,
Should all but anſwer for that peeuiſh Brat?
Can Curſes pierce the Clouds, and enter Heauen?
Why then giue way dull Clouds to my quick Curſes.

191. Qu.] Q.Mar. Rowe, Pope, Theob. Queen Elizabeth. Warb. conj. Mal. et seq.
193. *ere*] *euer* Qq. *e're* F_3F_4.
199. *all...now*] Q_1,Ff (*al* F_3.) *now ...all* Qq. (*now...now* Q_7Q_8).
199. *on*] *one* Q_1.
202. *loſſe*] *loſt* Q_7Q_8.
203. *Should*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *Could* Qq et cet.

191. **So . . . innocent**] RITSON: So, in *Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, 1602: 'How just is God to right the innocent?' [p. 231, Fourth Folio, col. *b*].—WRIGHT: The author of *Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, must have copied from *Richard III.* or repeated himself.

192. **that Babe**] Shakespeare is here referring not to the historic murder of Rutland by Clifford, but to the episode as it is given in the *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York*, I, iii, and with but a few small changes repeated in *3 Henry VI:* I, iii. The author of the *True Tragedie* was, possibly, misled by Hall, who speaks of Rutland as, at this time, 'scarce of the age of .xii. yeres, a faire gentleman and a maydenlike person.' In fact, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, the third son of the Duke of York, was born in 1443, therefore at the Battle of Wakefield, in 1460, he was seventeen years old—nine years older than Richard.—ED.

196. **Northumberland . . . it**] Northumberland was not a witness to the murder, but was moved to tears by the sight of York's grief. See *3 Henry VI:* I, iv, 169 et seq.—ED.

203. **but**] J. M. MASON: The sense seems to require that we should read 'Could all *not*'; there are no words so frequently mistaken for each other as *not* and 'but.'—MALONE: 'But' is *only*—could nothing less answer for the death of that brat than the death of my Henry and Edward? [For examples of 'but' meaning *only* see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 128.]

203. **peeuish**] DYCE (*Gloss.*): This word appears to have generally signified, during Shakespeare's days, *silly, foolish, trifling*, though no doubt the word was formerly used to signify, as now, *pettish, perverse.*

205. **dull . . . quick**] For this use of 'dull' in the sense of *dead, lifeless*, compare

Though not by Warre, by Surfet dye your King,
As ours by Murther, to make him a King.
Edward thy Sonne, that now is Prince of Wales,
For *Edward* our Sonne, that was Prince of Wales,
Dye in his youth, by like vntimely violence.
Thy ſelfe a Queene, for me that was a Queene,
Out-liue thy glory, like my wretched ſelfe:
Long may'ſt thou liue, to wayle thy Childrens death,
And ſee another, as I ſee thee now,
Deck'd in thy Rights, as thou art ſtall'd in mine.
Long dye thy happie dayes, before thy death,
And after many length'ned howres of griefe,
Dye neyther Mother, Wife, nor Englands Queene.
Riuers and *Dorſet*, you were ſtanders by,

206. *Though*] *If* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.
207. *ours*] *our* Q_3Q_5. *out* Q_4.
Murther] Ff, Rowe,+, Knt, Wh. i, Rlfe. *murder* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.
208, 209. *that...that*] *which...which* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
209. *our*] *my* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
was] *was a* Q_7. *was the* Q_8.
210. *Dye*] *Died* Q_8.
violence] *violences* Q_6Q_7.
212. *Out-liue*] *Outliue* Q_2Q_6, Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam.+. *Out liue* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
213. *death*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *loſſe* Qq et cet.
214. *thee*] *thee thee* F_2.
215. *Rights*] *Glorie* Qq, Sta. *rites* Anon. ap. Cam.
ſtall'd] *ſtald* Qq.
217. *length'ned*] Ff, Rowe,+. *length-ened* Qq. *lengthen'd* Var. '73 et cet.

Ven. & Ad., 212: 'Well-painted idol, image dull and dead.' SCHMIDT gives also several other examples.—ED.

206. **Surfet**] JOHNSON: Alluding to his luxurious life.

210. **like vntimely**] WRIGHT: For this use of 'like' with an adjective compare *Temp.*, III, iii, 66: 'My fellow-ministers Are like invulnerable.' Also *Hen. V:* II, ii, 183.

210. **violence**] He who wishes to read *vi'lence* instead of the flowing word 'violence' (with the *vio-* slightly slurred) may find justification in ABBOTT, § 468. —ED.

211. **for me**] That is, *instead of me.*

215. **stall'd**] ABBOTT (§ 460) gives this as an instance of a dropped prefix, i. e. for *in*-stalled. WHITNEY (*New Cent. Dict.*, *s. v.* to induct into office, to install) gives: 'But in his State yer he be stall'd . . . He thus dilates,' Sylvester's *Du Bartas* [3rd Day, Week ii, pt. 4], *The Captaines;* and also the present line. WRIGHT quotes Greene, *Friar Bacon*, II, xi: 'A friar newly stalled in Brazen-nose.'—ED.

219. **Riuers . . . standers by**] WRIGHT: Hall does not mention Rivers among the bystanders.

And ſo waſt thou, Lord *Haſtings*, when my Sonne
Was ſtab'd with bloody Daggers:God, I pray him,
That none of you may liue his naturall age,
But by ſome vnlook'd accident cut off.
Rich. Haue done thy Charme, ỹ hateful wither'd Hagge.
Q.M. And leaue out thee? ſtay Dog, for ỹ ſhalt heare me.
If Heauen haue any grieuous plague in ſtore,
Exceeding thoſe that I can wiſh vpon thee,
O let them keepe it, till thy ſinnes be ripe,
And then hurle downe their indignation
On thee, the troubler of the poore Worlds peace.
The Worme of Conſcience ſtill begnaw thy Soule,
Thy Friends ſuſpect for Traytors while thou liu'ſt,
And take deepe Traytors for thy deareſt Friends:

220. *waſt*] *was* Q_{3-7}.
222. *his*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Ktly, Huds. Rlfe. *your* Qq et cet.
223. *vnlook'd accident*] *vnlookt accident* Qq. *un-look'd-for accident* F_3F_4. *unlooked for accident* Rowe. *unlook'd for accident all* Han. *unlook'd accident be* Ktly.
224. *wither'd*] *withred* Q_1. *withered* Qq, Cam.+.
225. *thee ſ*] *the* Q_2Q_3.
226. *Heauen*] *Heav'ns* Rowe ii,+. *Heavens* Rowe i, Coll. iii.
230. *the troubler*] *thou troubler* Rowe,+.
232. *liu'ſt*] *liueſt* Qq, Cam.+.
233. *for thy*] *forth* Q_4.

223. **But**] ABBOTT (§ 385): Where the negative is part of the subject, as in 'none,' a new subject must be supplied following 'but,' thus: '*But* (each of you),' etc. [If this line be the conclusion of Margaret's speech, Richard's imperative 'Have done thy charm' lacks vigour, I think. Does he not interrupt her in the full tide of her invective? A comma after 'but,' and the substitution of a dash for the period after 'off,' is the punctuation humbly suggested by the present ED.]

223. **vnlook'd**] WRIGHT: 'Unlooked,' in the sense *unlooked for*, is peculiar to this play.

225. **And . . . me**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 467): The effect of Queen Margaret's appearance, despair-crowned and breathing curses, in the earlier scenes of the play, is that of a human ghost foreboding the aftercoming of those shadowy apparitions of his victims that surround Richard's tented bed on Bosworth field, which was to be his death-bed.

226–229. **Heauen . . . their**] Compare *Macbeth*, II, i, 5: 'There's husbandry in heaven Their candles are all out,' where 'heaven' is also used as a plural.—ED.

231. **Worme of Conscience**] WRIGHT: In the margin of the Geneva Version of *Isaiah*, lxvi, 24: 'their worm shall not die,' is explained as 'a continual torment of conscience, which shall ever gnaw them, and never suffer them to be at rest.'—BARNARD: The 'Worm of Conscience' is a character in the *Pilgremage of the Sowle*, a spiritual romance printed by Caxton in 1483. Richard was a patron of Caxton. [So also were Earl Rivers, and many others.—ED.]

No ſleepe cloſe vp that deadly Eye of thine,
Vnleſſe it be while ſome tormenting Dreame
Affrights thee with a Hell of ougly Deuills.
Thou eluiſh mark'd, abortiue rooting Hogge,
Thou that waſt ſeal'd in thy Natiuitie
The ſlaue of Nature, and the Sonne of Hell:

234. *that deadly Eye*] *the deadly eyes* Q_7Q_8.
235. *while*] *whileſt* Q_{1-5}. *whilſt* Q_6 Q_7Q_8, Cam.+.
236. *Affrights*] *Affright* F_4, Rowe. *ougly*] *ugly* QqF_3F_4.
237. *eluiſh mark'd*] F_3. *eluiſh markt* Qq, Han. *elviſh, mark'd* F_3. *elviſh, markt* F_4. *elvish-markt* Rowe,+. *elvish--mark'd* Var.'73 et cet.
237. *mark'd, abortiue*] *markt abortiue* Q_1.
239. *ſlaue*] *shame* Anon. ap. Theob. i. (Omitted in ed. ii.)

237. **eluish mark'd**] STEEVENS: The common people of Scotland (as I learn from Kelly's *Proverbs*) have still an aversion to those who have any natural defect or redundancy, as thinking them 'mark'd' out for mischief.—WRIGHT: According to Allan Ramsay, cattle which were supposed to be bewitched by fairies were called 'elf-shot.' Compare what Margaret says of Richard in *3 Hen. VI:* II, ii, 135: 'But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam; But like a foul mis-shapen stigmatic, Mark'd by the destinies to be avoided.' Birth-marks, in connection with the old belief in planetary influence, were thought to be indications of character. The Wife of Bath, in Chaucer, justifies the very explicit confession she makes of her experiences by saying: 'I had the prynte of Saynte Venus sel.' [l. 605.]

237. **rooting Hogge**] WARBURTON: The expression is fine, alluding (in memory of her young son) to the ravage which hogs make, with the finest flowers, in gardens; and intimating that Elizabeth was to expect no other treatment for her sons.—JOHNSON: There is no such heap of allusions as the commentator imagines. She calls him 'hog,' as an appellation more contemptuous than *boar*, as he is elsewhere termed, from his ensigns armorial. [See *Note*, l. 327, *supra*.]—HENLEY: The propriety of Warburton's note, notwithstanding what Johnson hath subjoined, is fully confirmed by the satirical rhyme of Collingbourne, which is thus preserved in Heywood's *2 Edward IV:* 'The cat, the rat, and Lovell our dog Do rule all England under a hog. The crook-bakt Boare the way hath found To root our Roses from the ground. Both flower and bud will he confound, Till King of beasts the swine be crownde: And then the Dog, the Cat, and Rat, Shall in his trough feed and be fat.' [p. 177, ed. Pearson. The persons meant were Catesby, Lovel, and Ratcliff.—ED.]

238, 239. **seal'd . . . slaue of Nature**] WARBURTON: The expression is strong and noble, and alludes to the ancient custom of masters branding their profligate slaves; by which it is insinuated that his misshapen person was the mark that nature had set upon him to stigmatize his ill conditions. Shakespeare expresses the same thought in the *Com. of Err.*, IV, ii, 19: 'He is deformed, crooked . . . Stigmatical in making.' But as the speaker rises in her resentment, she expresses this contemptuous thought much more openly, and condemns him to a still worse state of slavery: 'Sin death and hell have set their *marks* on him.' Only, in the first line, her mention of his moral condition insinuates her reflections on his defor-

Thou ſlander of thy heauie Mothers Wombe, 240
Thou loathed Iſſue of thy Fathers Loynes,
Thou Ragge of Honor, thou deteſted--
Rich. Margaret. 243

240. *heauie Mothers*] *mothers heauie* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Coll. ii, Sta. Cam.+. *mother's* Johns.
242. *Ragge*] *wrack* Warb.
242. *deteſted--*] *deteſted*, &c. Qq. *deteſted.* F_4.
243–245. Margaret...*not.*] One line, Steev. et seq.

mity; and, in the next, her mention of his deformity insinuates her reflections on his moral condition: And thus he has taught her to scold in all the elegance of figure. [THEOBALD, in his first edition, gives the foregoing note by WARBURTON, adding thereto a remark on its ingenuity. In his second edition, three years later, he, however, omits both note and observation.—ED.]—MALONE: Part of Warburton's note is confirmed by a line in *Rape of Luc.*: 'Worse than a slavish wipe, or birth-hour's blot' [l. 53].—SCHMIDT (*Notes*, p. 492): Theobald's explanation seems somewhat too studied and remote. The expression, perhaps, means no more than through the operation of nature, Richard is determined upon villainy and baseness, and is only dignified through blind chance.

239. **slaue . . . Sonne of Hell**] COLLIER (*Emendations*, etc., p. 326): The Old Co rector informs us that this line ought to run with two remarkable changes: 'The *stain* of Nature and the *scorn* of Hell.' *Stain* and *scorn* must surely have been the language of our great dramatist; and when we bear in mind that *stain* was of old spelt *staine*, and *scorn*, *scorne*, it is not difficult to discover how the blunders arose.—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 166): I do not think that *stain* and *scorn* are exactly the words Shakespeare would have used; for Richard would have been rather the *glory* than the *scorn* of Hell. It is remarkable that the corrector of my Second Folio should have tried his hand also on this passage, and, as it seems to me, with better success. He would read: 'The *shame* of Nature and the *spawn* of hell.'—ANON. (qu. LETTSOM? *New Readings*, ii, p. 316): 'Slave' is unquestionably the right word. As for '*scorn* of hell,' that, in certain cases, might be a compliment, and is no more than what a good man would desire to be.—WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 307): Does 'slave' here mean anything more than *villain*, *abandoned wretch?* This use of 'slave' (compare Italian *cattivo*, whence our *caitiff*) is frequent in old plays. *Othello*, IV, ii, 132: 'Some cogging, cozening slave.' In *Hamlet*, II, ii, 198: 'the satirical rogue,' the Folio has 'slave.' Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, V, i, Gifford, vol. i, p. 151: 'You knave you slave, you rogue, do you say you must, sirrah?' [Also I, ii, 98, *supra*.] In the present passage, therefore, a 'slave of Nature' will mean neither more nor less, I think, than a *born villain*. *Cymb.*, V, ii, 4: 'Or could this carl, A very drudge of nature's, have subdued me in my profession?'—R. G. WHITE (*Sh. Scholar*, p. 342): 'Slave of nature' here does not mean one who serves nature, one who is a bondman to nature; but one who is the lowest, the most servile in the whole realm of nature. When one Irishman calls another 'the thief o' the world,' he does not mean to accuse the other of purloining this planet, but of being eminently *the* thief of the world. So Margaret calls Gloucester eminently *the* slave of nature.

242. **Ragge**] Compare 'these overweening rags of France,' V, iii, 371; also *Timon*, IV, iii, 271.

243. **Margaret**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, etc., p. 148): Far different

Q.M. Richard. *Rich.* Ha.
Q.M. I call thee not.
Rich. I cry thee mercie then: for I did thinke,
That thou hadſt call'd me all theſe bitter names.
Q.M. Why ſo I did, but look'd for no reply.
Oh let me make the Period to my Curſe.
Rich. 'Tis done by me, and ends in *Margaret.*
Qu. Thus haue you breath'd your Curſe againſt your ſelf.
Q.M. Poore painted Queen, vain flouriſh of my fortune,

245. *thee*] *the* Q_6Q_7.
246. *I...then*] *Then I crie thee mercie* Qq. (*I* Om. Q_8.)
did thinke] *had thought* Qq, Cam. +.
247. *That*] Om. Q_{2-5}.
thou hadſt] *thou haſt* Q_7Q_8.
251. Qu.] Om. Q_7Q_8.

is the behaviour of Richard under the curse of his mother and under that of Margaret, herself besmirched with sin. In the present situation he treats Margaret's invective but as a jest, and mockingly turns her curses back upon her own head. His mother's curse, on the other hand, produces in him a complete moral and physical breakdown, and he but half-heartedly rouses himself to the political necessity of wooing Elizabeth's daughter.—CHURCHILL calls attention (p. 506) to a line in the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, wherein, at the end of the discussion scene, Buckingham says: 'Sound trumpet in this parley, God save the king,' to which Richard adds: 'Richard.' (See *Appendix, The True Trag.*, etc.) 'The situation,' continues Churchill, 'is entirely different, but the trick is in a sense the same. In the older play Buckingham utters a blessing which Richard, by the insertion of his own name, causes to his satisfaction to fall upon himself.'

244. **Ha.**] In a modernised text this should, I think, be spelled *Hey*, with Theobald's interrogation point adopted by a majority of editors. Any other punctuation misses the point, as is clear from Margaret's 'I call thee not.' Compare Shylock's 'What saies that foole of Hagar's off-spring? ha.' II, v, 46, of this ed.—ED.

245–247. **call . . . call'd**] VAUGHAN (iii, 25): By the word 'call' is intended an equivocation which the commentators have not perceived. 'To call' is to summon to presence or answer by uttering the name of a person. But 'to call' is also to chide, rate violently and with abuse. We have in the *Silex Scintillans* of Vaughan, the Silurist, 'man is call'd and hurl'd by each' (distraction); and so, again, in a passage of our poet whose meaning has escaped all critics: 'Methinks I see him stamp thus and call thus: Come on, you cowards!'—*Coriol.*, I, iii, 35. Where 'call thus' does not mean simply *summon*, but *rate and storm at.* [That examples of 'call,' in the sense of *to chide with abuse*, may be found, is undeniable. MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) furnishes several, but his earliest quotation is not from the present play, but from Ford's *'Tis Pity*, etc., 1633. Moreover, the first edition of *Silex Scintillans*, quoted by Vaughan, is dated 1650, and is, therefore, I fear, like even the quotation from Ford, too late to be used for examples of a word occurring in Shakespeare. In the passage from *Coriol.*, quoted above, 'call' may quite as well mean *exclaim loudly* as *rate and storm at.*—ED.]

246. **I cry thee mercie**] Compare IV, iii, 551, and V, iii, 261.

252. **vain flourish**] WRIGHT: That is, mere empty ornament of that rank

Why ſtrew'ſt thou Sugar on that Bottel'd Spider, 253

253. *Bottel'd*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. *botled* Q_{3-6}. *bottl'd* Cap. *bottled* Q_1Q_c et cet. *bloated* Grey (ii, 63). Ktly conj. (Exp. p. 262). *bottle-* Coll. MS.

which is rightly mine. Similarly in *Hamlet*, II, ii, 91, the 'outward flourishes' are the external details of a speech—mere ornaments, which have nothing to do with the matter. [Compare *Love's Labour's Lost*, II, i, 14: 'my beauty though but mean Needs not the painted flourish of your praise,' wherein 'painted' occurs as in the present line. The dates of composition of the present play and *Love's Labour's Lost* are held to be very near in time.—ED.]

253. **Bottel'd Spider**] JOHNSON: A spider is called 'bottled' because, like other insects, he has a middle slender, and a belly protuberant. Richard's form and venom made her liken him to a spider.—STEEVENS: A critic who styles himself 'Robert Heron, *Esquire*' (though his title to *Esquireship* is but ill supported by his language, 'puppy, booby, wise-acre,' etc., being the usual distinctions he bestows on authors who are not his favourites), very gravely assures us that 'a *bottled* spider is evidently a spider kept in a *bottle* long fasting, and of consequence the more spiteful and venomous.' May one ask if the infuriation of our *Esquire* originates from a similar cause? Hath he newly escaped, like Asmodeo, from the phial of some Highland sorcerer, under whose discipline he had experienced the provocation of Lenten imprisonment? Mrs Raffald disserts on *bottled gooseberries*, and George Falkener warns us against *bottled children*, but it was reserved for our *Esquire* (every one knows who our *Esquire* is) to discover that spiders, like ale, grow brisker from being '*bottled*,' and derive additional venom from being starved. It would be the interest of every writer to wish for an opponent like the *Esquire Heron*, did not the general credit of letters oppose the production of such another critic. So far I am from wishing the lucubrations of our *Esquire* to be forgotten that I counsel thee, gentle reader (and especially, provided thou art a hypochondriac), to peruse, and (if thou canst) to reperuse them, and finally to thank me as thy purveyor of a laugh. Every man should court a fresh onset from an adversary, who, in the act of ridiculing others, exposes himself to yet more obvious ridicule. ['Robert Heron, Esq.,' was the assumed name of a Scotchman, John Pinkerton, author, among other works, of a volume entitled *Letters of Literature*, which, on account of its violent and dogmatic assertions, excited much controversy at the time of its publication in 1785. A reason may, possibly, be found for the foregoing note by Steevens, with its sundry innuendoes, in the concluding paragraph of Robert Heron's *Letters* criticising the *Variorum* of 1785. 'Let us not dismiss the book without due thanks to Mr Steevens; to whom the readers of Shakespeare are as much obliged as those of Hudibras to Dr Grey. Both of them are completely versed in "All such reading as was never read." Both are fellow Labourers in the congenial mines of dulness; where no man of taste or science ever dirtied himself. Both have explained their author without being capable of understanding him.' In a former letter appears the note referred to by Steevens. A full account of 'our Esquire' will be found in Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, *s. v.* John Pinkerton.—ED.]—RITSON: That is, a *large, bloated, glossy spider:* supposed to contain venom proportionate to its size. The expression occurs again in IV, iii, 84.—KEIGHTLEY (*Exp.*, p. 262): As 'bottled' has, as far as my knowledge extends, but one sense, and one which would give no

Whoſe deadly Web enſnareth thee about?
Foole, foole, thou whet'ſt a Knife to kill thy ſelfe:
The day will come, that thou ſhalt wiſh for me,
To helpe thee curſe this poyſonous Bunch-backt Toade.
Haſt. Falſe boding Woman, end thy frantick Curſe,
Leaſt to thy harme, thou moue our patience.
Q.M. Foule ſhame vpon you, you haue all mou'd mine.
Ri. Were you wel ſeru'd, you would be taught your duty.
Q.M. To ſerue me well, you all ſhould do me duty,
Teach me to be your Queene, and you my Subiects:
O ſerue me well, and teach your ſelues that duty.

256. *day*] *time* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *that*] *when* Q_{2-8}, Sta.
257. *this*] *that* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *poyſonous*] Q_1Ff, Rowe, Dyce, Rlfe (subs.) *poiſoned* Q_{2-8}. (*poiſond* Q_4.) *pois'nous* Pope et cet.
258–314. Hast. *Falſe boding... Prophe-teſſe.*] Om. Coll. MS.
258. *Falſe boding*] Q_{1-6},Ff. *Falſe boaſting* Q_7Q_8. *False boading* Rowe, Pope, Han. *False-boading* Theob. Warb. Johns. *False-boding* Cap. et cet.
260. *all*] *oll* Q_5.
262. *all*] Om. Q_7Q_8.
263. *you*] *yon* Q_2.
264. *O ſerue*] *Obſerve* Q_7Q_8.

meaning here, the spelling of the Folio may be intended to show that the verb comes from '*bottel*' or '*bottle*' in the sense of *truss, bundle*, as a bottle of hay or straw, a sense which it retains in various compounds in the provincial dialects. 'Bottel'd' would then answer to 'bunch-back'd toad' further on.—BAYNES (p. 388): In a popular work published a few years before Shakespeare came to London, and with which he was familiar, we find 'bottles of flesh' given as a synonym for great wens in the throat—the Italian word *gozzuti* being glossed in the margin as follows: 'men in the mountaynes with great bottels of flesh under their chin through the drinking of snow water.'—MARSHALL: I do not know to what spider Johnson intends to refer. Unfortunately for his statement, those spiders found in England which are black are distinguished by having a longer and narrower abdomen than almost any other species. One of the commonest may be seen frequently in houses, a formidable-looking insect with long and powerful legs and a particularly thin body. [Under 'bottled' MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) gives the present passage as an example of 'Resembling a bottle, protuberant, swollen,' and refers to *bottle sb*[3] and *v*[1]. Unfortunately Baynes does not give his reference.]

257. **poysonous**] For *poisoned* as in Qq compare 'venomed,' I, ii, 23, and note.

257. **Bunch-backt**] WRIGHT: An epithet appropriate to Richard and not to the animal to which he is compared. Florio (*World of Wordes*, 1598) has: '*Scrignuto*, crookt-backe, croopt, bunch-backt, as camels be.'—MARSHALL: Any one who has seen a toad when attacked by a dog will admit that 'bunch-backt' is a most appropriate epithet. The toad *bunches* up his back preparatory to emitting the venom secreted in the follicles on his shoulders, which is his only defence against his assailant.

264. **O serue**] The reading of Q_7 (*observe*) is, I think, not unworthy of attention. That is, *observe* in its derivative sense from *observare*, to pay court as a courtier.

Dorſ. Diſpute not with her, ſhee is lunaticke.
Q.M. Peace Maſter Marqueſſe, you are malapert,
Your fire-new ſtampe of Honor is ſcarce currant.
O that your yong Nobility could iudge
What 'twere to loſe it, and be miſerable.
They that ſtand high, haue many blaſts to ſhake them,
And if they fall, they daſh themſelues to peeces.
Rich. Good counſaile marry, learne it, learne it Marqueſſe.
Dor. It touches you my Lord, as much as me.
Rich. I, and much more : but I was borne ſo high:

265 *lunaticke*] *lunatique* Qq.
266. *Maſter*] *maiſter* Q_4Q_5.
267. *fire-new*] *fire new* Q_4.
268. *could*] *can* Ff, Rowe.
270. *many*] *mighty* Q_8, Sta. *blaſts*] *blaſt* Q_2.
271. *themſelues*] *them* Q_7Q_8.
272. *marry*] *mary* Q_2Q_8.
274. *touches*] *toucheth* Qq, Cam.+.
275. *I, and*] *Yea and* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *Ay and* Rowe et cet. *high:*] Ff, Rowe,+. *high*, Qq et cet.

Compare *Hamlet*, III, i, 162: 'The observed of all observers,' where this meaning obtains. After Margaret's fierce invectives, and imperious demands that the circle about her should do duty to her, is it quite in keeping that she should end with a plaintive entreaty: 'O serve me well.'—ED.

266. **malapert**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*): Presumptuous, impudent, saucy. Here *mal* has (as in *maladroit*, *malcontent*) the effect of reversing a favourable signification; but the English sense of the compound points to its having been apprehended as if formed on *mal* (in the sense 'improperly') +*apert*, bold, outspoken, insolent.

267. **Your . . . currant**] GREY (ii, 57): Shakespeare may here allude to the institution of the title of Marquis here in England as a special dignity: which was no older than Richard II. Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was the first who, as a distinct dignity, received the title of Marquis.—BOSWELL-STONE (p. 347): As this scene cannot be historically dated before April 9, 1483, barely eight years had elapsed since Edward, on April 18, 1475, 'created the Lord Thomas, marquesse Dorset, before dinner' (Holinshed, iii, 702). I take this date from Stow (713), Holinshed's authority for the passage in which Grey's elevation to the dignity of marquess is recorded.

267. **fire-new**] WRIGHT: Compare *Lear*, V, iii, 132: 'Despite thy victor sword and fire-new fortune.' Also *Twelfth Night*, III, ii, 23: 'jests, fire-new from the mint.'

268, 269. **O that . . . miserable**] See IV, iii, 122, and note.

275. **but . . . so high**] HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, p. 149): The idea conveyed by these lines is never lost sight of by Shakespeare, and should not be out of the actor's mind for a moment. The restless and sanguinary Richard is not a man striving to be great, but to be greater than he is; conscious of his strength of will, his power of intellect, his daring courage, his elevated station; and making use of these advantages as giving him both the means and the pretext to commit unheard-of crimes

Our ayerie buildeth in the Cedars top, 276
And dallies with the winde, and ſcornes the Sunne.
Mar. And turnes the Sun to ſhade : alas, alas, 278

276, 277. Mnemonic, Warb.
276. *ayerie*] $Q_2Q_4Q_5Q_7Q_8$Ff. *airy* Rowe,+. *ai'ry* Han. *eyry* Coll. Wh. i. *aery* Dyce, Cam.+. *eyrie* Huds. *aiery* Q_3 et cet.
276. *Cedars*] *Cædars* Q_3Q_5.

and to shield himself from remorse and infamy.—HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 82): The effect of this splendid passage is greatly injured by what is called the *regulation* of the modern editors. 'But' should not be printed with a capital letter and there should be a colon at 'high.' Gloucester admits that Margaret's remark suits himself as well as Dorset, and, reflecting on the meaner descent of Dorset, observes that whatever elevation he had was by his birth, not as Dorset's, by the will of the sovereign. The two lines that follow are only an expansion of the same sentiment. According to the present regulation, we must understand him to say that he was born so high *that* their aiery buildeth, etc., which enfeebles the passage greatly. [Hunter unwittingly advocates the very punctuation of the Ff; the comma after 'high' is not a modern 'regulation,' see *Text. Notes.*—ED.]

276. **ayerie**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Aerie*): Probably formed on French *aire* with same sense. The etymology of the latter is doubtful; Littré classes it with other senses of *aire:* Latin *ārea*, 'a spot of level ground, an open place, a threshing-floor'; whence 'surface plaine du rocher ou l'aigle fait son nid.' Diez, comparing Provençale *aire*, takes 'family, race, stock,' as the original idea, and suggests Latin *ager* or *atrium*. The probability rests between *ārea* and *ātrium;* the latter, as M. Paul Meyer notes, would account well for the dubiety of gender in Old French. The spelling Eyrie seems to have been introduced by Spelman (Glossary, 1664) to support his notion of its derivation from *egg*. *Eyre* was an occasional spelling of *aire*, the earlier form in which the Old French had itself been adopted in Middle English. (2) The brood in the nest; or, figuratively, a noble stock of children. [Murray quotes the present line as the earliest use of 'Aery' in this figurative sense. WRIGHT quotes Cotgrave: '*Herage:* An ayrie of hawkes: and hence, a brood, kind; stocke, linage.'—ED.]

276. **Cedars top**] WRIGHT: Compare *3 Hen. VI:* V, ii, 11: 'Thus yields the cedar to the axe's edge, Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle.' And Marlowe, *Edward II.* (ed. Dyce, p. 201): 'A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing, On whose top-branches kingly eagles perch.'—MARSHALL: Pliny says (bk x, chap. iii): 'Build they [Eagles] doe and make their nests upon rocks and trees.' Shakespeare and Marlowe may have remembered this passage; but a cedar tree is certainly not the tree one would expect an eagle to select. [Cedars and pine trees have ever been emblematic of height, as oaks are of age. Compare: 'A great eagle with great wings . . . came unto Lebanon and took the highest branch of the cedar.' —*Ezekiel* xvii, 3; the 'high tops' of 'the mountain pines' are referred to in *Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 75.—ED.]

277. **And . . . Sunne**] J. KNIGHT (*Theatrical Notes*, p. 171): Here there should be an emphasis on 'dallies' and on 'scorns,' seeing that the intention is to convey that the blasts and other influences, before spoken of as dangerous to others, are innocuous or pleasurable to him and his lineage.

278, 279. **Sun . . . Sonne**] RITSON: Her distress cannot prevent her quibbling.

Witneſſe my Sonne, now in the ſhade of death,
Whoſe bright out-ſhining beames, thy cloudy wrath
Hath in eternall darkneſſe folded vp.
Your ayery buildeth in our ayeries Neſt:
O God that ſeeſt it, do not ſuffer it,
As it is wonne with blood, loſt be it ſo.
Buc. Peace, peace for ſhame: If not, for Charity.
Mar. Vrge neither charity, nor ſhame to me:
Vncharitably with me haue you dealt,
And ſhamefully my hopes (by you) are butcher'd.
My Charity is outrage, Life my ſhame,
And in that ſhame, ſtill liue my ſorrowes rage.
Buc. Haue done, haue done.
Mar. O Princely Buckingham, Ile kiſſe thy hand,

279. *Sonne*] *ſunne* $Q_{5\text{-}8}$. *sun* Var. '78, '85, Ran. Sta.
280. *out-ſhining*] *outſhining* Qq.
281. *darkneſſe*] *darkenes* Q_2. *darkeneſſe* Q_3F_2.
282. *ayery...ayeries*] F_2F_3. *aierie... aieries* Qq. *ayry...ayries* F_4. *airy... airy's* Rowe,+. *ai'ry...ai'ry's* Han. *eyry...eyry's* Coll. Wh. i. *aery...aery's* Dyce, Cam.+. *eyrie...eyrie's* Huds. *aiery...aiery's* Cap. et cet.
284. *is*] Ff, Rowe. *was* Qq et cet.
loſt be it ſo] *so be it lost* Pope,+ (—Var. '73).
285. *Peace, peace*] *Haue done* Qq, Cam.+.
288. *my...you*] *by you my hopes* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
290. *that*] *my* Qq, Pope,+, Var. Mal. Steev. Varr. Ktly, Huds.
ſtill] *ſhall* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
liue] *lives* Sing. Ktly.
291. *Haue done, haue done.*] *Haue done.* Qq.
292. Mar.] Q. Mary. Q_8.
Princely] *pricely* Q_4.
Ile] *I will* Qq. *I'le* F_3F_4. *I* Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta.

WRIGHT: Nor did the grief of Constance in *King John*. Gaunt on his death-bed is made to pun on his name. [May we not add Lady Macbeth's play on the word 'guilt'?—ED.]

285. **Buc.**] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 188): Can this speech be really Buckingham's? Compare the two following speeches of Margaret with each other. I speak doubtfully.—WRIGHT: The Folio reading is perhaps on account of the 'Have done' in Buckingham's next speech. We must suppose that the first line of Margaret's next speech is addressed to Buckingham, and that she then turns to Richard and the rest.

289. **My . . . shame**] HUDSON: That is, outrage is the only charity shown me, and a life of shame is all the life permitted me. '*My* charity' may mean either the charity done *by* me or that done *to* me; here it means the latter.

290. **And . . . rage**] WEBB: These lines express the very ecstasy of passion, and must not be pressed too closely. As far as a matter-of-fact meaning can be extracted from them, it is: I am ashamed to continue to live: but while I endure that shame (*i. e.*, as long as she lives) may the rage caused by my wrongs continue in its strength.

In ſigne of League and amity with thee:
Now faire befall thee, and thy Noble houſe:
Thy Garments are not ſpotted with our blood:
Nor thou within the eompaſſe of my curſe.
Buc. Nor no one heere: for Curſes neuer paſſe
The lips of thoſe that breath them in the ayre.
Mar. I will not thinke but they aſcend the sky,
And there awake Gods gentle ſleeping peace.

294. *Noble*] *princely* Qq, Sta.
296. *eompaſſe*] F_1.
297. *no one*] *none* Q_1.
298. *thoſe*] *them* $Q_6Q_1Q_8$.
299. *I will not thinke*] *Ile not beleeue* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +, Huds.
300. *Gods*] *gods* Q_2. *God's* F_3F_4. *gentle ſleeping*] *gentle-sleeping* Theob. et seq.

297, 298. **Curses neuer . . . ayre**] WARBURTON: Of those who make a practice of cursing their enemies, and do it as often as they breathe. The curses of such never ascend to the throne of vengeance.—F. P. BARNARD (*Notes and Queries*, 9 May, 1896): There seems to be a reference here to the old belief that imprecations, sorcery, and the like, to be efficacious, should take place within walls, and that in the open air their power was restricted. Æthelberht, King of Kent, at his first interview with the missionary Augustine, 'Sitting in the open air, ordered Augustine and his companions to be brought into his presence. For he had taken precaution that they should not come to him in any house, lest, according to an ancient superstition, if they practised any magical arts, they might impose upon him.'—Bede, *Eccles. Hist.*, A. D. 597.—TAWNEY: Buckingham means to say: And no one here comes within range of your curse, for curses never take effect outside the lips of those who utter them. [What the venerable Bede calls an 'ancient superstition' must be ancient indeed, but in the present scene it is evident that Buckingham alone believed it, or at least knew of it; the open air did not cause Anne to modify her remarks in regard to Richard; nor did it deter the Duchess of York from hurling her most heavy curse upon her son's head when she bade him farewell. Buckingham himself seems to have lost faith in the ancient belief, for at his death, referring to this present episode, he says: 'Now Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck.'—ED.]

299, 300. **I will . . . peace**] BIRCH (p. 198): Thus they who pretend to believe in a Providence, in their turn disbelieve it; and she who scoffed at the idea when it was called to witness in their favour, believes it when they assert their disbelief to escape its consequences. But what else does such a dialogue convey but doubt and contempt of its interference—a satire upon its supposed operations, alternately accepted and rejected, and chiefly proclaimed by a religious buffoon, Richard. The issue of all which would seem to point out that Providence cared not to prevent, could only second, the effusion of blood; and in that all his power lay.—WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s Knowledge*, p. 203): Instead of omitting these last words, as does Bowdler, it would have been a wiser course to have drawn attention to the enormity of the crimes, some committed already, and others remaining to be committed, by Richard. If malediction could ever be justifiable, it was justifiable—I had almost said it was charitable—in the case and under the circumstances in

O Buckingham, take heede of yonder dogge :
Looke when he fawnes, he bites; and when he bites,
His venom tooth will rankle to the death.
Haue not to do with him, beware of him,
Sinne, death, and hell haue ſet their markes on him,
And all their Miniſters attend on him.
Rich. What doth ſhe ſay, my Lord of Buckingham.
Buc. Nothing that I reſpect my gracious Lord.
Mar. What doſt thou ſcorne me
For my gentle counſell?
And ſooth the diuell that I warne thee from.
O but remember this another day:

301. *take heede*] *beware* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
303. *rankle*] *rackle* Q_x.
to the] *thee to* Qq.
304. *not*] *nought* Coll. ii, iii, Marshall.
305. *on*] *upon* Pope,+, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.
309, 310. Mar. *What...counſell*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
310, 311. *counſell?...from.*] Ff. *counſell,...from:* Q_x. *counſell,...from?* Q_{3-8}, Coll. Hal. Rlfe. *counſell?...from?* Q_9 et cet.
311. *ſooth*] *ſoothd* Q_{2}. *ſoothe* Q_x et cet. *smooth* Anon. ap. Cam.

---

which Shakespeare has introduced it, and put it into the mouth of a woman—that woman a mother, and that mother once a Queen.

299. **but**] For explanation of this 'but,' signifying *otherwise than*, see ABBOTT, § 122. Compare V, ii, 22.

303. **venom**] For nouns used as adjectives, see Shakespeare *passim*.

304. **not to do**] The emendation *naught to do*, ascribed by the CAMBRIDGE EDD. to 'Anon.' may possibly antedate COLLIER'S second and third edition (see *Text. Notes*). MARSHALL adopts it in order to avoid the 'disagreeable emphasis on "not"'; but also, in support of the present reading, compares *Meas. for Meas.*, I, i, 64, 65, and *2 Hen. VI:* V, ii, 56.—ED.

305. **Sinne, death, and hell**] BLACKSTONE: Possibly Milton took from hence his famous allegory.—HOLT WHITE: Milton might as probably catch the hint from the following passage in Latimer's *Sermons*, 1584, fol. 79: 'Here came in death and hell, sinne was their mother. Therefore they must have such an image as their mother sinne would geue them.'—MALONE: As we know that Milton was a diligent reader of Shakespeare, surely Sir William Blackstone's suggestion is the more probable.—HUNTER (*New Illust.*, ii, p. 83): To me it appears that there is nothing here which can be assumed to have suggested such an allegory as the one alluded to [by Blackstone]; and also that the real origin of the allegory is so plainly in the *Epistle of St. James*, i, 15, as to preclude further inquiry.—WRIGHT: Though Milton was a student of Shakespeare, he read his Bible as well, and the combination of these three words could hardly have accidentally suggested any new idea to a mind thoroughly familiar with the theology of his time.

311. **sooth**] See l. 54 of the present scene, or I, ii, 188 *supra*.

When he ſhall ſplit thy very heart with ſorrow:
And ſay (poore *Margaret*) was a Propheteſſe:
Liue each of you the ſubiects to his hate,
And he to yours, and all of you to Gods. *Exit.*

314. (*poore* Margaret)] Ff. *poore Margaret* Qq et cet.
Margaret] *Marg'ret* Pope, +.
315. *ſubiects to*] *ſubiects of* Q_{1-4}. *subject to* Pope, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
316. *yours*] *your* Q_1Q_2. *you* Q_{3-8}.
Gods] *God* Q_8.

---

314. **And say . . . Propheteſſe**] BUCKLEY compares (p. 131, foot-note) this line with Æschylus, *Agamemnon:* '*καὶ σύ μ ἐν τάχει παρὼν ἀγαν ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτίρας ἐρεῖς.*' 1240–41. Browning thus translates: 'And soon thou present, "True prophet all too much" wilt pitying style me.' Edward Fitzgerald, in his vigorous version, omits these concluding lines of Cassandra's speech.—ED.

314. **(poore Margaret)**] SPEDDING classifies (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 10) the parenthesis here among those alterations of the Quarto Text not intended by Shakespeare. 'But,' he adds, 'would any corrector have done so who understood English? Clearly it is evidence of too little editorial care, not too much.'

315, 316. **Liue each . . . to Gods**] WALPOLE (p. 144): It is evident, from the conduct of Shakespeare, that the house of Tudor retained all their Lancastrian prejudices, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In this play he seems to deduce the woes of the house of York from the curses which Queen Margaret had vented against them; and he could not give that weight to her curses without supposing a right in her to utter them.—KNIGHT (*Studies of Sh.*, p. 195): This was the poetical faith of the author of these dramas—the power of the curse was associated with the great idea of a presiding Fate. But Margaret's were not the only curses. Richard himself refers to the same power of a curse—that of his father, insulted in his death-hour by the scorns of Margaret. This is the assertion of the equal justice which is displayed in the dramatic issue of these fearful events; not justice upon the house of York alone, which Walpole thinks Shakespeare strove to exhibit in deference to Tudor prejudices, but justice upon the house of Lancaster as well as the house of York, for those individual crimes of the leaders of each house that had made a charnal ground of England. When that justice had asserted its supremacy, tranquillity was to come. The poet has not chosen to exhibit the establishment of law and order in the astute government of Henry VII.; but in *Henry VIII.* he has carried us onward to a new state of things, when the power of the sword was at an end. He came as near to his own times as was safe or fitting; but he contrasts his own times with the days of civil fury in a prophetic view of the reign of Elizabeth: 'In her days, every man shall eat in safety, Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing The merry songs of peace to all his neighbors,' *Hen. VIII:* V, iv, 35–37.—PETRI (p. 221): It will be noticed how all stand overcome and transfixed after Margaret's exit. This is the exposition of the whole drama, and all that we hear in the course of the play is nothing more than the development of that which Margaret's lips have uttered, and we stand in wonder at the fine skill of Shakespeare. Yet do we not hear as an undertone, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord'?—HUDSON (*Introduction*, p. 37): Both Margaret and the Duke of York seem but to have a foresight of future woe

Buc. My haire doth ſtand an end to heare her curſes.
Riu. And ſo doth mine, I muſe why ſhe's at libertie.
Rich. I cannot blame her, by Gods holy mother,
She hath had too much wrong, and I repent
My part thereof, that I haue done to her.
Mar. I neuer did her any to my knowledge.

317. Buc.] Ff,+, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Haſt. Qq et cet.
an] Ff,Q_7Q_8, Rowe, Pope. *on* Qq et cet.
318. *muſe why*] *wonder* Qq, Pope,+, Sta.
319. *Gods*] *God's* F_3F_4.
321. *to her*] Om. Qq.
322. Mar.] Qu. Q_{1-5}, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran. Haſt. $Q_6Q_7Q_8$. Der. F_3F_4. Dors. Rowe,+. Qu. Eliza. Mal. et seq.

---

to the other, as the proper consequence of past or present crimes. The truth is, Margaret's curses do but proclaim those moral retributions of which God is the author and Nature His minister; and perhaps the only way her future character could be carried on into these scenes was by making her seek indemnity for *her* woes in ringing changes upon the woes of others.

317. **an end**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. An; preposition*, obsolete): The original form of the preposition which in prehistoric English, in accordance with the regular phonetic history of short *a* before nasals, was rounded to *on*, a form, unlike the parallel *ond*, *hond*, ever after retained. . . . After 11th century when *on-* in combination was generally reduced to *ă-* before a consonant, *ăn-* before a vowel, the same befell *on*, preposition, to some extent, especially in familiar phrases, as *an edge*, *an end*, etc. But in course of time all these were altered back to *on*, or changed to *in; an* being retained only in those in which its prepositional character was no longer apparent, as to go *an* (now *a*) hawking, twice *an* hour. [It is possibly noteworthy that the Qq retain the more modern form '*on* end,' and the Folios the more ancient '*an end*.' In the three other passages in which this phrase appears in the Folio it is as here. DYCE (ed. ii), in a note on *2 Hen. VI:* III, ii, 318, says: 'The variation ['*an*' for *on*] goes for nothing, because our early writers have both—sometimes in the same work: compare Chapman's Homer: "the haire stood vp on ende On Agamemnon," *Iliad*, Bk iv, p. 54, ed. Folio; "the haire stood vp an ende On Ajax," *Ib.*, Bk xv, p. 209.' Here, in Chapman, curiously enough, occurs the same discrepancy between the form of the preposition and the date of publication. The first seven books of Chapman's *Iliad* were published in 1596,—one year before Q_1 of the present play,—and therein, as we see from Dyce's note, the phrase is *on end*. The rest of the work appeared in 1600, and the phrase then is *an end*. These may be, in both cases, nothing more than printing-office vagaries, but that the same variations should occur in two works so nearly contemporaneous is not a little remarkable.—ED.]

318. **And . . . libertie**] For apparent Alexandrines, see ABBOTT, § 494.

320. **She hath had**] The ictus here falling on 'hath' imparts, I think, a concessive tone to the speech, as though the speaker had weighed both sides of the question, and had come to a reluctant conclusion.—ED.

322. **Mar.**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 10): This was undoubtedly an error of press or pen [and not an alteration intended by Shakespeare]. The

Rich. Yet you haue all the vantage of her wrong:
I was too hot, to do ſomebody good,
That is too cold in thinking of it now:
Marry as for *Clarence*, he is well repayed:
He is frank'd vp to fatting for his paines,
God pardon them, that are the cauſe thereof.
Riu. A vertuous, and a Chriſtian-like concluſion
To pray for them that haue done ſcath to vs.

323. *Yet*] *But* Qq, Cam, +.
vantage] *'vantage* Johns.
her] *this* Qq.
324. *hot*] *hoat* Q_1.
325. *of it*] *one it* Q_7. *on it* Q_8.
326. *as*] Om. Pope.+ (—Var. '73).
327. *frank'd*] *frankt* Qq. (*franckt* Q_1.)
328. *thereof*] *of it* Qq, Var. '21, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
329. *and a*] *and* Q_7Q_8.
Chriſtian-like] *Chriſtianlike* Qq. *Chriſtian like* F_3.
330. *ſcath*] *ſcathe* QqF_4.

---

nine preceding woman-speeches had had '*Mar.*' prefixed, and the transcriber or printer had not got over the habit of inserting it.

324, 325. **I was . . . now**] MARSHALL: Gloucester evidently here refers to the supposed ingratitude of Edward. (See above, 122, 123, and 133.)

327. **frank'd vp**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.* s. v. *Frank*, v^1,): 1. To shut up and feed (*up*) in a frank. IBID. (s. v. *Frank*, substantive^2,): 1. An enclosure, especially to feed hogs in; a sty. [VERPLANCK suggests that there is here, perhaps, another allusion to the armorial boar of York, (see l. 237, *supra*). SCHMIDT (*Anmerkungen*, p. 98) also makes the same suggestion. It is, of course, possible that Shakespeare did intend to refer here to the boar; he does hereafter in IV, iv, 4, using, moreover, the same phrase: 'That in the sty of the most deadly boar, My son George Stanley is frankt up in hold.' In the present line, however, which refers to Clarence's detention by Edward, the case is different; a boar as an heraldic device or badge was used neither by Clarence nor Edward. MRS BURY PALLISER says (p. 374): 'The device of a boar was used by Richard before he was king. His cognisance was, a rose supported on the dexter side by a bull, a badge of the house of Clare, and on the sinister by a boar, which boar he had found among the badges of the house of York. The latter he selected for his own personal device, and it was that by which he was generally designated.' The personal device of the Duke of Clarence was that of the house of Clare—a black bull (*op. cit.*, p. 374, footnote). The present use of 'frank,' coupled with 'fatting,' clearly refers to domestic swine, and is thoroughly characteristic of Richard's grim humour. Is there not likewise something of contempt in the alliteration (which Shakespeare's ear heard more quickly than any one else's): 'frank'd up to fatting for;' there is a hostile, if not a contemptuous, tone in the very f-sound, as in the words, *Fie, Faugh.*—ED.]

327. **to fatting**] For other examples of 'to' in the sense of *to that end*, see ABBOTT, § 186.

330. **scath**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.*) shows that this word appears in slightly varying forms in several other languages, and adds: 'All from Teutonic base *Skath*, to

Rich. So do I euer, being well aduis'd. 331
Speakes to himſelfe.
For had I curſt now, I had curſt my ſelfe.

Enter Catesby.

Cates. Madam, his Maieſty doth call for you, 335
And for your Grace, and yours my gracious Lord.
Qu. *Catesby* I come, Lords will you go with mee.
Riu. We wait vpon your Grace.
Exeunt all but Gloſter.
Rich. I do the wrong, and firſt begin to brawle. 340
The ſecret Miſcheefes that I ſet abroach,

331–333. *euer...ſelfe.*] Aside. Walker, Cam. +.
332. Speakes to himſelfe.] Om. Qq. Aside. Rowe et seq.
333. *curſt now,*] Q_4Ff. *curſt, now* Qq.
334. Enter Catesby.] Om. Qq.
335. Cates.] Q_2. Catſ. Qq.
336. *your...Lord*] Ff, Rowe. *your Grace, and you my noble Lo:* Q_2Q_8, Pope, +, Knt, Wh. i. *your noble Grace: and you my noble Lord* Q_{3-6}. *your noble grace and you my Lord* Q_7Q_8. *your grace,—and you, my noble lords.* Cap. et cet. (subs.)
337. Catesby] *Catsby* Q_{3-8}.
I...mee.] *we...vs.* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +. *I...me?* F_3F_4 et cet.
338. *We wait vpon*] *Madame we will attend* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +.
339. all but Gloſter] man. Ri. Q_1Q_2. ma. Glo. Qq.
340. *the*] *thee* $Q_{4-8}F_3F_4$.
begin] *began* Qq.
340, 341. *brawle. The*] *braule The* Q_1Q_2. *braule, The* Qq.
341. *Miſcheefes*] *Miſchiefe* Q_{3-8}.
abroach] *a-broach* F_3F_4. Rowe, +.

---

harm; probably formed as a denominative verb from an Aryan past participle *Skata*, wounded; so that the sense is: to make to be wounded, to inflict wounds upon.'

331. **being well aduis'd**] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 173): These words ought to be included in the aside. [MARSHALL also proposes this arrangement, and so prints it.—COLLIER calls attention (ed. ii) to this as one of the rare instances where an aside is marked as such in the Folio.—ED.]

336–338. **And for . . . your Grace**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 61): As the message is worded in the Qq one of the Dukes is left out; the Queen, to whom it is addressed, answers for all, and Lord Rivers speaks in the name of the other Lords, to whom the Queen turns and invites to accompany her, addressing herself, probably, more directly to her brother, Lord Rivers, who answers. It is a small thing, but it has been done on purpose, and, I think, varies and enlivens the action.

337. **I come**] CAMBRIDGE EDD.: In Capell's copy of the Seventh Quarto an old MS Corrector has converted *we come* into *welcome*.

341. **set abroach**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.* s. v. *Abroach, adverb*): 2. In a state to be diffused or propagated; afloat; a-foot; astir. *To set abroach:* to broach, to set a-foot, to publish or diffuse.

I lay vnto the greeuous charge of others.
Clarence, who I indeede haue caſt in darkneſſe,
I do beweepe to many ſimple Gulles,
Namely to *Derby*, *Haſtings*, *Buckingham*,
And tell them 'tis the Queene, and her Allies,
That ſtirre the King againſt the Duke my Brother.
Now they beleeue it, and withall whet me
To be reueng'd on *Riuers*, *Dorſet*, *Grey*.

342. *greeuous*] *greeuious* Q_1. *greuious* Q_2. *grievous* F_3F_4.
343. *who*] *whom* QqFf et seq.
caſt] Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i. *laid* Qq et cet.
darkneſſe] *darkeneſſe* Qq (*darkenes* Q_1.)
345. Derby, Haſtings] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Ktly. *Haſtings*, *Darby* Qq, Cam. +. *Hastings*, *Stanley* Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *Stanley*, *Hastings* Theob. et cet.
345. Buckingham] *Buckinham* Q_4.
346. *tell them 'tis*] *ſay it is* Qq. (*was* Q_2.) Hal.
347. *King*] *K.* Q_{3-5}.
348. *it*] *me* Qq.
whet] *wiſh* Q_2. *they whet* Ktly.
349. Dorſet] Ff, +, Knt. *Vaughan* Qq, Var. '73 et cet.

343. **cast in darknesse**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 11): The change 'cast' for *laid* is one which Shakespeare himself would naturally have made when he observed that the same word had been used in the preceding line, in a different sense.—PICKERSGILL (*Ibid.*, p. 85): Gloucester, we must remember, is not above verbal quibbling: and I have little doubt that the author repeated the word *laid* consciously and deliberately. I should cite this, as an example of the class of alterations, apparently made to avoid the recurrence of the same word, even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage.—WRIGHT: If such changes are supposed to have the authority of Shakespeare's supervision, it would seem that a less appropriate word has here been substituted. Richard's influence is throughout supposed to be concealed, and *laid* expresses this much better than 'cast,' which implies more direct action on his part. The phrase 'laid in darkness' was perhaps borrowed from the Prayer-Book version of *Psalm* xliii. 3: 'He hath laid me in the darkness, as the men that have been long dead.'

344. **Gulles**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*): A credulous person; one easily imposed upon; a dupe. Of doubtful and perhaps mixed origin; the above sense would be natural as a transferred use of 'gull,' an unfledged bird, especially a gosling; but it is also possible that the substantive may be from 'gull,' to delude, and that this verb may be an application of 'gull,' to gorge, cram.

345. **Namely**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) gives as the first definition of this word: 'Particularly, especially, above all,' which would excellently apply here (and, in fact, VAUGHAN (iii, 29) asserts that it does), were it not that Dr Murray adds, that in this sense it is 'usually' preceded by *and*. Consequently, it appears to come most befittingly under Dr Murray's 3d division, where numerous examples from 1450 to the present day are given of its meaning: 'To wit; that is to say; videlicet,' which is also the present meaning given by SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).—ED.

349. **Riuers, Dorset, Grey**] PICKERSGILL, in answer to SPEDDING'S remark (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 11) that he could see 'no possible reason for the

But then I ſigh, and with a peece of Scripture,
Tell them that God bids vs do good for euill :
And thus I cloath my naked Villanie
With odde old ends, ſtolne forth of holy Writ,
And ſeeme a Saint, when moſt I play the deuill.

Enter two murtherers.

But ſoft, heere come my Executioners,
How now my hardy ſtout reſolued Mates,

350. *But*] *Bnt* Q_2.
I] Om. Q_{3-8}.
351. *God*] *Cod* Q_4.
do] *to do* Q_5.
353. *odde old*] *old odd* Qq, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
ſtolne forth] F_2. *ſtolne out* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *ſtol'n forth* F_3F_4 et cet.
355. two murtherers] Ff, Theob. Warb. Executioners Qq (after l. 356). *two Villains* Rowe, Pope, Han. two Murderers. Johns. et seq.
357. *hardy*] *handy* Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns.
ſtout reſolued] *stout-resolved* Sing. Dyce, Huds. Ktly, Rlfe.

Quarto change of Rivers, Vaughan, Grey,' says (p. 85): 'Inasmuch as it is upon Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey (and not upon Rivers, Dorset, and Grey) that Gloucester's vengeance falls, it is most appropriate that Vaughan's name should be mentioned rather than Dorset's. But, upon the other hand, it is clear that a corrector, who could not be expected to be so conversant with the relations of the different parts of the play as the author himself, might not unnaturally stumble at Vaughan's name. Vaughan had never been mentioned before; he plays a very insignificant part in the drama. Dorset, on the contrary, had made a prominent figure in this very scene; Dorset was nephew to Rivers, and brother to Grey, and luckily his name would fit into the verse quite as well as, or even better than, Vaughan's. Accordingly, 'Vaughan' was struck out, and *Dorset* inserted.—VAUGHAN (iii, p. 29): 'Vaughan' being in its native Welsh a word of two syllables, *Vychan*, or *Vechan*, Shakespeare assumed this pronunciation of it as disyllabic whenever he used it. 'Vaughan' was, perhaps, in Shakespeare's time, pronounced *Vaugh-an*.

352–354. **And thus . . . I play the deuill**] BIRCH (p. 199): Shakespeare might have the idea that those who affected Puritanism in his times were playing the devil when they seemed the saint; but such a hypocrite as Richard could not delude, and could only have been intended as a gross satire to make an audience easily laugh. [The present passage was, possibly, in Heywood's mind when he put into the mouth of Gloucester the following: 'Thus must thou Richard, Seeme as a saint to men in outward show, Being a very diuill in thy heart. Thus must thou couer all thy villanies, And keepe them close from ouerlookers eyes.'—*2 Edward IV.*, 1600, p. 185, ed. Pearson. Compare also: 'The devil can cite scripture for his purpose.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, I, iii, 99.—ED.]

353. **odde old ends**] WRIGHT: That is, quotations not specially appropriate. Compare *Much Ado*, II, iii, 244: 'I may chance have some odd quirks and remnants of wit broken upon me.' And *Mer. of Ven.*, II, ii, 66: 'According to Fates and Destinies and such odd sayings.'

357. **hardy stout resolued**] WALKER (*Crit.* i, 32): Shakespeare very rarely

Are you now going to diſpatch this thing? 358

358. *you now*] *ye now* Q_{3-5}. *ye not* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$ (subs.) 358. *thing?*] *deed?* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

strings together three adjectives without an *and*. [Although SINGER'S second edition preceded Walker's *Crit.* in date of publication, Walker's notes were written long before 1856. See *Text. Notes.*—ED.]

358–369. **Are you . . . tongues**] CHURCHILL shows (pp. 484 and 509) that there are certain resemblances, verbal and otherwise, between this scene of Gloucester with the two Murderers, and that in Marlowe's *Edward II.*, wherein Mortimer instructs Lightborn; and also like resemblances to the scene in the *True Tragedy of Richard III.*, where Tyrell instructs the murderers. It may be not unremunerative to the student of Shakespeare to compare his treatment of this theme, namely, the instigation to murder, in *Macbeth*, III, i, 74–140; *King John*, III, iii, 58–70; *Hamlet*, IV, vii, 100–163; also the present play, IV, ii, 20–90.—ED.

358. **Are . . . this thing**] WALPOLE (p. 13): Hall, Holinshed, and Stow say not a word of Richard being the person who put the sentence in execution; but, on the contrary, they all say he resisted the murder of Clarence: all too record another circumstance which is perfectly ridiculous, that Clarence was drowned in a butt of Malmsey. Whoever can believe that a butt of wine was the engine of his death, may believe that Richard helped him into it, and kept him down till he was suffocated. But the strong evidence on which Richard must be acquitted, and indeed even of having contributed to his death, was the testimony of Edward himself. Being sometime afterward solicited to pardon a notorious criminal, the King's conscience broke forth: 'Unhappy brother!' cried he, 'for whom no man would intercede—yet all can be intercessor for a villain!' If Richard had been instigator or executioner, it is not likely that the King would have assumed the whole merciless criminality to himself, without bestowing a due share on his brother Gloucester. Is it possible to renew the charge, and not recollect this acquittal?—GAIRDNER also thinks (p. 44) that through insufficient evidence Gloucester may be acquitted of the charge of being directly concerned with the death of Clarence, and adds: 'It must be observed that Richard and his family, to some extent, benefitted by Clarence's attainder. Three days before the Duke was actually put to death one of his titles—that of Earl of Salisbury—was conferred upon Richard's eldest son. Afterwards Richard obtained by grant from the Crown undivided possession of the lordship of Barnard Castle, of which he had hitherto held only a moiety in right of his wife. On the 21st of February—just three days after the death of Clarence—Richard obtained licences from the King for the foundation of two separate religious establishments in the North of England. These designs no doubt may have been in his mind before; but the date at which he took active steps to carry them out must certainly have been owing, in some degree, to the death of Clarence.'—LEGGE (i, 156): If we must seek an explanation in some particular contemporary event for the act of piety on behalf of Richard and his wife [spoken of by Gairdner], one wholly congenial with his nature might be conjectured in the birth of his son. The exact date of his birth is, indeed, uncertain, but as Rous states that he was seven years old when created Prince of Wales, in September, 1483, we may conclude that it was in 1477. Richard's petition, which received the sanction of Parliament on the

Vil. We are my Lord, and come to haue the Warrant,
That we may be admitted where he is.
Ric. Well thought vpon, I haue it heare about me:
When you haue done, repayre to *Crosby* place;
But firs be ſodaine in the execution,
Withall obdurate, do not heare him pleade;
For *Clarence* is well ſpoken, and perhappes
May moue your hearts to pitty, if you marke him.
Vil. Tut, tut, my Lord, we will not ſtand to prate,
Talkers are no good dooers, be aſſur'd:
We go to vſe our hands, and not our tongues.
Rich. Your eyes drop Mill-ſtones, when Fooles eyes

359. Vil.] Ff, Rowe. Exec. Q_1. Execu. Q_2. Exe. Q_{3-5}. 1 Vil. Pope,+. 1. M. Cap. 1 Mur. Var. '73 et seq. (subs.)
361. Ric. *Well*] Glo. *It was well* Qq. *me:*] *me.* [gives the warrant. Cap.
367. *Tut, tut,*] *Tuſh* Qq, Cam.+. Om. Pope,+. Sep. line, Cam.+.
367. *my Lord*] *feare not my lord* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.
368. *dooers, be aſſur'd:*] $Q_2F_2F_3$. *doers be aſſured:* Q_1Q_{3-6}. *doers; be aſſur'd,* F_4 et cet. (subs.)
369. *go*] *come* Qq, Cam.+.
370. *Mill-ſtones*] *milſtones* Qq.

16th of January, must have been presented to the King in the preceding year, and the argument from the coincidence of dates is fatal to the idea of an act of atonement, and favors that of a thank-offering, which it naturally suggests to the unprejudiced inquirer. [For a further consideration of Gloucester's complicity in the death of Clarence, see Miss HALSTED, Ch. xi, or OECHELHÄUSER, *Essay*, p. 66; also I, i, 37, note.—ED.]

358. **this thing**] MALONE: Seagars, in his *Legend of Richard the Third*, speaking of the *murder* of Gloucester's nephews, makes him say: 'What though he refused, yet be sure you may That other were as ready to take in hand that thing.' The coincidence was, I believe, merely accidental.

360. **he**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: This mention of their intended victim by the simple pronoun 'he,' while no name has been mentioned, is precisely one of Shakespeare's touches of naturalness, equalled by Richard's characteristic mention of the projected *deed* as 'this thing.' '[Compare *Macbeth*, II, ii, 4, 11, 14, 52, where Macbeth and Lady Macbeth allude to the murder of Duncan merely as '*it*.'—ED.]

363. **sodaine**] WRIGHT: That is, *quick*. So in *Temp.*, II, i, 306: 'Then let us both be sudden.' And *Julius Caes.*, III, i, 19: 'Casca, be sudden, for we fear prevention.' Hence *suddenly* signifies *hastily* or *rashly*, as in *1 Timothy*, v, 22: 'Lay hands suddenly on no man,' where the Greek is ταχέως. [Compare also: 'sudden and quick in quarrel.'—*As You Like It*, II, vii, 151.]

364. **obdurate**] For change of accent in certain words, see ABBOTT, § 490.

370, 371. **Mill-stones . . . Teares**] STEEVENS: This is, I believe, a proverbial expression. It is used again in the tragedy of *Cæsar and Pompey*, 1607: 'Men's

fall Teares: 371
I like you Lads, about your buſineſſe ſtraight.
Go, go, diſpatch.
Vil. We will my Noble Lord. 374

Scena Quarta.

Enter Clarence and Keeper. 2

371. *fall*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *drop* Qq et cet.
372. *buſineſſe ſtraight*] *buſineſſe*. Exeunt. Qq.
372–374. *ſtraight...Lord.*] Om. Qq. *go.* [Exeunt. Pope, + (—Var. '73).
373, 374. One line, Steev. et seq.

1. Scena Quarta.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE v. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns. Act ii, Scene ii. Irving.
The Tower. Pope et seq. (subs.)
2. and Keeper.] Ff, Rowe. Brokenbury. Qq. and Ratcliffe. Booth. and Brackenbury. Pope et cet.

eyes must mill-stones drop when fools shed tears.' [See, also, *Tro. & Cress.*, I, ii, 158: 'Hecuba laughed that her eyes ran o'er—With mill-stones.'—ED.]

1. **Scena Quarta]** The variations between the text of the Folio and of the Quartos are, in this scene, more numerous than in any other part of the play of the same length; not only are there verbal changes, but whole lines are at times added or omitted; that which is printed as verse in the Qq is, in the Folio, printed as prose. The Quarto is, possibly, the acting version of the more complete, or Folio, text. OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, i, 143) considers the best arrangement that adopted by Devrient, viz., transposing this whole scene to the opening of Act II. In the first place, Act I. is disproportionately long compared to the other Acts, and Act II. is, moreover, the shortest. Secondly, the dramatic effect of Richard's announcement of the death of Clarence is heightened by representing the murder as directly preceding it, and not, as in the Folio arrangement, separating it by the greater interval of an intermission between the First and Second Acts. Edwin Booth followed Devrient's arrangement.—ED.

2. **Enter Clarence and Keeper]** HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 83): The Folio arrangement is the better, as is apparent from two considerations: First, that it is improbable Brackenbury, who was the Lieutenant of the Tower, should pass the night in the sleeping room of his prisoner; and, secondly, when Brackenbury makes those reflections on the miseries of royalty while Clarence is asleep, they have no relation to the dream and the perturbed state of mind of Clarence of which the dream was indicative. They suit a person entering the cell where Clarence sleeps after having related his dream to another, as Brackenbury is represented to have done in the Folios, but not a person who had been listening to the deeply affecting words of Clarence. The remarks also interposed by the person whom Clarence is addressing are more those of an uncultivated person, such as the keeper, than of one like Brackenbury. The arrangement of the Folios is more worthy of Shakespeare.—KNIGHT: There does not appear any reason for deviating from the arrangement of the Qq.—DYCE: The opening of this scene: 'why looks your grace so heavily to-day,' shows distinctly that it takes place *during the day*,—in the earlier part of the day,—Brackenbury having just come to visit his prisoner; and when Clarence

Keep. Why lookes your Grace ſo heauily to day.
Cla. O,I haue paſt a miſerable night,
So full of fearefull Dreames, of vgly ſights,
That as I am a Chriſtian faithfull man,
I would not ſpend another ſuch a night
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy daies:
So full of diſmall terror was the time.

3-77. Keep.] Bro. Qq.
3. *to day.*] *to day?* Qq. Om. F_3F_4.
5. *fearefull...ſights*] *vgly ſights, of gaſtly dreames* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +.
6. *Chriſtian faithfull*] *Chriſtian, faithful* Hutchesson MS ap. Cam.

says to Brackenbury, 'I prithee sit by me awhile . . . I fain would sleep,' he evidently means no more than that *Brackenbury should remain beside him while he refreshed himself by a short slumber.* Hence it is that, immediately after wishing Clarence 'good rest,' Brackenbury remarks: 'reposing hours, Makes the night morning and the *noon-tide night.*'—COLLIER (*Emendations*, p. 327): Perhaps, when this play was first performed the company could only afford one actor for both parts, and Brackenbury was, therefore, made to officiate as Lieutenant and as keeper [see *Text. Notes*]; but afterwards, when the company became more numerous, it was thought better to divide the characters. In all editions the two Murderers deliver their warrant to Brackenbury. [R. G. WHITE'S note is to this same effect.]—SKOTTOWE (i, 194): Shakespeare seems to have been indebted to his own imagination only for the scene of Clarence in prison, his beautiful narrative of his dream, and the less happy dialogue of the murderers.—DANIEL (*Introd.*, p. xv): The author seems to have begun the scene with the intention of making the keeper in attendance on Clarence a distinct personage, and then, as the scene progressed, to have resolved that Brackenbury himself should be this keeper. I do not see how else we are to account for the way in which Brackenbury enters, takes up the words of the keeper, and assumes his post.—WRIGHT: The change of the Folios was made apparently because it was felt incongruous in an official of Brackenbury's rank to discharge the office of a gaoler. But it must be remembered that his prisoner was a prince of the blood. Tradition associates the scene of Clarence's murder with the Bowyer Tower. See Knight's *London*, ii, 239.

3, 4. **to day . . . night**] Do not these two words convey to us at once a measurable lapse of time during which Clarence has been languishing in the Tower? yet it was in the first scene that we saw him conveyed thither, and events have followed each other so rapidly that it is hardly possible to say just where a passage of time even as long as a night has occurred. DANIEL places an interval between scenes ii and iii, thus making scene iii begin the second day of the action; hereby Clarence is a prisoner of but one day, while according to the Croyland *Chronicle*, 'within ten days of his condemnation Clarence was executed'—and even then he had been confined in the Tower for some time. His death occurred 18 February, 1478.—ED.

6. **faithfull**] JOHNSON: That is, not an infidel. [BARNARD notes that this is the only example in Shakespeare of 'faithful' in this sense, and compares *Ephes.* i, 1: 'To the faithful in Christ Jesus.' WRIGHT cites *Mer. of Ven.*, II, iv, 38: 'a faithless Jew.'—ED.]

7. **such a**] ABBOTT (§ 85): 'A' is here used pleonastically.

Keep. What was your dream my Lord, I pray you tel me
Cla. Me thoughts that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to croſſe to Burgundy,
And in my company my Brother Glouſter,
Who from my Cabin tempted me to walke,
Vpon the Hatches : There we look'd toward England,

10. *my Lord, ...me*] *I long to heare you tell it.* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
11. *Me thoughts*] Q_{1-3},Ff, Rowe, Dyce, Cam.+. *Me thought* Q_{4-6}. *Methought* Pope et cet.
11, 12. *that...to Burgundy*] *I was imbarkt for Burgundie* Qq, Sta.
15. *There*] Q_{6-8},Ff, Rowe, Knt. *Thence* Q_{1-5} et cet.

11. **Me thoughts**, etc.] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 84): This is one of the scenes in which Shakespeare is supposed to have been most successful. In one part he is eminently so; in what part is he not? but the part to which I particularly allude is the opening of the dream. I can never read these lines without having the image before me of the two illustrious brothers pacing the deck, and seeming to hear their august colloquy; and without at the same time being reminded of the wars in which they had lost father and brother and many other near relations; and of their own recorded and unrecorded adventures,—their wanderings in woods and fells, their sufferings and escapes in the battle-field. This is, perhaps, the highest triumph of the poet's art.

11. **Me thoughts**] DYCE (*Note* on *Wint. Tale*, I, ii, 154, ed. ii): 'Methoughts' is, no doubt, a form which we occasionally meet with; but since, a few lines after, the Folios have *methought*, the variation was evidently introduced by the scribe or the printer, not by Shakespeare.—WALKER (*Vers.* 284) suggests that 'methoughts' is formed by *contagion* from *methinks*.—SKEAT (*s. v. methinks*): Here *me* is the dative case of the first personal pronoun; and *thynceth* is from the impersonal verb *thyncan*, to seem, quite distinct from *thencan*, to think. [Compare III, i, 75.]

12. **to Burgundy**] MALONE: Clarence was desirous to assist his sister Margaret against the French king, who invaded her jointure-lands after the death of her husband, Charles, Duke of Burgundy, who was killed at the siege of Nancy, in January, 1476–'77. Isabel, the wife of Clarence, being then dead, he wished to marry Mary, the daughter and heir of the Duke of Burgundy; but the match was opposed by Edward, who hoped to have obtained her for his brother-in-law, Lord Rivers; and this circumstance has been suggested as the principal cause of the breach between Edward and Clarence. Mary of Burgundy, however, chose a husband for herself, having married in August, 1477, Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic.—BARNARD: Clarence's dream might also carry him back to the days of his childhood, when, after the battle of Wakefield, he and Gloucester were sent, for safety, to Utrecht, where they remained for a time under the protection of Philip, Duke of Burgundy.

14. **Who**] For 'who,' used as 'relative to introduce a fact about the antecedent,' see ABBOTT, § 259 (2).

15. **Hatches**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): Formerly (in *plural*, rarely in *singular*), a movable planking forming a kind of deck in ships; hence also the permanent deck. 1552. Huloet: Hatche of a shyppe where they walke, *pergula*.

And cited vp a thouſand heauy times,
During the warres of Yorke and Lancaſter
That had befalne vs.As we pac'd along
Vpon the giddy footing of the Hatches,
Me thought that Glouſter ſtumbled, and in falling
Strooke me (that thought to ſtay him)ouer-boord,
Into the tumbling billowes of the maine.
O Lord, me thought what paine it was to drowne,
What dreadfull noiſe of water in mine eares,
What ſights of vgly death within mine eyes.
Me thoughts, I ſaw a thouſand fearfull wrackes:
A thouſand men that Fiſhes gnaw'd vpon:

16. *heauy*] *fearefull* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
17, 18. *Lancaſter...befalne vs. As... along*] *Lancaſter,...befallen vs: As... along*, Qq (*vs, as* Q_2.)
18. *vs*] *us us* F_2.
we] *he* Ff, Rowe.
pac'd] *pact* Q_2. *paſt* Qq. *pass'd* Han.
20. *falling*] *ſtumbling* Qq, Sta.
21. *Strooke*] *Stroke* Q_{2-4}. *Strook* F_3F_4, Cap. *Struck* Rowe et cet.
thought] *sought* Pope,+.
23. *O Lord,*] *Lord, Lord,* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam.+.
24. *water*] *waters* Q_{2-5}, Rowe,+ (—Var.'73), Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii.
25. *ſights of vgly*] *vgly ſights of* Qq, Coll. ii, iii, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. (*a ſight of vgly* Q_7Q_8.)
26. *Me thoughts*] F_2F_3. *Methoughts* F_4, Rowe. *I thought* Pope,+ (—Var. '73). *Methought* Qq et cet.
wrackes] QqFf, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i, Knt, Sing. Wh. i, Rlfe. *wrecks* Theob. ii et cet.
27. *A*] *Ten* Qq, Cam.+.

---

18. **pac'd**] VAUGHAN (iii, 30): I have little doubt that *past*, of the later Qq and Folios, is the reading of Q_1—printed 'pact,' just as *passed* is printed *past*, *faced* is printed *fac't*.

20. **Me thought**] See l. 11 *supra*.

22. **Into . . . the maine**] Could words more perfectly picture a storm-swept sea? The phrase 'tumbling billows' seems to carry with it the same power of imagery as the πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης of Homer.—ED.

24. **noise of water . . . eares**] STEEVENS refers to a note on 'the whelming tide,' Milton, *Lycidas*, l. 157, ed. Warton, 1791. [Warton's note on this line (edition of 1785) is as follows: 'In the manuscript, and the edition of 1638, it is "*humming* tide." Perhaps with a more striking sense, and in reference to the distant sound of the waters over his head, while he was exploring "the bottom of the monstrous world." The alteration was made in the second edition, 1645. Dr Warton adds, "The epithet *humming*, which he had first used, reminds us also of the strong image of Virgil, when Aristeus descended to his mother's Cavern, "Ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum," *Georgics*, iv, 365."'—The 'Dr Warton,' to whom reference is here made, is the Reverend Joseph Warton, brother to Thomas Warton.—ED.]—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 107): What Shakspere wrote is probably an echo—perhaps unconsciously—of the phrase in *Revelation* i, 15, and passim, 'the sound of many *waters*'; but the unusual plural

Wedges of Gold, great Anchors, heapes of Pearle,
Ineſtimable Stones, vnvalewed Iewels,
All ſcattred in the bottome of the Sea,
Some lay in dead-mens Sculles, and in the holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept
(As 'twere in ſcorne of eyes) reflecting Gemmes,

30. *All ... Sea*] Om. Qq, Pope,+ (—Var. '73).
ſcattred] *ſcatterred* F_2. *scatter'd* Rowe et seq. (subs.)
31. *the*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. ii, iii, Wh. i, Rlfe. *thoſe* Qq et cet.
33. (*As...eyes*)] *As...eyes* Qq (*eies* Q_2.)

displeased the reviser [of the Quarto], and so he changed the word into the singular. [See *Text. Notes*, III, iii, 17, 26.]

28. **Wedges**] BARNARD notes that 'Wedge originally meant simply a mass of metal without any reference to shape,' and compares: 'As sparkles from the anvil us'd to fly When heavy hammers on the wedge are swaid.'—Spenser. [No reference given. Shakespeare uses 'wedge' only here in this sense of a mass of metal, and four times in the sense of an instrument for cleaving. See *Tro. & Cress.*, I, i, 35: 'My heart as wedged with a sigh would rive in twain.'; *Ibid.*, I, iii, 316: 'Blunt wedges rive hard knots.' Also *Hen. VIII:* IV, i, 58; and *Coriol.*, II, iii, 30.—ED.]

28. **Anchors**] WRIGHT: It has been suggested to me by a learned friend that, as the rest of the description refers to precious things, gold, pearls, and so on, we should here read *great ingots* instead of great 'anchors.' The word was known to Shakespeare and is used by him in *Meas. for Meas.*, III, i, 26: 'Like an ass whose back with ingots bows.' It was, moreover, the technical word for the bars of unwrought silver such as might be found in the wreck of a plate ship from the Spanish main.

29. **vnvalewed Iewels**] MALONE: 'Unvalued' is here used for *invaluable*. So in Lovelace's *Posthumous Poems*, 1659: 'the unvalewed robe she wore Made infinite lay lovers to adore.'—STEEVENS: Again in Chapman's *Homer:* 'to buy For presents of unvalued price, his daughter's liberty,' *Iliad*, Bk, i; and *Ibid.:* 'Still shaking Jove's unvalewed shield.' Bk, xv. [The majority of editors agree in thus interpreting 'unvalued' in this passage. TAWNEY suggests, however, that this word may here mean 'inestimable gems, which nevertheless are not prized as jewels because no one sees them.' MALONE'S example of 'unvalued' is, perhaps, a little late for an illustration of Shakespeare; but the two examples by STEEVENS show, I think, that Malone's interpretation has much in its favour; particularly when it is remembered how nearly contemporaneous are Chapman's translation and the present play. Shakespeare uses 'unvalued' in but one other passage, *Hamlet*, I, iii, 19: 'He may not as unvalued persons do Carve for himself.' Wherein 'unvalued' is clearly to be understood in its more modern sense of *without value*. The question of this word's exact shade of meaning in the present passage is, therefore, I think, undecided.—ED.]

33. **reflecting Gemmes**] For this use of 'reflect,' meaning *to shine*, compare *Rape of Luc.:* 'whether it is that she reflects so bright,' l. 376; also *Tit. And.*, 'whose virtues will Reflect on Rome as Titan's rays on earth,' I, i, 226. CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*) marks its use in this sense as obsolete.—ED.

That woo'd the ſlimy bottome of the deepe,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay ſcattred by.
Keep. Had you ſuch leyſure in the time of death
To gaze vpon theſe ſecrets of the deepe?
Cla. Me thought I had, and often did I ſtriue
To yeeld the Ghoſt: but ſtill the enuious Flood
Stop'd in my ſoule, and would not let it forth
To find the empty, vaſt, and wand'ring ayre:
But ſmother'd it within my panting bulke,
Who almoſt burſt, to belch it in the Sea.

34. *That*] *Which* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *woo'd*] *woed* Q_{1-4}. *wade* Q_{5-8}. *strew'd* Heath.
37. *theſe*] *the* Qq,F_4, Rowe, +, Dyce, Cam. +.
38, 39. *and often...Ghoſt*] Om. Qq, Sta.
39. *but*] *for* Qq, Sta.
40. *Stop'd in*] *Kept in* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +. *stopp'd-in* Dyce i, Huds. *kept-in* Dyce ii, iii.
41. *find*] *ſeeke* Q_1Q_2,Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +. *keepe* Q_{3-8}.
empty, vaſt, and wand'ring] *emptie vaſt and wandering* Q_{1-5}. *empty vast; and wander in* Vaughan (iii, 33).
42. *ſmother'd*] *ſmothered* Qq.
43. *Who*] Ff, Rowe, Ktly. *Which* Qq et cet.

34. **woo'd . . . deepe**] JOHNSON: That is, by seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to *ogle* it.

35. **mock'd**] DELIUS: The jewels turned away contemptuously from the scattered bones.—TAWNEY: 'Mocked' seems rather to mean, *insulted*. The bright gems were so out of keeping with the dead bones that they might be said to insult them.

40, 41. **Stop'd . . . find**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 85): The text of the Folio is here to be preferred to that of the Quartos. The soul is compared to a subtile essence confined in a narrow space, an image which is frequently presented by Shakespeare. Again, the substitution of 'who' for *which* [l. 43] better expresses the struggling of Clarence to let his soul escape. Far better it seems to me is the reading of the Folio: 'in this sore agony' [l. 44], and there is more of energy in Clarence's reply: '*No*, no, my dream was lengthen'd after life.' [l. 45].

41. **vast**] STEEVENS: 'Vast' is *waste, desolate—vastum per inane*. [For other examples of this peculiar use of 'vast,' see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 38.]—MALONE: Perhaps we should point thus: 'To seek the empty vast, and wand'ring air.' That is, to seek the immense vacuity. Compare *Wint. Tale*, I, i, 33: 'Shook hands over a vast' [This note is not repeated in the *Variorum* of '21; it may, therefore, I think, be considered withdrawn.—ED.]

42, 43. **panting bulke . . . burst, to belch**] GUEST (p. 17): If the mere sound of the words *hiss* and *bah* recall the cry of the animal, so may the muscular action which the organs exert in pronouncing the words *struggle*, *wrestle*, call up in the mind the play of muscle and sinew usual in these encounters. Wherever there is resemblance there may be association. . . . We may observe that in making any continued muscular effort we draw in the breath and compress the lips firmly. Now this is the very position in which we place the organs when pronouncing the letters *b*, *p*. I have no doubt that to this source may be traced much of the

Keep. Awak'd you not in this ſore Agony?
Clar. No, no, my Dreame was lengthen'd after life.
O then, began the Tempeſt to my Soule.
I paſt (me thought) the Melancholly Flood,
With that ſowre Ferry-man which Poets write of,

44. *in*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *with* Qq et cet.

45. *No, no,*] *O no,* Qq, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+.

lengthen'd] *lengthened* Q_4, Cam. +. *lengthned* Qq, Pope,+.

45, 46. *life. O then,*] Ff, Rowe. *life, O then* Qq et cet.

46, 47. *Soule. I paſt*] *ſoule, Who paſt* Qq. *ſoul, I paſt* Ff et cet. (subs.)

48. *ſowre Ferry-man*] Ff. *sour Ferry--man* Rowe, Cap. Knt, Coll. i, ii, Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly. *grim ferriman* Qq et cet. (subs.)

---

beauty of the following verses: 'Smother'd it within my *panting bulk* Which almost *burst to belch* it in the sea.' '—But first from inward grief His *bursting passion* into *plaints* thus *poured.*' *Paradise Lost*, Bk, ix, l. 97.

42. **bulke**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): Within a few years of its first appearance, 'bulk' occurs in the senses *belly, trunk of the body*, due apparently to confusion with *bouk*, which word it has entirely superseded in literary English. 1533 Elyot, *Castle of Helth* (1541), 89: 'The boulke, called in latyn *thorax*, whiche conteyneth the brest, the sides, the stomake, and entrayles.' IBID (*s. v. Bouk*): 2. The trunk of the body; hence the body of a man or animal. After fourteenth century only Scottish dialectic.

47. **I paſt**] For a justification of *who*, as in Qq, see ABBOTT, § 264.

47. **Melancholly Flood**] WRIGHT: That is, the Styx. For 'flood' in the sense of *river*, see *Joshua* xxiv, 2: 'Your Fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time'; that is, beyond the river Euphrates.

48. **ſowre Ferry-man**] WRIGHT: Which epithet [*grim* or 'sour,' see *Text. Notes*] should be preferred it is difficult to say, both being used in the sense of *morose, crabbed.* [Both ROLFE and MARSHALL prefer the Folio reading. As an epithet, appropriate to Charon, 'Sour' is, without doubt, applicable, but is it not one such as almost any poet would have used? With all humility I suggest, therefore, that, *possibly*, the word here used by Shakespeare was *stowre.* The meaning of which is thus explained by Dr B. NICHOLSON (*N. & Qu.*, 25 May, 1878) in a note on 'sowre and firmeset Earth,' *Macbeth*, II, i, 69, this ed.: 'I propose by adding one letter to *sowre* to read "stowre and firm-set earth." Halliwell (Phillipps) gives *stour* as still an eastern county's provincialism for *stiff*, or *inflexible*, and quotes from Palsgrave: "Stoure, rude as coarse cloth is, *gros*," and "stowre of conversation, *estourdy.*" So also Ray, *Glossary of South and East Country Words* (Eng. Dial. Soc.): "*Stoure*, adj., inflexible, sturdy, and stiff, spoken also of cloth in opposition to *limber.*" Again in writings just prior to, or contemporaneous with, Shakespeare's, we have (*Prompt. Parv.*): "*Stoor* (*store*, MS, King's Coll. Cam.), hard or boystous. Austerus, rigidus." "Thys pange was greater . . . then when the stower nayles . . . were . . . driven throughe his handes and fete," Latimer, *Serm.* 7 (Arber's repr., p. 185). I may add that exactly the same mistake, as I think, occurs in Herbert's *Church Porch*, st. xx, l. 3: "Constancie knits the bones and makes us soure (Wm.'s MS); *stowre* (pr. edds.)."' With this

Vnto the Kingdome of perpetuall Night.
The firſt that there did greet my Stranger-ſoule,
Was my great Father-in-Law, renowned Warwicke,
Who ſpake alowd: What ſcourge for Periurie,
Can this darke Monarchy affoord falſe *Clarence*?
And ſo he vaniſh'd. Then came wand'ring by,
A Shadow like an Angell, with bright hayre
Dabbel'd in blood, and he ſhriek'd out alowd

50. *Stranger-ſoule*] *ſtranger ſoul* Qq. *ſtrangers soule* Q_8.
51. *renowned*] *renowmed* Q_{1-5}.
52. *ſpake*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i, Rlfe. *cried* Qq et cet.
alowd: What] *alowd what* Q_1. *alowd, what* Q_{2-5}.
54. *vaniſh'd. Then*] *vaniſht: then* Qq. (*vaniſht, then* Q_4.)
55. *with*] *in* Qq.
56. *Dabbel'd*] *Dabled* Qq. (*Dadled* Q_6Q_7.)
ſhriek'd] *ſquakt* Q_1. *ſqueakt* Q_6 Q_3Q_5. *ſqaueakt* Q_4. *squeak'd* Cam.+.

meaning of 'stowre' Charon is described as inflexible, austere, which is unusual but is, perhaps, as applicable as *morose, crabbed.*—ED.]

48. **Poets**] Probably Virgil and Dante. Compare: 'Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat Terribili squalore Charon'—*Æneid*, Bk, vi, ll. 298, 299. Also: 'Caron dimonio con occhi di bragia Loro accennando, tutte le raccoglie.' —*Inferno*, iii, 109, 110; Cary thus translates: 'Charon demoniac form With eyes of burning coal, collects them all'—ED.

51. **Father-in-Law**] Clarence married Isabel, the elder daughter of Warwick.

51. **renowned**] WRIGHT: For the spelling *renowmed* of the first five Qq, see Cotgrave, '*Renommé* . . . Renowmed, famous, of much note.'

52, 53. **What . . . Periurie . . . false Clarence**] See *3 Hen. VI:* V, i, 103 et seq. Warwick there addresses Clarence as a 'traitor, perjured and unjust.'

55. **A Shadow like an Angell**] This refers to Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI. DUPORT erroneously interprets it as the spirit of Queen Margaret.—ED.

55, 56. **bright hayre . . . blood**] STEEVENS: Lee has transplanted this image into his *Mithradates*, IV, i: 'Cold Lucretia's mourning shadow His curtains drew, and lash'd him in his eyes With her bright tresses, dabbled in her blood.'

56. **shriek'd**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 85): When we remember the passage in *Hamlet*, I, i, 115: 'Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets,' and the *vox tenuis* of the inhabitants of the Elysian fields, the reading [of the Qq] is not at once to be dismissed or forgotten.—WRIGHT (Note on *Jul. Caes.*, II, ii, 24): That ghosts had thin and squeaking voices was a belief in the time of Homer, who compares the noise of the souls of the suitors, whom Hermes conducted to Hades, to the noise of a string of bats when disturbed in a cave (*Odyss.*, xxiv, 5–8). Compare Horace, *Sat.* i, 8, 41: 'Quo pacto alterna loquentes Umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum.' And Virgil, *Æneid*, vi, 491, of the shades which Æneas saw: 'Pars tollere vocem Exiguam.'—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 62): The Folio change was made because, no doubt, the word [*squeak'd*] had already begun to lose the tragic character which it once had, and to be unfit for such associations. Its unfitness would be felt at once by every Englishman now living. The correction, whoever made it, proves that it had begun to be felt then;

Clarence is come, falſe, fleeting, periur'd *Clarence*,
That ſtabb'd me in the field by Tewkesbury:
Seize on him Furies, take him vnto Torment.
With that (me thought) a Legion of foule Fiends
Inuiron'd me, and howled in mine eares
Such hiddeous cries, that with the very Noiſe,
I (trembling) wak'd, and for a ſeaſon after,
Could not beleeue, but that I was in Hell,
Such terrible Impreſsion made my Dreame.
Keep. No maruell Lord, though it affrighted you,

58. *by*] *at* Q_7Q_8.
Tewkesbury] *Teuxbery* Q_1. *Teuxburie* Q_{2-5}.
59. *vnto Torment*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *unto torments* Coll. iii. *to your torments* Qq et cet.
60. (*me thought*)] *me thoughts* Q_1. *me thought* Q_{2-5}. (*methought*) F_4.
61. *me,*] *me about*, Qq, Cam.+.
62. *hiddeous*] *heddeous* F_3.
63. *I* (*trembling*)] *I trembling*, Qq.
65. *Impreſsion*] *impressions* Rowe i.
my] *the* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
66. *Lord*] (*my Lo:*) Qq. *my lord* Cam.+.
though] *that* Pope,+, Varr. Ran.

and if the word had any part of the effect on an English ear which it now has, Shakespeare would surely have avoided it.—PICKERSGILL (*Ibid.*, p. 104): Spedding must have forgotten for the moment the lines in *Hamlet*, I, i, written certainly in 1602 or thereabouts. [Quoted by HUNTER, see note *supra*.] Again, in *Ant. & Cleo.*, written probably several years later, the word is used precisely as Clarence uses it, namely, to describe a boy's voice: 'I shall see Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness,' V, ii, 220.

57. **fleeting**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): † 2. That moves constantly, shifting unstable wandering; hence of a person or his attributes: Changeable, fickle, inconstant, vacillating. 1592 Greene, *Groat's Worth of Wit* (1617), 15: 'If I finde thee firme, Lamilia will be faithfull: if fleeting, she must . . . be infortunate.' 1606 *Ant. & Cleo.* 'The fleeting Moone No planet is of mine,' v, ii, 240.

58. **That stabb'd . . . Tewkesbury**] See *3 Hen. VI:* V, v, 40.

60. **me thought**] See line 11 *supra*.

60. **foule Fiends**] This adjective 'foul' applied to 'fiend' seems to have been a favorite one with Shakespeare. The phrase occurs thirteen times in the plays. It was, possibly, chosen on account of alliteration.—ED.

60, 61. **Fiends Inuiron'd me**] STEEVENS: Milton seems to have thought on this passage where he is describing the midnight sufferings of our Saviour, *Paradise Regain'd*, Bk, iv: 'Infernal ghosts, and hellish furies, round Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd some shriek'd' [ll. 422, 423].

61. **Inuiron'd me**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 39): The Folio omits *about* [see *Text. Notes*], and so gets rid of the alexandrine: an irregularity frequent in *Rich. II.*, but in the 'Histories of the second period' very much less so: one, therefore, which Shakespeare had learned to dislike, and might be expected to remove in correcting.

66. **No maruell . . . though**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*): That is, *It is not strange that.*

I am affraid (me thinkes) to heare you tell it. 67
Cla. Ah Keeper, Keeper, I haue done theſe things
(That now giue euidence againſt my Soule)
For *Edwards* ſake, and ſee how he requits mee. 70
O God! if my deepe prayres cannot appeaſe thee,
But thou wilt be aueng'd on my miſdeeds,
Yet execute thy wrath in me alone:
O ſpare my guiltleſſe Wife, and my poore children. 74

67. *I am*] *I promiſe you, I am* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
(*me thinkes*)] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *methinks* F_4 et cet.
68. *Ah*] *O* Qq, Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
Keeper, Keeper,] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *Brokenburie* Qq. *Brakenbury* Pope et cet.
68. *theſe*] *thoſe* Qq, Pope,+, Dyce, Hal. Cam.+, Huds. Coll. iii.
69. *That now giue*] *Which now beare* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
71–74. *O God!...children*] Om. Qq, Cap.
73. *wrath*] *will* Huds. iii.
in] Ff, Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Coll. iii. *on* Rowe et cet.

Compare, 'no marvel though thy horse be gone.'—*Ven. & Ad.*, 390; 'no marvel then though I mistake my view.'—*Sonn.* 148, l. 11.

71–74. **O God . . . children**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 134): This short and moving prayer, uttered by Clarence before he falls asleep, is so thoroughly in keeping with Shakespeare's accustomed style of foreshadowing coming events—here in particular the danger threatening Clarence's family—that we can hardly conceive of it as any later addition by the poet, were it not that the somewhat arbitrary omission of these four lines in the Qq shows a rough, uncompromising revision. —BROOKE (p. 109): Immediately, pat on the point, and done in Shakespeare's way of setting over against a grave thought the same thought in a grotesque or ghastly framework, there is now a parody, with a grim earnestness in it, of this same question of the vengeance of conscience. Is there that in us which punishes with thought? Is there a wrath beyond ourselves? an imperative command within us? If so, is it worth regarding? The murderers debate the question from their rude standpoint, and settle the matter as the robbing and murdering kings and nobles had settled it. They have a warrant for their crime; it is done on command. But these considerations are indifferent, of these conscience might get the better; but the reward, the gain—that conquers conscience; and arguing to and fro with extraordinary variety of base and cunning thought and phrase, they end by attacking conscience as the most dangerous enemy of states and societies. This is exactly Richard's point of view put coarsely. Yet these two are not as bad as Richard. They *do* feel the pull of conscience. He could not.

72. **But**] For the transition of 'but' from *except, unless*, to the adversative meaning *on the other hand*, see ABBOTT, § 121.

74. **my . . . Wife**] WRIGHT: Clarence's wife Isabel, died 12 December, 1476, before the time of this scene.

Keeper, I prythee ſit by me a-while, 75
My Soule is heauy, and I faine would ſleepe.
Kcep. I will my Lord, God giue your Grace good reſt.

Enter Brakenbury the Lieutenant.

Bra. Sorrow breakes Seaſons, and repoſing houres, 79

75. *Keeper...a-while,*] *I pray thee gentle keeper ſtay by me,* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Sta. Cam. +, Ktly. *I pr'ythee Brackenbury, stay by me,* Pope, +.
me] *me;* [retiring to a chair. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
a-while] *a while* F_3F_4.

77. *reſt.*] *rest.* [Clarence sleeps. Johns. Varr. Ran.

78, 79. Enter...Lieutenant. Bra.] Ff, Rowe. Om. Qq et cet.

78. Enter Brackenbury] Clarence reposes himself on a chair, and sleeps, then enter Brackenbury. Wh. i, Rlfe.

79. [Aside. Pope, +.
breakes] *breake* Q_1.

---

75. **Keeper**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 69): It is easier to explain how the name of Brackenbury got into the text, supposing the keeper to have been originally meant to be another man, than how 'Keeper' got in, supposing that he was originally meant to be the Lieutenant of the Tower. If, as has been suggested [see note by COLLIER, l. 2 *supra*], the company was not strong enough to supply two actors for the two parts, both would be given to the actor who played Brackenbury; and in the play-house copy the stage-directions would be altered accordingly. The introduction of the name in the dialogue would follow, of course; the actor himself would feel the necessity of it. [Spedding continues substantially as follows:] The wonder is that it was not introduced in *both* places, instead of only one. But I think that if, in the original manuscript, the person in charge of Clarence had been meant to be the Lieutenant of the Tower, the words *gentle keeper* would not have been found in Q_1. That question is, however, of little consequence. For there can be no doubt that the last corrector wished Clarence's attendant in this scene to be taken for another and an inferior officer. For he has changed *Brackenbury* to 'Keeper' in no less than six places; and marked conspicuously the place where Brackenbury is to enter. He has, indeed, omitted to insert *exit Keeper*, but the context shows conclusively that the 'Keeper' is supposed to retire upon the entrance of his chief. [See Note by R. G. WHITE, l. 100, *post*.]

79. **Bra. Sorrow . . . Seasons**] POPE: Brackenbury enters pronouncing these words: which seem to me a reflection naturally resulting from the foregoing conversation, and therefore continued to be spoken by the same person, as it is in the first edition.—MALONE: The Keeper and Brackenbury who was Lieutenant of the Tower was certainly the same person.—CAMBRIDGE EDITORS (*Note* v.): We have decided to adhere to the Qq, as they undoubtedly give what Shakespeare originally wrote, and the alteration found in the Ff is not of such obvious propriety that we should unhesitatingly attribute it to the hand of the author.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 70): In answer to [the foregoing note], it might be enough to ask whose hand was so *likely* to have made such an alteration, and what reason is there for doubting that this should be added to the many alterations

Makes the Night Morning, and the Noon-tide night:
Princes haue but their Titles for their Glories,
An outward Honor, for an inward Toyle,
And for vnfelt Imaginations
They often feele a world of reſtleſſe Cares:
So that betweene their Titles, and low Name,
There's nothing differs, but the outward fame.

Enter two Murtherers.

81. *Glories*] *troubles* Johns. conj. *guerdons* Bailey.
83. *Imaginations*] *imagination* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
85. *betweene*] *betwixt* Qq, Cam.+. *their*] *your* Q_{3-6}.
85. *Name*] *names* Qq, Cam.+.
87. Scene VI. Pope,+.
Enter two Murtherers.] The murtherers enter. Qq. Enter two Villains. Rowe, Pope.

---

which the Cambridge Edd. admit to be Shakespeare's?—MARSHALL: If we suppose Brackenbury, on his entrance, to pause a little and contemplate the sleeping Clarence, the words to which he gives utterance are appropriate, and may well be detached from the first line of the speech, [beginning: 'I will my Lord.'] The unnecessary introduction of a minor character is what a practical dramatist generally endeavors, if possible, to avoid; and we cannot say that there is sufficient reason for any such introduction here. Clarence was evidently committed to Brackenbury's special charge; and it is more likely that he would have made such confidences to him than to an inferior officer.

81-83. **Princes . . . . Imaginations**] JOHNSON: That is: The glories of princes are nothing more than empty titles; and they often suffer real miseries for *imaginary* and *unreal* gratifications. It would more impress the purpose of the speaker, and correspond better with the following lines, if for 'glories' we read *troubles*.—VAUGHAN (iii, 34): The distinction is not between fact and imagination of fact, but between pains of imagination felt and pleasures of imagination unfelt. It is this want of pleasure in the imaginative realisation of their honours which converts their titles into something no better than want of any titles at all would be, while the actual pain of the mental entertainment of their cares leaves their anxieties with all their natural vexation.

83, 84. **And for . . . Cares**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: The effect of this passage is rendered somewhat perplexed, from the employment of 'for,' which is twice used in its usual sense, and the third time in the sense of *instead of*. Moreover, be it observed that Shakespeare not infrequently gives this effect of perplexity to his reflective soliloquies: thereby indicating those dimly expressed thoughts which pass through the brain of the soliloquiser.

87. **two Murtherers**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 464): The two Murderers are drawn with a terribly bold and masterly hand. They are not only designed with a marked difference from any others of Shakespeare's murderers (such, for instance, as Tyrrel, Dighton, and Forrest, and those in *Macbeth* who are gentlemen of fallen fortunes), but these have such perfect individuality as to be unlike and quite distinct from each other. Throughout the scene you recognise the one

1.*Mur.* Ho, who's heere? 88
Bra. What would'ſt thou Fellow? And how camm'ſt thou hither. 90
2.*Mur.* I would ſpeak with *Clarence*, and I came hither on my Legges.
Bra. What ſo breeſe?
1. 'Tis better (Sir) then to be tedious:
Let him ſee our Commiſſion, and talke no more. *Reads* 95
Bra. I am in this, commanded to deliuer
The Noble Duke of *Clarence* to your hands.
I will not reaſon what is meant heereby,
Becauſe I will be guiltleſſe from the meaning.
There lies the Duke aſleepe, and there the Keyes. 100

88. 1.Mur.] Om. Qq. 1 Vil. Rowe, Pope.
Ho, who's heere?] Om. Qq.
heere] *there* Warb. Johns.
89, 90. *What...hither*] *In Gods name what are you, and how came you hither?* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *In God's name, what art thou? how cam'st thou hither* Pope,+ (−Var.'73).
89. *camm'ſt*] *cam'ſt* F_3F_4.
91. 2.Mur.] Exe. Qq (subs.). 1.Murd. Mal. et seq.
with] *wite* Q_4Q_5.
92. *Legges*] *legs* Qq,F_4.
93. *What*] *Yea, are you* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *Yea, are ye* Qq, Sta. *What*, F_4.
94. 1.] 2 Murd. Mal. et seq.
1. *'Tis...to be*] 2 Exe. *O ſir, it is better to be briefe then* Q_1Q_2, Var. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+. (...*better be*... Q_{3-6}, Cap.) *'Tis better to be brief than* Marshall conj.
95. *Let him ſee*] *Shew him* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Sta. Cam.+.
and'] Om. Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
Reads] He readeth it. Qq. Brackenbury receives a paper, and reads it. Cap. Mal. et seq. (subs.)
98. *heereby*] *thereby* Q_{3-8}.
99. *from*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i. *of* Qq et cet.
100. *There...Keyes.*] Ff,+, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *Heere are the keyes, there ſits the Duke aſleepe*, Qq et cet.

---

ruffian from his companion, though not otherwise designated than as '1 Murderer' and '2 Murderer,' being third or fourth class characters in the play. From the preliminary, short interview with Gloucester, where the First Murderer alone speaks, and assures the Duke: 'be assur'd We go to use our hands, and not our tongues'; down to the scene where they perpetrate the deed, the first man displays the bold, ruthless, callous villain, dashed with a spice of ferocious humour; and the other is a vacillating creature, whom circumstances and not predisposition have made what he is.

89. **What . . . Fellow**] WRIGHT suggests that this change from the Quarto reading was, perhaps, made to avoid a prosecution for profanity under the Act of 3 James I. (See l. 120 and note.)

100. **There . . . asleepe**] KNIGHT: We have no doubt it was intended that Clarence should retire to the secondary stage, and there lie upon a couch.

100. **and . . . Keyes**] R. G. WHITE: It was a violation of all propriety to make Sir Robert Brakenbury, Lieutenant of the Tower, go about with a bunch of pon-

Ile to the King, and ſignifie to him, 101
That thus I haue reſign'd to you my charge. *Exit.*
1 You may ſir, 'tis a point of wiſedome:
Far you well.
2 What, ſhall we ſtab him as he ſleepes. 105

101. *the...to him*] *his Maieſtie, and certifie his Grace* Qq, Sta.
102. *to you my charge*] *my charge to you* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *my place to you* Q_{3-5}, Sta.
Exit] Om. Qq.
103. *You...'tis*] *Do so it is* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
104. *Far you well*] Om. Qq, Sta. *Fare you well* Ff.
105. *we*] *I* Q_1Q_2.
ſleepes.] *ſleepes?* Qq,F_3F_4.

derous keys at his girdle or in his hand. These keys were evidently carried by the keeper, a higher sort of gaoler, but a person of rank much inferior to Brakenbury, the commander of the Tower. [See l. 2, *supra*, and Notes.]—HUDSON (p. 206): May not the Lieutenant have taken the keys from one of his subordinates for the purpose of visiting Clarence? And is there not quite as much impropriety in making Clarence, a prince of the royal blood, unbosom himself so freely in a dialogue with a mere turnkey of the prison? [By 'there' is, perhaps, meant to be indicated that Brackenbury either tosses the bunch of keys at the feet of the Murderers, or that he has laid them upon the table on entering. Determined to be guiltless of having helped the Murderers in carrying out an order the purpose of which he surmises at once, he makes them take the keys instead of placing them directly in their hands.—ED.]

103. **point of wisedome**] WRIGHT: That is, a proceeding which argues wisdom. Compare *1 Hen. IV:* V, i, 122: 'Hal if thou see me down in the battle and bestride me, so; 'tis a point of friendship.'

105. **What, shall we,** etc.] FLEAY (*Sh. Manual*, p. 132) thinks that the following dialogue between the Murderers is an interpolation by Peele; and also says that, 'of the earlier plays *Richard III.* is the only one that is absolutely devoid of comedy.' On this latter point LOWELL (p. 41) remarks: 'Perhaps no play of Shakespeare adheres more closely to the classical standard with regard to its tragical unity than *Richard III.* It lacks, let it be admitted, the unclassical admixture of comedy. But the play is of such an intensely cruel and tragic nature that it could with less consistency than any other play admit of the introduction of a comic strain. Its very diabolism seems to forbid any relief to the horror, or the admission of any ray of jest or clownishness into the damnable darkness. If, however, by the term *humor* we may include the idea of wit, sarcasm, cunning and adroit play of words, then, certainly, one of the greatest, if grimmest, humorists of Shakespeare's creation is Richard III. There are lines in the first soliloquy that contain humor. Gloucester's wooing of Lady Anne, even in the presence of the corpse of Henry VI., is not only most eloquent, but consummately witty, bordering at least on the humorous.'—WEBB: The insertion of a humorous colloquy between the two murderers just before one of the tragic deeds of the play is quite in Shakespeare's manner. In some instances, as in *Macbeth*, a comic scene comes as a welcome interlude to relieve the prevailing gloom. Here the object is rather to deepen the tragic interest. An audience

1 No : hee'l ſay 'twas done cowardly, when he wakes
2 Why he ſhall neuer wake, vntill the great Iudgement day.
1 Why then hee'l ſay, we ſtab'd him ſleeping.
2 The vrging of that word Iudgement, hath bred a kinde of remorſe in me.
1 What? art thou affraid?
2 Not to kill him, hauing a Warrant,
But to be damn'd for killing him, from the which
No Warrant can defend me.
1 I thought thou had'ſt bin reſolute.
2 So I am, to let him liue.
1 Ile backe to the Duke of Glouſter, and tell him ſo.

106. *No : hee'l*] *No, then he will* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
No :...cowardly] One line, Qq.
107, 108. *Why...day.*] Ff, Rowe, Han. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *When he wakes, Why foole he ſhall neuer wake till the iudgement day* Qq et cet. (As two lines, ending: *wakes, ...day.* Qq.)
107. *vntill the great*] *till the* Qq, Cap. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
109. *hee'l*] *he will* Qq, Cam.+.
110, 111. *The...bred*] One line, Qq.
112. *What?*] *What,* Qq.
112. *thou*] Om. Q_7Q_8, Cap.
affraid?] *afraid.* Q_1.
113–115. *Not to...defend me*] Two lines, the first ending: *damn'd* Qq.
113. *Warrant,*] *Warrant.* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *warrant for it* Qq et cet.
114. *the*] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
115. *me*] *vs* Qq, Cam.+.
116, 117. *I thought...liue*] Om. Qq.
116. *bin*] *been* F_4.
118. *Ile*] Om. Qq, Cam.+. *I'le* F_4.
and] Om. Qq, Cam.+.

---

strung to the highest pitch of expectation, and with the certain knowledge that some desperate deed is soon to be enacted before their eyes, must have found an additional horror in the spectacle of these two desperadoes cutting their rough jokes with unconcern.—SHARPE (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1880–'86; p. 524): There are some general rules running through the plays, as to when prose and metre are to be employed. They are not very positive rules, and they vary in strength in different plays. I find that poor, uneducated men speak prose, even in plays that are mostly in metre . . .Then there are rules in many plays about certain persons speaking prose, and others metre, or rather, these should be called particular applications of the general rules. The use of prose or metre by a person depends upon his character, or the state of mind that he is in at the time, or to whom he is speaking. [The Qq print this scene throughout in metrical form. —ED.]

111. **remorse**] That is, *pity;* for other examples of this meaning, see Shakespeare *passim.*

113–115. **Not to . . . me**] MARSHALL: It would seem that while writing portions of this scene the author was in hesitation whether to write them in prose or verse.

2 Nay, I prythee ſtay a little:
I hope this paſſionate humor of mine, will change,
It was wont to hold me but while one tels twenty.
1 How do'ſt thou feele thy ſelfe now?
2 Some certaine dregges of conſcience are yet within mee.
1 Remember our Reward, when the deed's done.
2 Come, he dies: I had forgot the Reward.

119–121. *Nay...twenty*] Two lines, ending: *will...twenty* Qq.
119. *Nay...a little*] *I pray thee ſtay a while.* Qq, Cam.+.
I prythee] *prethee* F_3. *prithee* F_4.
120, 121. Prose, Pope et seq.
120. *this...of mine*] *my holy humor* Qq, Var.'21, Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Huds. Rlfe. *this holy humor of mine.* Pope,+, Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Coll. iii. *this compassionate humor of mine* Cap. Varr. Ran. Coll. (MS), Sing. (MS).
121. *It was*] *twas* Qq, Cam.+.
tels twenty] *would tell* xx. Qq. *would tell twenty* Theob. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+. *could tell* xx. Q_7Q_8, Sta. (subs.)
123. *Some*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Knt. *Faith some* Qq et cet.
125. *our*] *the* F_3F_4,+.
deed's] *deed is* Qq, Cam.+.
126. *Come*] *Zounds* Qq, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

120. **passionate**] MALONE: The modern substitution *compassionate* is unnecessary. 'Passionate,' though not so good an epithet as that which is furnished by the Quarto, is sufficiently intelligible. The Second Murderer's next speech proves that *holy* was the author's word. The player-editors changed it, as they did many others, on account of the statute, 3 Jac. I. c. 21. In line 123 they, from the same apprehension, omitted the word '*faith.*' [See also l. 89, and note, *supra*.]

122. **How . . . now**] MARSHALL: The actor must evidently pause a short time before this speech, in order to give his comrade time to count twenty. There is a good deal of humor in this scene. It reminds one more of the prose parts of *Henry IV.* than of the earlier historical plays. The speech of the Second Murderer on *conscience*, ll. 134–145, is quite in Shakespeare's best style.

123. **Some certaine dregges**] LLOYD: The germ of much of the dialogue of the Murderers seems, among other parallels to be found in the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third:* '*Dent.* I promise thee, Will, it greeues mee to see what mone these young Princes make, I had rather then fortie pounds I had nere tane it in hand, tis a dangerous matter to kill innocent princes I like it not. *Will.* Why you base slaue, are you faint hearted, a little thing would make me strike, I promise thee. *Dent.* Nay go forward, for now I am resolute: but come lets too it.' [See note by CHURCHILL, l. 271, post.]—SCHELLING (p. 107): The overpowering pathos of the scenes depicting the murder of the King [in Marlowe's *Edward II.*] must have created a lasting impression on the play-goers and dramatists of the time and affected subsequent treatment of like situations. The murder of Clarence presents a situation not dissimilar. Here, as in the tragedy of *Woodstock*, the murderers are distinguished, one showing qualms of conscience. Clarence, too, discovers murder in his executioner's face, as do both Edward and Woodstock. See *Edward II.*, V, v, 44; *Woodstock:* V, i, 130–134.

1 Where's thy conſcience now. 127
2 O, in the Duke of Glouſters purſe.
1 When hee opens his purſe to giue vs our Reward, thy Conſcience flyes out. 130
2 'Tis no matter, let it goe : There's few or none will entertaine it.
1 What if it come to thee againe?
2 Ile not meddle with it, it makes a man a Coward: 134

127. *Where's*] *Where is* Qq, Cam.+.
128. *O,*] Om. Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Huds.
129. *When*] *So when* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
130. *thy*] *Thy* Qq.
131. *'Tis no matter*] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
131. *it*] *vs* Q_2F_2.
132. *entertaine*] *enteraine* Q_4.
133. *What*] *How* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
134–144. Eleven lines, ending: *thing, ...ſteale, ... him: ... detects ... mutinies... obſtacles, ... found. ... all ... euery ...truſt without it.* Qq.
134. *it,*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. *it, it is a dangerous thing* Qq et cet.

---

132. **entertaine**] That is, *take into service.* Compare I, ii, 283.

133. **What if . . . againe**] WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s Knowledge*, etc., p. 135): The dialogue between the two Murderers is an extraordinary instance of our poet's deep acquaintance with the most secret workings of the human heart—such as I know not where to look for in any other, unless it be in the author of the *Book of Proverbs*, King Solomon. The phraseology would be of small account, if the imitation of Scriptural language were not accompanied, as it most evidently is, by an honest desire to give effect to the moral lessons which the Bible contains.

134. **it, it**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: We believe the omission of the words as in the Qq [see *Text. Notes*] to have been made for acting purposes, because there is a kind of repetition of the words farther on in the same speech. But it is precisely in Shakespeare's mode of emphasising a point, to thus repeat it; and most naturally it is put into the mouth of a common-mannered arguer, like the present speaker. Very noteworthy, too, as a point of high dramatic art in harmony and unity of moral aim, is the occurrence of a speech upon conscience here from a rough fellow like this Second Murderer, and the occurrence of another upon conscience afterwards from the royal hero-villain of the play. Compare the diction, the profound ethical lesson, and the perfectly characteristic and poetical appropriateness of these two speeches, and then say whether our Shakespeare be not indeed a writer to learn from and glory in.

134. **it makes a man a Coward**] WRIGHT compares *Hamlet*, III, i, 83: 'Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.' MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Conscience* II. Consciousness of right and wrong; moral sense) quotes this line from *Hamlet*. With all deference to my betters I suggest that, in *Hamlet*, the context hardly seems to warrant this interpretation; *e. g.*, 'who would fardels bear, To grunt and sweat under a weary life, But that the dread of something after death, The undiscover'd country from whose bourn No traveller returns, puzzles the will And makes us rather bear those ills we have Than fly to others that we know

A man cannot ſteale, but it accuſeth him : A man cannot Sweare, but it Checkes him : A man cannot lye with his Neighbours Wife, but it detects him. 'Tis a bluſhing ſhamefac'd ſpirit, that mutinies in a mans boſome : It filles a man full of Obſtacles. It made me once reſtore a Purſſe of Gold that (by chance) I found : It beggars any man that keepes it : It is turn'd out of Townes and Cities for a dangerous thing, and euery man that means to liue well, endeuours to truſt to himſelfe, and liue vvithout it.

1 'Tis euen now at my elbow, perſwading me not to kill the Dkue.

135, 136. *A man cannot Sweare*] *he cannot sweare* Q_1Q_2, Sta. Cam.+. *he cannot ſteale* Qq.

136. *A man*] *He* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

137. *him. 'Tis*] *Him. It is* Q_1Q_2. *Him, it is* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.

138. *ſhamefac'd*] Ff, Rowe. *ſhamefaſt* Q_1Q_3, Cam.+. *ſhamfaſt* $Q_2Q_4Q_5$. *ſhamfull* Q_7. *ſhamefull* Q_8. *shame-fac'd* Pope et cet.

139. *a man*] *one* Qq, Theob.+, Var. Mal. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

reſtore] *teſtore* Q_2.

140. *Purſſe*] *piece* or *peece* Qq.

(*by chance*)] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

141. *of Townes*] *of all Townes* Qq, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam. +, Ktly, Huds.

143. *truſt to*] *truſt to To* Q_1.

and liue] *and to liue* Q_{1-6}, Cam.+.

145. *'Tis*] Ff,+, Knt, Sing. Ktly. *Zounds it is* Qq et cet.

'Tis...me] One line, Qq.

146. *Dkue*] F_1.

---

not of? Thus conscience does make cowards of us all; And thus the native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Is there in this any question of *moral sense?* Does not the use of 'thus' rather convey the idea that it is the thinking too precisely on the event, or the speculating thereon too deeply, without any reference to the right or to the wrong, which makes us hesitate? The next line, 'And thus,' etc., is, I think, an amplification of the same thought. In the present line in *Rich. III.* the Murderer uses 'conscience' not as in Hamlet's use of it, but in the sense of *moral judgement;* as does Richard himself in V, iii, 211; 225; 352; 354.—ED.

138. **shamefac'd**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): A corruption of *shamefast*, by a singular confusion with *face*, due to the fact that shame is commonly expressed by the appearance of the face. We find *shamefastness* in Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, IV, x, 50. [Derived from] Anglo-Saxon, *scamu*, shame; and *fæst*, fast, firm.—WRIGHT: In the same way in *3 Hen. VI:* IV, viii, 52, 'shamefac'd' is the spelling of the Folios, while in the original play, *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, it is *shamefast*. The corruption is at least as early as Sidney's *Arcadia* (quoted in Richardson's *Dictionary*). [WHITNEY (*New Cent. Dict.*) gives examples of both forms of this word, as used in the same work, Guevara, *Letters* (translated by Hellowes, 1577): 'Men shamefaced and of noble minds,' p. 256; and ' . . a mother shall send her sonne to the house of a gentleman, clad, shod, shamefast,' . . . p. 151.—ED.]

2 Take the diuell in thy minde, and beleeue him not: 147
He would inſinuate with thee but to make thee ſigh.

147. *Take...in*] *Shake...out of* Cap. *Shake off this...in* Heath.

147, 148. *Take...ſigh.*] Prose, Pope et seq.

148. *but*] Om. Qq.

147, 148. **Take the diuell . . . him not: He . . . insinuate**] WARBURTON: One villain says, *Conscience* is at his elbows, persuading him not to kill the Duke. The other says, take the devil into thy nearer acquaintance, 'into thy mind,' who will be a match for thy conscience, and believe it, etc. It is plain then that '*him*' in both places in the text should be *it*, namely, conscience.—CAPELL (*Notes*, ii, p. 178): 'Take the devil in thy mind' admits of no interpretation that reason can acquiesce in; but taking 'devil' for 'conscience' (which is the matter in argument, and the only 'devil' the present speaker had thought of) and allowing the two corrections which none will call violent, a great and open consistency reigns throughout. [See *Text. Notes.*]—STEEVENS: Shakespeare so frequently uses both these pronouns indiscriminately, that no correction is necessary.—MALONE: In the *Mer. of Ven.* we have a long *dialogue* between Launcelot, his Conscience, and the Devil [Act II, sc. ii]. But though Conscience were not here personified, Shakespeare would have used 'him' instead of *it*. He does so in almost every page of these plays.—RANN: Follow the fiend's advice that first put thee upon this enterprize, and pay no regard to the suggestions of conscience, which will only serve to sink thy spirits.—HUDSON: 'Him' refers to 'Conscience' not to 'Devil.'—To 'insinuate with' is *to make friends with, to beguile*. The idea of conscience trying to wheedle and steal a man out of the Devil's leading is a most Shakespearean stroke of art. And the grim humour of these hired cut-throats in thus jesting away the approaches of preventive remorse is a capital instance of the Poet's inwardness with Nature. For even so men often laugh and sport themselves through the perpetration of crime, the supremacy of the moral law, the self-assertive rights of conscience instinctively prompting them to such tricks of evasion. I can hardly think of any one particular wherein Shakespeare's moral sanity of genius is more pregnantly manifested.—DELIUS: 'The devil' is Conscience personified. The Murderer warns his companion to beware, and have nothing to do with this devil.—WRIGHT: 'Conscience' and the 'devil' are here the same. 'Insinuate with thee' means, would wind himself into thy confidence, ingratiate himself with thee. Compare *Ven. & Ad.*, 1012: 'With death she humbly doth insinuate.' [MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) marks this word as obsolete in the foregoing sense. SCHMIDT interprets it as meaning, in the present passage, *to intermeddle*. This is, possibly, a slight error of inadvertence, as in the preceding paragraph 'insinuate' followed by *with* is explained in accordance with WRIGHT, and the line from *Ven. & Ad.* given by him is also quoted.—ED.]—G. JOICEY (*Notes & Queries*, 12 May, 1894): I suggest that 'in thy mind' may be a misprint for *in the wind*. The First Murderer says: 'It is even now at my elbow'; the Second replies, in effect: Then if that devil, thy conscience, is at thy elbow, take him *in the wind* with it. When the elbow is quickly jerked back it takes any one who is behind it very accurately in the wind. ['O wad some power the giftie gie us,' etc. But had such a 'power' been at the commentator's elbow, should we have had his ingenious explanation?—ED.]

1 I am ſtrong fram'd, he cannot preuaile with me.
2 Spoke like a tall man, that reſpects thy reputation. 150
Come, ſhall we fall to worke?
1 Take him on the Coſtard, with the hiltes of thy
Sword, and then throw him into the Malmeſey-Butte in 153

149. *I am*] *Tut, I am* Qq, Cam.+. *ſtrong fram'd*] *ſtrong in fraud* Qq. *strong-framed* Cam.+. *strong in frame* Anon. ap. Cam. *preuaile*] *peuaile* Q_4. *me.*] *me, I warrant thee.* Qq, Cam.+.

150. *Spoke*] *Soode* Q_4. *Stood* Q_{5-8}. *man...thy*] Ff, Rowe. *fellow... his* Qq et cet.

151. *we*] *me* Rowe i. *fall to worke?*] *to this geare?* Qq, Cam.+. (*geere.* Q_1.)

152. *on*] Ff,+, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *ouer* Qq et cet. *hiltes*] *Hilt* Q_7Q_8, Rowe,+. *thy*] *my* Q_{3-5}.

153. *throw him into*] *we will chop him in* Qq, Cam.+. *clap him into* Marshall conj. *Malmeſey-*] *malmſey*, Q_7Q_8. *Malmſie-* F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns.

---

150. **tall man**] That is, *brave, stout.*

152. **Take**] WHITNEY (*Cent. Dict. s. v. Take*, 32): To inflict, as a blow, on; hence, to fetch (a person or an animal) a blow; strike. 'The potter yn the neke hem toke, To the gronde sone he yede.' *Robin Hood and the Potter* (Child's *Ballads*, v. 21). 'A rascal takes him o'er the face, and fells him,' Fletcher, *Humorous Lieutenant*, II, ii. [See also SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) *s. v. Take*, par. I.]

152. **Costard**] For other examples of this name of an apple, applied to the head, see Shakespeare, *passim.*

152. **hiltes**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. hilt*): 1. The handle of a sword, or dagger. † b. Formerly often in *plural*, with same sense. *circa* 1450. *Merlin*, 103: 'Arthur toke the swerde be the hiltes, and . . . yaf it to the Archebisshopp.' 1599. Shakespeare, *Hen. V:* II, i, 68: 'Ile run him vp to the hilts, as I am a soldier.'

153. **throw . . . Malmesey-Butte**] HUNTER (*Illus.*, ii, 87): In the first year of King Richard III. the Commons complain in Parliament that the butts of Malmesey wine imported formerly were wont to be made so as to contain seven score gallons, . . . and the least six score and six, the price of which was fifty shillings; . . . but now of late the merchants have reduced the size, so that they now scarcely hold five score and eight gallons, for which they demand eight marks. It is enacted that hereafter no butt shall be admitted which does not contain the old measure of six score and six gallons. 1 Ric. III, c. 13.—CHURCHILL (p. 58): In de Comines' account appears for the first time the famous butt of Malmsey in which Clarence is said to have been drowned. [p. 54] 'Le roy Edouard feit mourir son frere le duc de Clarence en une pippe de malvoysie, pour ce qu'il se vouloit faire Roy comme on disoit' (1 : 69). [p. 57] De Comines had a certain personal connection with the English affairs of which he writes. He was the diplomatic agent of Charles of Burgundy, when Warwick and Clarence took refuge in France. [p. 52] The first six books of his memoirs were written between 1488 and 1504. [p. 74] The statement that Clarence was put to death in a butt of wine occurs for the second time [in Fabyan's Chronicle, 1516]. De Comines' work, if seen by Fabyan, must have been seen in MS. It is not mentioned by Fabyan as one of his

the next roome.

2 O excellent deuice; and make a ſop of him.

1 Soft, he wakes.

2 Strike.

1 No, wee'l reaſon with him.

Cla. Where art thou Keeper? Giue me a cup of wine.

2 You ſhall haue Wine enough my Lord anon.

155. *and*] Om. Qq.
ſop] *ſcoope* Q_3.
156–158. 1 *Soft, ...* 2 *Strike.* 1 *No, wee'l*] 1 *Harke, he ſtirs, ſhall I ſtrike?* 2 *No, firſt lets...* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. (*ſtrike.* Q_1) 1 Vil. *Soft, he wakes. Shall I strike?* 2 Vil. *No, we'll...* Pope,+.
156. *wakes.*] *wakes.* [Cla. stirs. Cap.
158. *him.*] *him.*Cla. awaketh. $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
159. *Keeper?*] *keeper*, Qq.
160. 2] Ff,+. 1 Qq. Sec. Murd. Cam.+. 1 Murd. Var.'78 et cet.

---

sources, and there is no indication elsewhere that he ever used it. It is more probable, therefore, that both authors derived their account from popular report.—WRIGHT: In Hall's *Chronicle* (Edward IV., p. 326) it is said that Clarence 'was priuely drouned in a But of Maluesey.' In Holinshed, and in a later passage of Hall (p. 342), this is changed to 'malmesie'; for the two are identical, the wines deriving their name from Napoli di Malvasia in the Morea, where they were originally made. Cotgrave has: '*Malvoisie:* f. Malmesie'; and *Malvesie* is the form used in Chaucer. [In regard to the price of Malmsey at this time the following, from Stow's *Survey*, 1598, may, possibly, be of interest: 'I read, in the reign of Henry VII., that no sweet wines were brought into this realm but Malmsies by the Longobards, paying to the king for his license six shillings and eightpence of every butt, besides twelve pence for bottle large. I remember within this fifty years Malmsey not to be sold more than one penny halfpenny the pint'—p. 240, ed. Morley.—ED.]

158. **No . . . him**] The First Murderer has apparently forgotten both Richard's warning in regard to the plausible manner of Clarence, and his own reply that they were going to use their 'hands and not their tongues.' The Qq give this speech to the 2 Murderer; it is certainly more like the vacillating spirit he has shown, than that of the decisive manner of the First murderer. 'Reason' is here, as frequently in Shakespeare, *talk with, converse.*—ED.

159–169. **thou . . . you**] CHAMBERS: The uses of 'thou' and 'you' may be seen very clearly in this passage. 'Thou' is the customary address from superiors to inferiors, and is expressive, besides, of any excitement or sensibility, of familiar tenderness as well as of anger; of reverence as well as of contempt. Thus the constant address of Venus to Adonis in Shakespeare's poem is 'thou'; of Adonis to Venus, 'you.' The swaggering host in *Merry Wives* uses 'thou' to everybody as long as he is in his pride, but 'you' when he is crestfallen. In a solemn style even princes are addressed with 'thou' (*Hen. V:* IV, vii, 74), whereas Falstaff uses 'you' even to Jove (*Merry Wives*, V, v, 6). Here Clarence addresses the Murderers with 'thou,' but in replying they address him with 'you.' Afterwards when they reproach him with his faults, they address him with 'thou.' Lines 168, 169 seem discrepant, but here Clarence is addressing *both* Murderers. [See ABBOTT, § 232.]

Cla. In Gods name, what art thou? 161
1 A man, as you are.
Cla. But not as I am Royall.
1 Nor you as we are, Loyall.
Cla. Thy voice is Thunder, but thy looks are humble. 165
1 My voice is now the Kings, my lookes mine owne.
Cla. How darkly, and how deadly doſt thou ſpeake?
Your eyes do menace me: why looke you pale?
Who ſent you hither? Wherefore do you come?
2 To, to, to——— 170
Cla. To murther me?
Both. I, I.
Cla. You ſcarſely haue the hearts to tell me ſo,
And therefore cannot haue the hearts to do it.
Wherein my Friends haue I offended you? 175
1 Offended vs you haue not, but the King.

162. 1 *A*] 2 *A* Qq. Sec. Murd. *A* Cam.+.
163. *I am*] *I am*, Qq.
164. 1 *Nor*] 2 *Nor* Q_{1-4}. Sec. Murd. *Nor* Cam.+.
166. 1 *My*] 2 *My* Qq. Sec. Murd. *My* Cam.+.
167. *ſpeake?*] *ſpake?* Q_3Q_4.
168. *Your...pale?*] Om. Qq.
169. *Who...you come?*] *Tell me who you are? wherefore come you hither?* Qq, Sta. (*came* Q_7Q_8.)
170. 2 *To,*] Am. *To,* Qq. Both Murd. *To,* Mal. et seq. (subs.)
To, to, to———] *To, to, to, to ———* Cap. (errata).
171. *me?*] *me.* Q_1Q_2.
172. Both. *I, I.*] Am. *I.* Qq. Both. *Ay, ay.* Rowe et seq.
173. *You*] *Ye* Johns. Var.'73.
ſcarſely] *ſcarce* Q_7Q_8.
hearts] *heart* Q_{6-8}.
174. *hearts*] *heart* Q_7Q_8.

---

167. **How darkly, and how deadly**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: These few impressively descriptive words afford ample instruction to those performers who would duly enact the parts of the two murderers.

168. **Your eyes . . . looke you pale**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 134): The omission of this line in the Quarto cannot be due to Shakespeare; the anonymous corrector's dull mind probably could not understand the apparent contradiction herein contained.—KOPPEL (p. 18): An explanation of this omission more natural than that by Delius would be, that the co-worker on this shortened copy, from which the Quarto was printed, omitted the line on purely dramatic [and compassionate?] grounds, because, perhaps, the inadequate performance of it, was in annoying contrast to its meaning.—VAUGHAN (iii, 37): These words seem inconsistent with Clarence's very last speech: 'But thy looks are humble': for Clarence hardly can have meant merely *general demeanour* by 'looks.' Possibly these words should be addressed to the Second Murderer. [The word 'you' shows, I think, that this line is addressed to both Murderers; see note by CHAMBERS, ll. 159-169, *supra*.—ED.]

Cla. I ſhall be reconcil'd to him againe.
2 Neuer my Lord, therefore prepare to dye.
Cla. Are you drawne forth among a world of men
To ſlay the innocent? What is my offence?
Where is the Euidence that doth accuſe me?
What lawfull Queſt haue giuen their Verdict vp
Vnto the frowning Iudge? Or who pronounc'd
The bitter ſentence of poore *Clarence* death,
Before I be conuict by courſe of Law?
To threaten me with death, is moſt vnlawfull.
I charge you, as you hope for any goodneſſe,

179. *drawne forth among*] *cald forth from out* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+. *cull'd ...from out* Johns. conj.
180. *What is*] *What's* F_3F_4, Rowe,+. *offence?*] *offence.* Q_2.
181. *is*] *are* Qq, Cam.+.
that doth] *that do* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *to* Q_{3-5}.
183. *Iudge?*] *iudge*, Qq.
184. Clarence] Clarence's F_4, Rowe.
184, 185. *death, ...Law?*] *death?... law*, Ff et seq.
186. *threaten*] *thteaten* Q_3. *thereaten* Q_{4-6}.
vnlawfull.] *vnlawfull:* Qq.
187. *for any goodneſſe*] Ff, Rowe, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt. *to haue redemption* Qq et cet.

179. **drawne forth**] STEEVENS: I adhere to the Quarto reading. [See *Text. Notes.*] Compare *Nobody and Somebody*, 1598: 'Thou art cald foorth amongst a thousand men, To minister this soueraigne Ancidote.' [—Sig. D. Privately Printed by Alexander Smith, of Glasgow.]

181. **is the Euidence**] WRIGHT: In the Qq, 'evidence' is plural, and is used in the collective sense of the *body of witnesses*. Compare *Lear*, III, vi, 37.

182. **Quest**] That is, *inquest;* compare *Hamlet*, V, i, 24: 'crowner's quest law.'

184. **frowning Iudge**] VAUGHAN: Compare 'The sad-eyed justice with his surly hum Delivering o'er to executor pale The lazy, yawning drone.'—*Hen. V:* I, ii, 202.

185. **conuict . . . Law**] See I, i, 47, Note.

185. **conuict**] For other examples of past tenses and participles, from verbs ending in *t*, where the present remains unaltered, see WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 324, or ABBOTT, § 342.

187. **for any goodnesse**] STEEVENS: I have adopted these words from the Folio, for the sake of introducing variety; the idea of *redemption* being comprised in the next line as it stands in the Qq.—MALONE: This arbitrary alteration was made, and the subsequent line was omitted [See *Text. Notes*] by the editors of the Folio, to avoid the penalty of the statute, 3 Jac. 21. For the sake of variety, however, Steevens follows neither copy. To obtain variety at the expense of the author's text, is surely a very dear purchase. Nor is the variety here obtained worth having; for the words *as you hope to have redemption*, do not supersede, but naturally introduce, the following line. I adhere, therefore, to Shakespeare's words, in preference to the arbitrary alteration made by a licenser of the press. . . . Steevens, by inserting the substituted words, and also retaining the latter part of

That you depart, and lay no hands on me: 188
The deed you vndertake is damnable.
1 What we will do, we do vpon command. 190
2 And he that hath commanded, is our King.
Cla. Erroneous Vaſſals, the great King of Kings
Hath in the Table of his Law commanded
That thou ſhalt do no murther. Will you then
Spurne at his Edict, and fulfill a Mans? 195
Take heed: for he holds Vengeance in his hand,
To hurle vpon their heads that breake his Law.
2 And that ſame Vengeance doth he hurle on thee, 198

188. *That*] Ff,+, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran. *By Chriſts deare bloud ſhed for our greeuous ſinnes That* Qq et cet.
hands on] *hand one* Q_7.
191. *is*] *vs is* Q_7Q_8.
our] *the* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
192. *Vaſſals*] *vaſſaile* Qq. *vassal* Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sta. Cam.+.
193. *the Table*] *the tables* Q_1Q_2, Cam. +. *his tables* Q_{3-6}.
193. *his*] *this* Rowe i.
194 *ſhalt*] *ſhall* F_2.
murther. Will you] *murther, and wilt thou* Qq. (*murder* Q_1Q_2.) Cam. +. *murder; Wilt thou* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. *murther, Will you* Ff et cet. (subs.)
195. *Edict*] *edicts* F_3F_4, Rowe i.
196. *hand*] *hands* Qq, Cam.+.
198. *hurle*] *throw* Qq.

---

what had been struck out, has formed a sentence, not only without authority, but scarcely intelligible, at least if the preposition 'by' is to be connected with the word 'goodness.' If, on the other hand, he meant that the words—'as you hope for any goodness,' should be considered as parenthetical (as he seems to have intended, by placing a point after 'goodness'), and that the construction should be—'I charge you *by* Christ's dear blood, that you depart,' then his deviation from the author's text is still greater.—BIRCH (p. 199): There are other instances of this particular appeal [as given in the Quarto], by other characters of Shakespeare; if it be here properly altered under the statute of James, in all it must be equally condemned. The use of it by Isabel, in *Meas. for Meas.*, II, ii, 72–79, has been allowed, and is admired; though she pleaded for another's life, and Clarence for his own. But religion in this play was more suspicious than in any other, by the irony put upon it. If introduced unnecessarily here, how much more unnecessarily where the same subjects are treated with levity, by serious and comic characters, as fitting jokes!

192. **Erroneous**] ROLFE: Not elsewhere applied to a person by Shakespeare. He uses the word only here and in *3 Hen. VI:* II, v, 90.

198. **And . . . Vengeance**] MARSHALL: These two speeches would seem to indicate that these Murderers were not taken from the low or peasant class. They seem to have been acquainted with the history of the time; and were probably soldiers of fortune, or mercenaries, who must have been common enough during the civil wars; as they were also in Elizabeth's time, through the war in the Netherlands.

For false Forswearing, and for murther too:
Thou did'ſt receiue the Sacrament, to fight
In quarrell of the Houſe of Lancaſter.
1 And like a Traitor to the name of God,
Did'ſt breake that Vow, and with thy treacherous blade,
Vnrip'ſt the Bowels of thy Sou'raignes Sonne.
2 Whom thou was't ſworne to cheriſh and defend.
1 How canſt thou vrge Gods dreadfull Law to vs,
When thou haſt broke it in ſuch deere degree?
Cla. Alas! for whoſe ſake did I that ill deede?
For *Edward*, for my Brother, for his ſake.
He ſends you not to murther me for this:
For in that ſinne, he is as deepe as I.
If God will be auenged for the deed,

198. murther] *muder* Q_1
200. Sacrament] *holy sacrament* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
200, 201. to fight...Lancaſter] One line, Q_1, Sta. Cam. +.
204. Vnrip'ſt] *Vnripp'ſt* F_4 Rowe i. *Vnript* Q_1Q_2 *Unrip'dst* Rowe ii et seq.
205. was't] *wert* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +.
207. broke] *brooke* Q_1
ſuch deere] *ſo deare* Qq, Cam. +. *ſuch high* F_3F_4, Rowe, + (− Var. '73).
208. deede?] *deed*, Q_2Q_3.
210. He ſends you] *Why Sirs, he ſends ye* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *Why Sirs*, as separate line, Cam. +.
211. that] *this* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
212. auenged for the] *reuenged for this* Qq, Cam. +.

198–200. **thee . . . Thou**] See Note on ll. 159–169, *supra*.

201. **In . . . Lancaster**] WRIGHT: Compare *3 Hen. VI:* III, ii, 6: 'in quarrel of the house of York.'

204. **Vnrip'st**] WRIGHT: This word is thus printed in the older copies, probably on account of the difficulty in pronunciation caused by so many consonants. Similarly in *Temp.*, I, ii, 333: 'Thou strokedst me and madest much of me,' F_1 has: 'Thou stroakst me & made much of me.' [See *Temp.*, I, ii, 393 of this ed., or Walker, *Crit.*, ii, 128; where *revisits Hamlet*, I, iv, 53, is discussed; or *affects*, *Ant. & Cleo.*, I, iii, 87 of this edition. Compare also II, i, 108, *post.*—ED.]

207. **deere**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. dear*, a.[2]): 2. Hard, severe, heavy, grievous; fell, dire. Common in Old English poetry, but found in no prose writing. . . . It appears in Spenser (by whom it was perhaps revived), occurs frequently in Shakespeare, in seventeenth century poets, and archaically in Shelley. By these later writers it was probably conceived of only as a peculiar poetical sense of *dear*, *esteemed*, *valued*, and there are uses in Shakespeare evidently associated with both sense-groups. *Rich. II:* I, iii, 151: 'The datelesse limit of thy deere exile.'

210. **He sends you**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 40): It may be doubtful whether, *Why Sirs* [see *Text. Notes*] was meant for part of the line, or for an extra-metrical exclamation.

210. **you**] For examples of use of *ye* and 'you,' see ABBOTT, § 236.

O know you yet, he doth it publiquely,
Take not the quarrell from his powrefull arme:
He needs no indirect, or lawleſſe courſe,
To cut off thoſe that haue offended him.
1 Who made thee then a bloudy miniſter,
When gallant ſpringing braue *Plantagenet*,
That Princely Nouice was ſtrucke dead by thee?
Cla. My Brothers loue, the Diuell, and my Rage.
1 Thy Brothers Loue, our Duty, and thy Faults,
Prouoke vs hither now, to ſlaughter thee.

213. *O know...publiquely*] Om. Qq. In margin, Pope, Han.
yet] *that* Farmer, Steev. Varr.
215. *or lawleſſe*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt, Coll. Wh. i. *nor lawful* Q_{2-8}. *nor lawleſſe* Q_1 et cet.
218. *gallant ſpringing*] Q_1Ff, Rowe, Sing. Ktly. *gallant ſpring* Q_{2-8}. *gallant, springing*, Johns. Var. '73. *gallant-spirited* Anon. ap. Cam. *gallant-springing* Pope et cet.
219. *That*] *The* Q_{6-8}.
ſtrucke] *ſtroke* Q_1. *ſtrooke* Q_{2-5}.
221. *our Duty*] *the diuell* Qq.
Faults] *fault* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
222. *Prouoke ... ſlaughter*] *Haue brought...murder* Qq.

---

213. **yet**] STEEVENS: We should read *that* instead of 'yet.' In the MS copy *that* would naturally have been written *y*^{t}. Hence the mistake, which I have corrected, by the advice of Dr Farmer.

218. **gallant springing**] JOHNSON: That is, *blooming* Plantaganet; a prince in the *spring* of life.—MALONE: Compare Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579: 'That wouldest me my springing youngth to spil'—*February*, l. 51.—WRIGHT: The figure is the same as that employed in *3 Hen. VI:* II, vi, 46–51.

219. **Princely Nouice**] JOHNSON: That is, *youth*, one yet *new* to the world.—WRIGHT: Cotgrave gives: '*Nouice: com.* A nouice, a young Monke, or Nunne; one thats but newly entred into th' Order; also, a yongling, or beginner, in any profession.'

220. **My Brothers loue**] 'Brothers' is here used as the subjective genitive. That is, *my love of my brother*.

221. **our Duty**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 159) objects to the Quarto reading, *devil*, on the ground that, it was not likely that the murderers would refer to the devil in justification of an action which they undertook in obedience to the commands of the King.—VAUGHAN (iii, 43): I would retain the reading of the Qq. The subsequent conversation of the Murderers discloses that they did not pretend to be actuated by the love, or to be employed in the execution, of justice; and it is consistent with the ideas of our poet to make the devil betray into punishment those whom he has instigated to the crime which is punished. So in *Rich. II.* Sir Piers of Exton says: 'The devil that told me I did well, Now says the deed is chronicled in hell,' V, v, 105. [Compare also *Macbeth*, I, iii, 123–126. 'And oftentimes, to win us to our harm, The instruments of darkness tell us truths, Win us with honest trifles, to betray's in deepest consequence.'—ED.]

Cla. If you do loue my Brother, hate not me:
I am his Brother, and I loue him well.
If you are hyr'd for meed, go backe againe,
And I will ſend you to my Brother Glouſter:
Who ſhall reward you better for my life,
Then *Edward* will for tydings of my death.

2 You are deceiu'd,
Your Brother Glouſter hates you.

Cla. Oh no, he loues me, and he holds me deere:
Go you to him from me.

1 I ſo we will.

Cla. Tell him, when that our Princely Father Yorke,
Bleſt his three Sonnes with his victorious Arme,
He little thought of this diuided Friendſhip:

223. *If...loue*] *Oh if you loue* Qq, Cam.+.
my] Om. $Q_4Q_5Q_6$.
225. *are hyr'd*] *be hirde* Qq. *be hired* Cam.+. *are hir'd* F_3F_4 et cet.
meed] *neede* Q_{2-8}. *need* Pope.
227. *ſhall*] *will* Qq, Pope,+.
229, 230. *You are...hates you*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
232, 233. As one line, Steev. et seq.
233, 238. 1] Am. Qq.
I] *Ay* Rowe et seq.
235. *Arme,*] Ff, Rowe. *arme: And chargd vs from his ſoule to loue each other,* Qq et cet.

230. **Glouster hates you**] MALONE: Walpole some years ago suggested from the *Chronicle of Croyland*, that the true cause of Gloucester's hatred to Clarence was, that Clarence was unwilling to share with his brother that moiety of the estate of the great Earl of Warwick, to which Gloucester became entitled on his marriage with the younger sister of the Duchess of Clarence, Lady Anne Neville. [See Walpole, p. 12, foot-note.] This account of the matter is fully confirmed by a letter from Sir John Paston to his brother, dated 17 February, 1471–2. 'Yisterday the Kynge, the Qween, my Lordes of Claraunce and Glowcester, went to Scheen to pardon; men sey, nott alle in cheryte; what wyll falle, men can nott seye. The Kynge entretyth my Lorde off Clarance ffor my Lorde of Glowcester; and, as itt is seyde, he answerythe, that he may weell have my Ladye hys suster in lawe, butt they schall parte no lyvelod, as he seythe; so what wyll falle can I nott seye.' [*Paston Letters*, iii, 38].

233. **I so we will**] This line is, perhaps, worth noting as an example of irony in its Greek sense, *i. e.*, dissimulation. Compare the reply of Banquo: 'My lord, I will not,' when Macbeth says to him, 'Fail not our feast,' III, i, 28.—ED.

234. **that**] For examples of 'that' used as a conjunctional affix, see ABBOTT, § 287.

235, 236. **Bleſt . . . Friendſhip**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 11): [The omission of the line 'And charged us from his soul to love each other' in the Folio], if done on purpose, would certainly look like the work of a very injudicious corrector. But it is not like the way in which editorial mis-judgement commonly acts; whereas the dropping out of a whole line is one of the ordinary accidents of

Bid Glouſter thinke on this, and he will weepe.
1 I Milſtones, as he leſſoned vs to weepe.
Cla. O do not ſlander him, for he is kinde.
1 Right, as Snow in Harueſt:
Come, you deceiue your ſelfe,
'Tis he that ſends vs to deſtroy you heere.
Cla. It cannot be, for he bewept my Fortune,
And hugg'd me in his armes, and ſwore with ſobs,
That he would labour my deliuery.
1 Why ſo he doth, when he deliuers you

237. *on*] *of* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
238. *Milſtones*] *Millstones* Pope et seq. (subs.)
leſſoned] *leſſond* Q_{1-5}.
240. *Right*] Om. Pope,+ (–Var. '73). Sep. line, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Right, as] *Right* Vaughan.
240, 241. *Right...ſelfe*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
as...ſelfe] One line, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
241. *Come, you deceiue your*] Ff, Rowe. *thou deceiuſt thy* Qq. *Thou deceivest thy* Cam.+.
241. *Come*] Om. Pope,+.
242. *ſends...heere*] *ſent vs hither now to ſlaughter thee* Q_1, Cam.+. (*murder* Q_{2-8}.)
243, 244. *he...Fortune, And*] *when I parted with him, He* Qq, Cam.+.
244. *hugg'd*] *hudg* Q_5.
246–248. 1 *Why...*2 *Make*] 2 *Why ...* 1 *Make* Qq. Sec. Murd. *Why...* First Murd. *Make* Cam.+.
246. *when ... you*] *now ... thee* Qq, Cam.+.

---

the press, where there is no editor to look after it. [SPEDDING, therefore, includes this among the alterations in the Folio not intended by Shakespeare.]

237, 238. **he . . . Milstones**] STEEVENS: So, in Massinger's *City Madam:* '—He good gentleman Will weep when he hears how we are used,—yes, mill-stones.' [IV, iii, 5, 6. See I, iii, 371, *supra*.]

239. **O . . . kinde**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, p. 70): It is manifest from this, how great is Gloucester's power of dissimulation afterward revealed to others, who could not have known him nearly so well as his own brother. In the drama his other brother Edward has no suspicion of Gloucester's intrigues.

240. **Snow in Haruest**] WRIGHT: Referring to *Proverbs*, xxvi, 1: 'As snow in summer, and as rain in harvest, so honour is not seemly for a fool.' The First Murderer understands 'kind' in the sense of *natural*.

243–245. **he bewept . . . deliuery**] MARSHALL: Referring back to the first scene of this act we do not find anything in the text to warrant this description by Clarence of the farewell between him and his treacherous brother; but it is possible that these lines are intended to give a hint to the actor of Richard in his parting scene with Clarence, and that the final farewell, though no words are spoken, should be as emotional in action as it is here described. [This exaggeration by Clarence is the natural consequence, I think, of his intense desire to convince the murderers of their mistake. His life may depend upon a single word; in such a crisis is he to be held strictly accountable?—ED.]

245. **labour**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* I. 6, 7, and 8) gives many examples of this transitive use of 'labour,' marking it, however, as obsolete.—ED.

From this earths thraldome, to the ioyes of heauen.
2 Make peace with God, for you muſt die my Lord.
Cla. Haue you that holy feeling in your ſoules,
To counſaile me to make my peace with God,
And are you yet to your owne ſoules ſo blinde,
That you will warre with God, by murd'ring me.
O ſirs conſider, they that ſet you on
To do this deede, will hate you for the deede.
2 What ſhall we do?
Clar. Relent, and ſaue your ſoules:
Which of you, if you were a Princes Sonne,
Being pent from Liberty, as I am now,
If two ſuch murtherers as your ſelues came to you,
Would not intreat for life, as you would begge
Were you in my diſtreſſe.

247. *earths*] *worlds* Qq, Cam.+. *earth's* F_3F_4 et cet.
heauen] *heav'n* Pope,+.
248. *Make*] *Makes* Q_2.
249–252. *Haue you...your ſoules... are you...your owne ſoules...you will*] *Haſt thou...thy ſoule...art thou...thy owne ſoule...thou wilt* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
249. *ſoules*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i. *soul* Pope et cet.
252. *by*] *for* Q_{3-8}.
murd'ring me.] Ff. *murdring me.* $Q_2Q_7Q_8$. *murdering me?* Q_2 et cet.
253. *O*] *Ah* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr.
they] *he* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr.
254. *the deede*] *this deede* Qq.
255, 256. One line, Steev. et seq.
257–260. *Which...life*] Transposed to follow l. 263, Tyrwhitt, Steev. Varr. Dyce, Wh. i, Cam.+, Rlfe.
257–261. *Which...diſtreſſe*] Om. Qq, Cap. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. ii. In margin, Pope, Han. Transposed to follow l. 267, Knt i, Sing. Ktly.
260. *as*] *ah!* Theob. Warb. Johns.
260, 261. *as...diſtreſſe*] As one line and transposed to follow l. 266, Tyrwhitt, Steev. Varr. Dyce, Wh. i, Cam.+. *so... distress* Sing. MS.
261. *diſtreſſe.*] *distress*—Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. Mal. Huds. i. *distress, so pity me* Coll. ii (MS).

249–252. **you . . . you . . . you**] LETTSOM (ap. DYCE ii): The first four lines of this speech are addressed to the Second Murderer only, who alone had recommended Clarence to make his peace with God. The Qq, therefore, are right in using the singular. The other two lines require the plural. [The plural 'soules' in l. 251 may possibly be explained by the difficulty in distinguishing between 'soul so blind' and 'souls so blind,' granting that the compositors were composing from dictation; see, for another like example, I, i, 143, *supra*.—ED.]

257–261. **Which . . . distresse**] JOHNSON: These six lines, which are not in the Qq, are not necessary, but so forced in that something seems omitted to which these lines are the answer. I cannot but suspect that they are now misplaced, and should be inserted here, somewhat after this manner: '*Clar.* A begging prince what beggar pities not? *Vil.* A begging prince! *Clar.* Which of you, if you were

[257–261. Which of you . . . Were you in my distresse]

a prince's son,' etc. Upon this provocation the Villain naturally strikes him.—TYRWHITT'S arrangement, as will be seen in the *Text. Notes*, has commended itself to the majority of editors. It seems, on the whole, the most satisfactory solution of one of the most intricate textual problems in this textually difficult play. KNIGHT says (ed. i) that he has followed 'the Folio, instead of adopting the arbitrary regulations of the modern editors.' The CAMBRIDGE EDD. were the first to show that Knight has followed neither Folio nor Qq, but has produced an entirely new arrangement (see *Text. Notes*). They add: 'Here perhaps the printer has mistaken Knight's marginal directions. If such an error can escape the notice of so careful an editor, how likely is it to occur in the Folio, which could hardly be said to have an editor at all!' The mistake is corrected in Knight's second edition, the text there following the Folio. DYCE, who had followed Tyrwhitt's arrangement in his first edition, says (ed. ii, p. 460): 'I am now convinced that the best way of remedying the confusion, which the intolerable carelessness of the player-editors has occasioned here, is to omit the lines which are found only in the Folio—lines belonging to some manuscript that differed from the manuscript of the tragedy followed in the original Quarto.'—STAUNTON: The confusion of the text as presented in the Folio is confirmatory, perhaps, of our theory that the text of this play in that edition is made up in parts from an earlier MS than that from which the Qq were printed. These six lines were apparently the poet's first sketch of a speech for Clarence, and which he no doubt intended to be superseded by his after-thought, and this retention has reduced the trialogue to chaos. Let any one compare the speeches as they stand in the Folios with the concise and lucid colloquy of the Qq and he will not find it difficult to determine which text bears the latest marks of the author's hand.—R. G. WHITE (ed. i) assigns, wrongly, I think, the dash after 'distress,' l. 261, to Hudson, ed. i (see *Text. Notes*), and says that he supposes Hudson presumes that the Duke 'is about to say "As you would beg &c., so I beg,"' &c. White then adds: 'I am unable to look so far into Clarence's intentions as to decide upon the merits of this reading.' HUDSON himself, in his ed. ii, apparently agrees with White's criticism and comes to White's conclusion: 'It is manifest,' he says, 'that the Folio additions serve no purpose but to embarrass and enfeeble the dialogue: besides, in some places it is hardly possible to make any sense out of them. To amend the latter fault, they have been variously tinkered at, but with only partial success. I therefore have no scruple . . . in omitting them altogether as an unauthorised intrusion.' The CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* vii) suppose that: 'If Shakespeare wrote these additional lines [as in the Folio] in the margin of his original MS., nothing is more likely than that a copyist should have misplaced them. In IV, iii, 55, 56, two lines, undoubtedly added by Shakespeare, are thus misplaced in the Folio.' SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 12) suggests that these six lines be transposed to follow l. 267: 'A begging prince,' etc., apparently unconscious that he had been anticipated by KNIGHT, ed. i. Spedding also changes the period after 'distress,' l. 261, to a dash; he adds: 'The Second Murderer seeing the other preparing to stab Clarence from behind, interrupts him, and tries to put him on his guard. No other change seems to me to be wanted. But this is a case of too little care, rather than too much, on the part of the editor—if, indeed, there was any editor in the business.' In reply to the above note, WRIGHT remarks: 'If the Second Murderer is influenced by Clarence's words, this seems to be a reason why a special appeal to him should

1 Relent? no: 'Tis cowardly and womaniſh. 262
Cla. Not to relent, is beaſtly, ſauage, diuelliſh:
My Friend, I ſpy ſome pitty in thy lookes:
O, if thine eye be not a Flatterer, 265
Come thou on my ſide, and intreate for mee,
A begging Prince, what begger pitties not.
2 Looke behinde you, my Lord.
1 Take that, and that, if all this will not do, *Stabs him.*
Ile drowne you in the Malmeſey-But within. *Exit.* 270
2 A bloody deed, and deſperately diſpatcht:

262. *Relent? no:*] *Relent,* Qq. *Relent?* Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. *Relent! No, no:* Ktly.
263. */auage, diuelliſh*] */auage, and diuelliſh* Q_{2-8}.
265. *thine*] *thy* Qq.
267. *begger*] *hearer* Bailey.
268. 2 *Looke...my Lord.*] Om. Qq. Pope, Cap. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
269. 1] Om. F_2.
269. *Take...that*] *I thus, and thus:* Qq, Cap. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
if] *and if* Cap.
all] Om. Qq, Cap. Sta.
do] */erue* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Sta.
Stabs him.] He ſtabs him. Qq.
270. *drowne you...within*] *chop thee ...in the next roome* Qq, Sta.
Exit.] Om. Qq.
271. *diſpatcht*] *perform'd* Qq, Sta.

---

follow the lines addressed to both.'—MARSHALL: The lines given by the Qq are quite sufficient; but, at the same time, it is possible that the reading of F_1 may be the right one, according to one of the versions which the author had written; and that these six lines were intended to be spoken by Clarence as a rapid and passionate appeal, which did not admit of the First Murderer's answering at once; and that the author intended the latter to pause in his answer, as if reflecting. This view is supported by the form of his answer in F_1: 'Relent? No,' etc., which seems to indicate that he was rather moved by Clarence's appeal at first, and hesitated a moment whether to listen to him or not.

268–273. **Looke . . . murther**] BOOTH thus distributes these speeches: '*1st Murd.* Look behind you, my lord—[*Clarence turns away*]—take that—[*stabs him*] *2nd Murd.* And that [*stabs him*]. If all this will not do I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within. [*As Clarence falls, the 2nd Murderer kneels as if to raise and carry him.—The 1st Murderer throws down his dagger and turns in horror as he speaks.* *1st Murd.* A bloody deed, and desperately despatched! How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands of this most grievous guilty murder done! [*Curtain.*]' Thus IRVING, Clarence having retired to a curtained recess, is out of sight during the dialogue between the Murderers: '*Clar.* [*Within*] Where art thou, Keeper? give me a cup of wine. *Sec. Murd.* You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon. [*Exit within.*] *First Murd.* Take that, and that: if all this will not do [*Stabs him within.*] I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within. *Sec. Murd.* [*Re-entering.*] A bloody deed, and desperately performed! How fain, like Pilate would I wash my hands Of this most grievous guilty murder done! [*Exit.*]'

271. **A bloody . . . dispatcht**] CHURCHILL (p. 510): Compare *True Tragedy of*

How faine (like *Pilate*)would I waſh my hands
Of this moſt greeuous murther. *Enter* 1.*Murtherer*

1 How now? what mean'ſt thou that thou help'ſt me not? By Heauen the Duke ſhall know how ſlacke you haue beene.

2.*Mur.* I would he knew that I had ſau'd his brother,
Take thou the Fee, and tell him what I ſay,
For I repent me that the Duke is ſlaine. *Exit.*

1.*Mur.* So do not I: go Coward as thou art.
Well, Ile go hide the body in ſome hole,
Till that the Duke giue order for his buriall:
And when I haue my meede, I will away,
For this will out, and then I muſt not ſtay. *Exit*

Actus Secundus. Scœna Prima.

Flouriſh.
Enter the King ſicke, the Queene, Lord Marqueſſe Dorſet, Riuers, Haſtings, Catesby, Buckingham, Wooduill. 5

272. (*like* Pilate)*would I*] *would I like Pilate* Q_7Q_8.
hands] *hand* Q_{1-7}.
273. *murther*] *guiltie murder done* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Enter 1.Murtherer] Om. Qq.
274–276. Two lines, ending: *not... beene.* Pope et seq.
274, 275. *How now?...not?*] *Why doeſt thou not help me?* Qq, Sta. (*me*, Q_1.)
275, 276. *By Heauen...haue beene*] One line, reading: *By heauen...thou art* Qq. Sta.
275. *Heauen*] *heauens* Q_{1-5}, Sta. Cam.+. *Heav'n* Rowe,+.
281. *Well...hide the*] *Now muſt I hide his* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
282. *Till that...giue*] *Vntill...take* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
283. *will'*] *muſt* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.
284. *then*] *here* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
Exit] Exeunt Qq. ...with the body. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
1. Actus.. Prima.] Om. Qq. Act II, Sc. iii. Irving.
The Same, a Room in the Palace. Cap.
2–5. Flouriſh ... Wooduill.] Enter King, Queene, Haſtings, Riuers, &c. Qq. (Ryuers, Dorcet, &c. Q_1Q_2.) ...Grey and others. Cap. et seq.
3. King ſicke...] King Edward, led in sick... Cap. et seq.

Richard III.: '*Terrell.* How now, Myles Forest, is this deed dispatcht? *For.* I sir, a bloodie deed we haue performed.' [See note by LLOYD, l. 123, *supra.*]

3–5. **Enter . . . Riuers . . . Catesby . . . Wooduill]** WRIGHT: In this stage-direction *Grey* is omitted, and 'Catesby' and 'Woodville' introduced. But Catesby does not appear in the scene, and Woodville is the same as Earl Rivers, the Queen's

King. Why ſo: now haue I done a good daies work.
You Peeres, continue this vnited League:
I, euery day expect an Embaſſage
From my Redeemer, to redeeme me hence.
And more to peace my ſoule ſhall part to heauen,

6. *Why*] Om. Qq.
haue I] *I haue* Qq.
8. *I,*] *I* Qq, Rowe et seq.
9. *redeeme*] *recall* Pope, Han. *release* Kinnear.
10. *more to*] Ff, Knt, Coll. *more in* Rowe, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Sing. Ktly. *more at* Cap. Coll. MS. *now in* Qq et cet.
part to] *part from* Q_1Q_2.

---

brother. The authority for this part of the play is More's *Life of Richard III.*, as incorporated both in Hall's and Holinshed's Chronicles. [See *Appendix: Source of Plot.*]

6. **King. Why . . . work.**] DOWDEN (*Sh. His Mind*, etc., p. 192): [King Edward] did not interest the imagination of Shakespeare. He is the self-indulgent, luxurious king. The one thing which Shakespeare cared to say about him was that his pleasant delusion of peace-making shortly before his death was a poor and insufficient compensation for a life spent in ease and luxury rather than in laying the hard and strong bases of a substantial peace. A few soft words and placing of hands in hands will not repair the ravage of fierce years, and the decay of sound human bonds during soft, effeminate years. Just as the peace-making is perfect, [Richard] stands before the dying king to announce that Clarence lies murdered in the Tower. This is Shakespeare's comment upon, and condemnation of, the self-indulgent King.—MARSHALL: Scene 1 of *The True Tragedy of Richard III.*, was very probably the foundation of this scene in Shakespeare's play. The older play begins with a kind of prologue between *Truth* and *Poetrie* and the *Ghost of Clarence.* Then comes the scene which corresponds with this one, with the stage direction: '*Enter Edward the Fourth, Lord Hastings, Lord Marcus, and Elizabeth. To them Richard.*' [MARSHALL quotes several passages wherein the words 'league,' 'perfect love,' 'confusion' occur in both plays; he then adds:] The scene in the old play, which is much longer than the corresponding one in Shakespeare's play, ends with the death of the king; and Richard, though he is present, does not speak. We have given these slight parallels from the two scenes to prove how very little use Shakespeare made of the old play.

6. **now**] VAUGHAN (iii, 47): I would restore the Quarto reading. 'Now' is disyllabic. The meaning of the verses thus given is: Now that I have done a good day's work I beg of you to perpetuate it. The Folio amendment disfavors this construction. Its motive was the supposed monosyllabic character of 'now' probably. [Are we then to suppose that this *di*syllabic 'character of now' is caused by an extra twinge of pain, making the dying monarch ejaculate 'Ne-ow!'? —ED.]

10. **to . . . to**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 13): I think we may assume that Shakespeare could not have intended to change *in* [as in the Qq] for 'to.' But as *from* had to be changed to 'to' before 'heaven'; and it is possible that he may have meant to substitute *at* for 'in,' before 'peace,' it is easy to suppose some confusion in the directions that would account for such an error of the press.

Since I haue made my Friends at peace on earth. 11
Dorſet and *Riuers*, take each others hand,

11. *made*] *ſet* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *earth.*] *earth :* Qq. 12. Dorſet *and* Riuers] *Haſtings and Rivers* Rowe,+, Coll. MS. *Riuers and Haſtings* Qq et cet.

[In Steevens's Reprint, 1766, *part for* is given in a foot-note. But from what Qto is not specified. As the Cambridge Edd. refer to it simply as 'quoted,' it is to be inferred that they were not able to locate *for* in any Qto. Nevertheless R. G. White adopted it in his first edition.—ED.]

12. **Dorset and Riuers**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 13): Here we find in the Folio an important variation [from the Qq], evidently deliberate and intentional, yet evidently wrong; and therefore [to be classed among the alterations not intended by Shakespeare]. Now, as Dorset had had no quarrel with his uncle Rivers, and as the immediately subsequent dialogue makes it certain that Rivers and Hastings were the persons really addressed, we may surely conclude that such an alteration cannot have proceeded from any one who knew the relations of the *dramatis personæ*—therefore not from Shakespeare of all men. But though I cannot doubt that this variation was something more than an accident of the press, . . . I do very much doubt whether the alteration as it stands was that which the alterer intended. . . . It is easy to imagine that a line has dropped out in the printing, or that a correction had been begun in the MS and left incomplete. Either is possible; but the accident in printing is the more probable, because we know otherwise, that it is a very common one. Suppose the corrected passage stood thus in the copy sent to press: 'Dorset and Rivers, Hastings, Buckingham, Come all before me: take each other's hand.' This would have fitted the place . . . and left no difficulty. The omission . . . of the last half of one line and the first half of the next is . . . an accident very liable to occur, and as we have no reason to suppose that . . . an editor had an opportunity of seeing the sheets before they were settled, . . . such an accident here would explain the whole thing. . . . Of course I do not imagine that the words which I have supplied were those really written between the lines of the corrected copy. But I do think that they must have been words to that effect.—PICKERSGILL (*op. cit.*, 86): Let it be granted that the reading of the Folio is due to the printer, who dropped a line, as suggested by Spedding. Then, to pass over the circumstance that Dorset, the youngest and the least considerable of the party, is most conspicuously addressed, and, notwithstanding, makes no reply, is it not clear from the manner of the King's presently turning to Dorset and Buckingham, that they were not included in the former exhortation: 'Madam yourself are not exempt in this, Nor your son, Dorset; Buckingham, nor you'? It is indeed so difficult to suppose that anybody could be stupid enough to alter deliberately the Quarto to the present reading that I am disposed to accept Spedding's suggestion as to the correction which was really intended: but even this displays such a want of congruity with the whole context, as I have endeavored to show, that I find in it unmistakable marks of some reviser who was not the author.—WRIGHT: The Folio reading is obviously wrong, for these were nephew and uncle, and, of course, of the queen's party.—MARSHALL: According to More, it should be *Dorset and Hastings*. But as F_1 gives the next speech to *Rivers* and the following one to *Hastings*, we must presume that the reading of the Qq is the right one.

Diſſemble not your hatred, Sweare your loue.
Riu. By heauen, my ſoule is purg'd from grudging hate
And with my hand I ſeale my true hearts Loue.
Haſt. So thriue I, as I truly ſweare the like.
King. Take heed you dally not before your King,
Leſt he that is the ſupreme King of Kings
Confound your hidden falſhood, and award
Either of you to be the others end.
Haſt. So proſper I, as I ſweare perfect loue.
Ri. And I, as I loue *Haſtings* with my heart,
King. Madam, your ſelfe is not exempt from this:
Nor you Sonne *Dorſet*, *Buckingham* nor you;
You haue bene factious one againſt the other.
Wife, loue Lord *Haſtings*, let him kiſſe your hand,
And what you do, do it vnfeignedly.
Qu. There *Haſtings*, I will neuer more remember
Our former hatred, ſo thriue I, and mine.
King. *Dorſet*, imbrace him:
Haſtings, loue Lord Marqueſſe.
Dor. This interchange of loue, I heere proteſt
Vpon my part, ſhall be inuiolable.

14. *ſoule*] *heart* Qq.
16. *truly*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
17. *your*] *the* Rowe ii.
23. *is...from*] *are...in* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
24. *you*] *your* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt i, Cam.+, Rlfe.
28. *There*] *Here* Qq, Cam.+.
30, 31. King...*Marqueſſe*] Om. Qq. One line, Rowe ii et seq.
32. *This*] *Thus* Q_{2-8}.
33. *inuiolable*] *vnuiolable* Qq, Cam.+.

13. **Dissemble**] STEEVENS: That is, do not gloss it over.—MALONE: I suppose he means, divest yourselves of that concealed hatred which you have heretofore secretly borne to each other. Do not merely, says Edward, conceal and cover over your secret ill-will to each other by a show of love, but eradicate hatred altogether from your bosoms.

16, 21, 29. **So . . . So . . . so**] ABBOTT (§ 133): Here 'so' means on condition of my speaking the truth. Compare *Rich. II:* I, iii, 34: 'So defend thee, Heaven.'

20. **Either of you . . . end**] WEBB: King Edward's warning is well founded. Despite their hollow professions of friendship, we read later how Rivers is led to the block, with his last breath praying that the same fate may befall Hastings (III, iii). While the latter hears the news of his rival's punishment with every sign of satisfaction, himself soon to tread the road to the scaffold.

25. **factious**] Compare I, iii, 137.

Haſt. And ſo ſweare I.
King. Now Princely *Buckingham*, ſeale ỹ this league
With thy embracements to my wiues Allies,
And make me happy in your vnity.
Buc. When euer *Buckingham* doth turne his hate
Vpon your Grace, but with all dutious loue,
Doth cheriſh you, and yours, God puniſh me
With hate in thoſe where I expect moſt loue,
When I haue moſt need to imploy a Friend,
And moſt aſſured that he is a Friend,
Deepe, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,
Be he vnto me : This do I begge of heauen,
When I am cold in loue, to you, or yours. *Embrace*
King. A pleaſing Cordiall, Princely *Buckingham*,
Is this thy Vow, vnto my ſickely heart:
There wanteth now our Brother Gloſter heere,
To make the bleſſed period of this peace.
Buc. And in good time,

34. */ſweare I.*] */ſweare I my Lord* Qq, Cam.+.
I.] *I.* [they embrace. Cap.
35. *ỹ*] *up* Q_7Q_8. *thou* Ff et seq.
36. *embracements*] *embracement* Q_6 Q_7Q_8.
37. *your*] *his* Q_7. *this* Q_8.
38. Buc. *When*] Buck. [to the Queen] *When* Rowe,+, Dyce, Cam.
39. *Vpon your Grace*] *On you, or yours*, Qq, Sta. Cam. *On you, or yours*, [to the Queen] Globe,+.
39. *but with all*] *and not with* Pope,+ (−Var. '73).
45. *vnto*] *to* Pope,+.
heauen] *God* Qq.
46. *loue*] *zeale* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Embrace] Om. Qq. Embracing Rivers, &c. Rowe et seq. (subs.)
50. *bleſſed*] *perfect* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
51, 52. *And...Duke*] Ff, Rowe, Wh. i. One line, reading *And...comes the noble Duke.* Qq et cet.

38–40. **When . . . but . . . yours**] Here the text of the Folio is, I think, to be preferred to that of the Quartos, making the clause, 'but with all duteous loue Doth cherish you,' parenthetical, thus: 'Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate Upon your Grace (but with all duteous love Doth cherish you) . . . . and yours, God punish me.' DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 159) prefers the Folio text, since it marks a gradation in Buckingham's statement which is wanting in the Qq. With either text 'but' is here equivalent to *without* or *instead* of, or, as WRIGHT interprets it, *and doth not.* MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. But* C.): 1. In a simple sentence; introducing a word or phrase (rarely a clause) which is excepted from the general statement: Without, with the exception of, except, save.—ED.

49. **wanteth**] ABBOTT (§ 293): Similarly, Milton (*Areopagitica*) uses: 'what wants there?' for, *what is needed?* and this use still exists in conversation.

Heere comes Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, and the Duke. 52

Enter Ratcliffe, and Gloſter.

Rich. Good morrow to my Soueraigne King & Queen
And Princely Peeres, a happy time of day. 55
King, Happy indeed, as we haue ſpent the day:
Gloſter, we haue done deeds of Charity,
Made peace of enmity, faire loue of hate, 58

53. Enter...] After l. 50, Qq.
Ratcliffe, and] Ff,+. Om. Qq, Var.'73 et cet.
54. *Good*] *O ood* Q_3.
57. *Gloſter*] *Brother* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

52. **Heere . . . Duke**] R. G. WHITE: 'Sir Richard Ratcliff' being added in the Folio, and a hemistich being made to admit it, and *noble* being stricken out, with stage-directions to conform to the change, there appears to be no sufficient reason for disregarding such marked and purposed modifications, and we must accept them unless we claim the right to make up a text according to our own taste from the Folio and any and all the Qq. *Ratcliff*, it is true, says nothing; but the poet was also a dramatist, and may have had a purpose in showing this agent of the usurper in his company at this interview.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 157) also thinks that Ratcliffe is purposely introduced in the Folio, that the audience may see in him Richard's confidant and accomplice, and, on Ratcliffe's next appearance (III, ii), recognise the fitness of his being chosen as the one to see carried out Richard's orders for the execution of the Queen's kindred.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 15): Ratcliffe's name has not been mentioned before: he comes only as an attendant of the Duke: he does not come to say anything: and why should his name be put first? Only for the verse probably. I believe the corrector intended the text of the Quarto to remain as it is; and the stage-direction to be, 'Enter Gloster and Sir Richard Ratcliffe.'—PICKERSGILL (*op. cit.*, p. 87): I agree with Spedding in attributing to Shakspere the stage-direction of the Folio in this line; but I regard it as part of the original MS, *not* as a subsequent emendation. There is not any difficulty in accounting for the omission of Ratcliffe's name upon the supposition that, in the Quarto, we have the stage-copy of the play: . . . the company, I suppose, was not strong in point of number, and, therefore, as Ratcliffe had nothing to say or do in this scene, his presence was dispensed with. Of course, the alteration of the *text* cannot be Shakespeare's; [had the alteration been due to either printer or transcriber, as suggested by Spedding], we ought to have the following reading: 'Here comes Ratcliffe, and the noble Duke.' Of course, it may be said that the line was altered for the sake of the metre; but Elizabethan printers do not commonly work in this way. I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that the alteration was deliberately made by the corrector, who, finding Ratcliffe's name in the stage-direction of the copy which he was revising, judged that it ought not to be omitted from the text.

58. **of . . . of**] ABBOTT says (§ 171): '"Of" with verbs of construction, from *out of*, sometimes assumes the meaning of *instead of*,' and quotes the present line. SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) also quotes this line among several others as an illustration of the use of 'of' 'denoting the material constituting the thing.'—ED.

Betweene theſe ſwelling wrong incenſed Peeres.
Rich. A bleſſed labour my moſt Soueraigne Lord:
Among this Princely heape, if any heere
By falſe intelligence, or wrong ſurmize
Hold me a Foe: If I vnwillingly, or in my rage,
Haue ought committed that is hardly borne,
To any in this preſence, I deſire
To reconcile me to his Friendly peace:
'Tis death to me to be at enmitie:
I hate it, and deſire all good mens loue,
Firſt Madam, I intreate true peace of you,
Which I will purchaſe with my dutious ſeruice.
Of you my Noble Coſin Buckingham,

59. *wrong incenſed*] *wrong-incensed* Rowe ii et seq.
60. *my*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
Lord] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *liege* Qq et cet.
61. *Among*] *Amongſt* Qq, Cam.+.
63. *Hold...or in*] One line, Ktly. Two lines, ending *Foe...rage.* Mal. et seq.
vnwillingly] Ff, Rowe. *vnwittingly* Qq et cet.
63. *or...rage*] Om. Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Ran.
64. *ought*] *aught* Theob. ii et seq.
65. *To*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. i. *By* Qq et cet.
66. *his*] *this* Q_2.
68. *loue,*] *loue.* Qq.
69. *Firſt*] *Firſt* F_2.
true] Om. Q_{3-8}.

59. **swelling**] For other examples of 'swelling,' meaning inflated with anger, see SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.* swell, *d*).

61. **heape**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*) 3. A great company (especially of persons); a multitude, a host. [The present line quoted.]

64. **hardly borne**] CRAIK (p. 184) notes that this phrase occurs thrice in *Jul. Cæs.*, I, ii, 317; II, i, 215; III, i, 357, and adds: 'It is remarkable that the expression, meeting us so often in this one play, should be found nowhere else in Shakespeare. Nor have the commentators been able to refer to an instance of its occurrence in any other writer.' MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Bear): † 16. *To bear hard, heavy, or heavily:* to endure with a grudge, take (a thing) ill or amiss, have ill will to, have a resentment against. *Circa* 1400. *Apol. Loll.* Intro. 10: 'Many beren heuy that freris ben clepid pseudo or ypocritis.'—Shakespeare, *Jul. Cæs.*, II, i, 215 [cited by Craik]. 1602. *Life T. Cromwell*, IV, ii, 112: 'you bear me hard about the abbey lands.' The use of the phrase in the present connection was, possibly, suggested to Shakespeare by Holinshed, in whose very account of this reconciliation occurs the following, in regard to Lord Hastings: 'Hir [the Queen's] kinred also bare him sore, as well for that the king had made him capteine of Calis . . . as for diuerse other great gifts which he receiued, that they looked for,' iii, 713; *More*, p. 13.—ED.

66. **me**] For other examples of 'me' used for *myself*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

71. **Cosin Buckingham**] See *Dram. Person.*, Buckingham, note by WRIGHT.

If euer any grudge were lodg'd betweene vs. 72
Of you and you, Lord *Riuers* and of *Dorſet*,
That all without deſert haue frown'd on me:
Of you Lord *Wooduill*, and Lord *Scales* of you, 75

72. *grudge*] *gruge* Q_4.
73. *and you*...Dorſet] *Lord Riuers and Lord Gray of you* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+. (*my Lord Riuers* Q_{5-8}.) *Lord Rivers, and, Dorset, of you* Wh. conj. [to Grey] *and you... Dorset* Spedding.
75. *Of you...of you*] Om. Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.

74. **all without desert**] PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875; p. 87): There can be little doubt that 'all' is here used adverbially, in the sense of *altogether, absolutely*. This use of the word is not uncommon in Shakespeare, for example, *Rich. II:* II, ii, 124: 'For us to levy power Proportionable to the enemy Is all unpossible.' Some confirmation of this view may be found in the circumstance that we have 'all' in its more ordinary sense in l. 76; whereas if it had been used in that sense only two lines before, its recurrence here would be decidedly weak and objectionable.

75. **Lord Wooduill . . . Lord Scales**] MALONE: The eldest son of Earl Rivers was Lord Scales; but there was no such person as Lord Woodville.—DANIEL (*Intro.*, p. xvi): Why was this line wanting in the Quarto? Here we have good proof, I think, that when the play was shortened for the Quarto, it was also *revised*. Woodville *was* the 'Lord Rivers' addressed in l. 73; he was also 'Lord Scales' in right of his wife, the 'heir and daughter of Lord Scales.' . . . This mistake in making Rivers three separate persons was evidently corrected when the play was revised, the 'Woodville' line struck out altogether, and its *form* given as we find it in the Quartos, *Gray*, being substituted for 'Dorset' because he was, in history as in the play, associated in death with his uncle Rivers. [Shakespeare was, possibly, misled by Hall, who says (p. 347): 'The gouernaunce of this younge Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lord Scales, brother to the quene,' &c. To one not remembering that Woodville bore both titles the last words 'brother to the quene' might seem to apply to Lord Scales as a separate individual.—ED.] THOMPSON (*Arden Shakespeare; Appendix*, ii) proposes the following re-arrangement of stops in the passage as it appears in the Qq: 'Of you, Lord Rivers and Lord Grey; of you That all without desert have frown'd on me, Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen; indeed of all'; in order to surmount the difficulty of taking the word 'all' in the second line as referring to two people only. In regard to the omission of the extra line inserted in the Folio, l. 75, Thompson adds: 'The position of the line is awkward, whether we take it as it stands, or assume that the printer has transposed it with the line before. Its meaning and point are doubtful and unsatisfactory. My own conclusion is that the editor of F_1 found, in the margin of the MS which he used, some notes intended as the beginning of an alteration of l. 75; that the words 'Woodville' and 'Scales' were among them; and that, wishing to preserve as much of Shakespeare's text as could be recovered, he assumed that a line had been dropped, and so worked in a new line composed of these fragments. The difficulty of 'all' was thus settled; but the printer, working with an interlined copy of the Q., made a mistake as to the order of the lines, and so perpetuated the state of things which

Dukes, Earles, Lords, Gentlemen, indeed of all. 76
I do not know that Engliſhman aliue,
With whom my ſoule is any iot at oddes,
More then the Infant that is borne to night:
I thanke my God for my Humility. 80
Qu. A holy day ſhall this be kept heereafter:
I would to God all ſtrifes were well compounded.
My Soueraigne Lord, I do beſeech your Highneſſe
To take our Brother *Clarence* to your Grace.
Rich. Why Madam, haue I offred loue for this, 85
To be ſo flowted in this Royall preſence?
Who knowes not that the gentle Duke is dead? *They*
You do him iniurie to ſcorne his Coarſe. *all ſtart.* 88

81. *holy day*] *Holy-day* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Varr. Knt, Ktly. *holyday* Steev. *holiday* Dyce, Huds.
82. *ſtrifes*] *ſtrife* Q_7Q_8.
83. *My*] *Ny* F_2.
Lord] *liege* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
Highneſſe] *Maieſtie* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
85. *offred*] *offered* F_4.
86. *ſo flowted*] *thus ſcorned* Qq. (*ſcornde* Q_5Q_6.)
87. *gentle*] *noble* Qq, Cam.+.
They all ſtart.] Om. Qq.
88. *Coarſe*] *corſe* Q_1Q_2. *courſe* Q_3.

the new line was intended to remove. [This excellent edition was not published until my work on this play was far advanced. The present is the earliest line at which it was available.—ED.]

77. **I do not know**] STEEVENS: Milton, in his *Eikonoklastes*, has this observation: 'The poets also, and some English, have been in this point [that the deepest policy of a tyrant hath ever been to counterfeit religious] so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant. I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closest companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare; who introduces the person of Richard the Third, speaking in as high a strain of piety and mortification as is uttered in any passage of this book, and sometimes to the same sense and purpose with some words in this place: "I intended," saith he [the king], "not only to oblige my friends, but my enemies." The like saith Richard, Act ii, Scene 1: "I do not know that Englishman alive," etc. Other stuff of this sort may be read throughout the whole tragedy, wherein the poet used not much licence in departing from the truth of history, which delivers him a deep dissembler, not of his affections only, but of religion.' [vol. i, p. 326, ed. St. John. The foot-note on this passage in *Eikonoklastes*, by the editor—too long for quotation here—is worthy the attention of students both of Milton and of Shakespeare.—ED.]

80. **Humility**] HALLIWELL, in a note on 'Plant in Tyrants mild humility,' *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv, iii, 349, quotes Huloet's *Abecedarium*, 1552: 'Humilitie is a gentlenes of the mynde, or a gentle patience withoute all angre or wrathe.' This is, I think, the sense in which the word is here used; not in the more modern one, as given by MURRAY, *s. v.*: '1. The quality of being humble, or having a lowly opinion of oneself.'—ED.

King. Who knowes not he is dead?
Who knowes he is?
Qu. All-ſeeing heauen, what a world is this?
Buc. Looke I ſo pale Lord *Dorſet*, as the reſt?
Dor. I my good Lord, and no man in the preſence,
But his red colour hath forſooke his cheekes.
King. Is *Clarence* dead? The Order was reuerſt.
Rich. But he (poore man) by your firſt order dyed,
And that a winged Mercurie did beare:
Some tardie Cripple bare the Countermand,
That came too lagge to ſee him buried.

89. King.] Riu. Qq (subs.), Cam.+.
89, 90. *Who knowes...he is?*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
91. *All-ſeeing*] *All ſeeing* Qq.
93. *man*] *one* Q_{1-6}, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
the] *this* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
95. *dead?*] *dead*, Q_{1-4}.
reuerſt] *reverſ't* F_3. *reverſ'd* F_4 et seq.
96. (*poore man*)] *poore ſoule* Q_1, Sta. Cam.+. (*poore ſoule*) Q_{2-5}.
your] *our* Q_7Q_8.
97. *winged*] *wingled* Q_1.
98. *bare*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Rlfe. *had* Pope,+. *bore* Qq et cet.
99. *came*] *come* Ff.
lagge] $Q_{3-8}F_2F_3$. *lagg* F_4. *lag* Q_1 et cet.

89, 90. **King. Who . . . is**] Here the Folio has, I think, the better distribution of speeches. Is it probable that Rivers is so deeply interested in the fate of Clarence as thus to exclaim in advance of the King, the one chiefly concerned? There is, moreover, a certain awkwardness in King Edward's keeping silent through the following three speeches; silence on the part of Rivers might easily pass unnoticed.—ED.

92, 94. **Looke I . . . cheekes**] SEYMOUR (i, 380): Compare *Paradise Lost*, Bk, ii, l. 421—'each In other's countenance read his own dismay Astonish'd.' [This comparison gains, I think, additional significance when it is recollected that STEEVENS calls attention to Milton's use of a quotation from this present scene, see l. 77.—ED.]—THOMPSON: Buckingham's remark on the sudden pallor of Dorset himself and his relations is malicious. They are Buckingham's enemies; and he wishes to fasten the stigma of guilt upon them, see ll. 146, 147.

95. **Order was reuerst**] COURTENAY (ii, p. 75): I know of no authority for these contradictory orders. [Is not William Shakespeare sufficient?]

97, 98. **winged Mercurie . . . tardie Cripple**] STEEVENS: This is an allusion to a proverbial expression which Drayton has versified in *The Barron's Warres:* 'Ill newes hath wings, and with the winde doth goe, Comfort's a Cripple, and comes euer slow.'—Canto ii [verse 27, Spenser Soc., *Reprint.* STEEVENS's reference to a 'proverbial expression' is difficult of verification. RAY (p. 107) gives: 'Ill news comes a-pace.' Milton has somewhat the same idea as in the foregoing lines from Drayton, 'For evil news rides post, while good news baits.' —*Samson Agonistes*, l. 1538.—ED.]

99. **lagge**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): B. 1. Last, hindmost; In early instances

God grant, that ſome leſſe Noble, and leſſe Loyall,
Neerer in bloody thoughts, and not in blood,
Deſerue not worſe then wretched *Clarence* did,
And yet go currant from Suſpition.

Enter Earle of Derby.

Der. A boone my Soueraigne for my ſeruice done.
King. I prethee peace, my ſoule is full of ſorrow.
Der. I will not riſe, vnleſſe your Highnes heare me.
King. Then ſay at once, what is it thou requeſts.
Der. The forfeit (Soueraigne) of my ſeruants life,
Who ſlew to day a Riotous Gentleman,
Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolke.
King. Haue I a tongue to doome my Brothers death?
And ſhall that tongue giue pardon to a ſlaue?

101. *and*] *but* Qq, Var. '21, Sta. Cam. +, Coll. iii.
not] *no* F_3F_4.
blood] *blond* Q_1.
104. Earle of Derby] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Wh. i. Darby Q_1. Darbie Qq. Derby Cam.+, Ktly. Lord Stanley Theob. et cet.
105. *my Soueraigne*] (*my ſoueraigne*) $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
106. *prethee*] *pray thee* Qq, Cam.+. *prithee* F_4, Rowe, Knt, Dyce. *pr'ythee* Pope et cet.
107. *heare me*] *grant* Q_1, Sta. Cam.+. *graunt* Q_6Q_7. *graunt* Qq.
108. *ſay*] *ſpeake* Qq, Cam.+.
is it] *it is* Q_6.
requeſts.] *demaundſt.* Q_1Q_2, Sta. Cam.+. *demaundſt?* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *demaundeſt?* Q_6. *requeſt'ſt* F_3F_4 et cet.
109. Der.] Om. Q_3.
111. *attendant on*] *attending one* Q_7. *attending on* Q_8.
112, 113. *death?...ſlaue?*] Ff,+. *death,...ſlaue;* Q_4Q_5. *death,...ſlaue?* Q_1 et cet.
113. *that tongue*] *the ſame* Qq.

---

only *absolute* or *predicative*, and hence hardly distinguishable from the substantive. (*To come*) *lag of:* short of, too late for, or in arrear of. [The present line quoted.]

99. **buried**] To be pronounced, *metri gratia*, as a trisyllable; see note by WRIGHT, I, ii, 73.

101. **Neerer . . . blood**] STEEVENS: Compare *Macbeth*, II, iii, 146, 147: '—the near in blood. The nearer bloody.'—WRIGHT: Richard, of course, refers to the Queen's kindred.

108. **requests**] See I, iv, 204: 'unripst.'

109. **forfeit**] JOHNSON: That is, the *remission* of the forfeit.—DELIUS: Perhaps the meaning is that the King, to whom the servant's life is due, will transfer this forfeit to Stanley.

112. **Haue I a tongue . . . death?**] JOHNSON: This lamentation is very tender and pathetic. The recollection of the good qualities of the dead is very natural, and no less naturally does the king endeavour to communicate the crime to others.—BOOTH: The king very feebly begins now to rally—breaking down and sinking exhausted into his chair at the end of the speech.

My Brother kill'd no man, his fault was Thought,
And yet his puniſhment was bitter death.
Who ſued to me for him? Who (in my wrath)
Kneel'd and my ſeet, and bid me be aduis'd?
Who ſpoke of Brother-hood? who ſpoke of loue?
Who told me how the poore ſoule did forſake
The mighty Warwicke, and did fight for me?
Who told me in the field at Tewkesbury,
When Oxford had me downe, he reſcued me:
And ſaid deare Brother liue, and be a King?
Who told me, when we both lay in the Field,
Frozen(almoſt)to death, how he did lap me
Euen in his Garments, and did giue himſelfe

114. *kill'd*] *ſlew* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. (*ſlue* Q_2.)
Thought] *naught* Q_8.
115. *bitter*] *cruell* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
117. *and*] F_1.
bid] Ff, Rowe,+, Cap. Var.'78, '85, Ran. *bad* Q_1Q_{3-8}. *bade* Q_2 et cet.
118. *ſpoke*] *ſpake* Qq, Cam.+.
Brother-hood] Q_{4-6},Ff. *brother-hood* Q_1 et cet.
118. *ſpoke of loue*] *who of loue* Qq. *ſpoke in love* Ff, Rowe. *spake of love* Cam.+. *spake to me of love* Anon. ap Cam.
119. *told*] *tould* Q_4.
121. *at*] *by* Q_{1-6}, Sta. Cam.+.
Tewkesbury] *Teuxburie* Qq. (*Teuxbery* Q_1.) *Tewksbury* F_4 et seq.
125. *did lap*] *lappe* Q_7. *lapt* Q_8.
126. *his Garments*] *his owne garments* Qq. *his owne armes* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.

---

116. **Who sued . . . him**] See *Appendix: Source of Plot.*

117. **aduis'd**] That is, *be deliberate, consider.*

122. **When Oxford,** etc.] WRIGHT: This is a touch which history did not supply. Although in *3 Hen. VI.*, Oxford is represented as being present at Tewkesbury, yet, according to Hall, he fled after the battle of Barnet into Wales, and afterwards took St Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which he held for the queen.

125. **lap**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 3. To enfold in a wrap or wraps, to enwrap, swathe; hence to clothe, to bind up, tie round.

126. **Euen . . . himselfe**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875; p. 41): Here is a metrical irregularity which in some circumstances is used with good effect, but in this place has only the effect of a stumble; and was so felt by the corrector of the Quarto. [See *Text. Notes.*]—DUPORT (i, p. 350, *Note* B): These reminiscences perhaps suggested to Schiller one of the most touching passages of *Wallenstein;* wherein the rebel general, seeking to retain the young Max Piccolomini in the ranks, recalls to him how at a former time, when Max was but a child, finding him abandoned in the middle of a march and unable to follow the army, almost perished from cold, he took the same care of him as a tender mother, wrapping him in his own mantle, to call back the vital warmth into the child's feeble frame.

126. **did giue himselfe**] Compare *Hen. V:* I, ii, 270: 'did give ourself To barbarous licensc'; also *Merry Wives,* V, v, 156.

(All thin and naked) to the numbe cold night?
All this from my Remembrance, brutiſh wrath
Sinfully pluckt, and not a man of you
Had ſo much grace to put it in my minde.
But when your Carters, or your wayting Vaſſalls
Haue done a drunken Slaughter, and deſac'd
The precious Image of our deere Redeemer,
You ſtraight are on your knees for Pardon, pardon,
And I (vniuſtly too) muſt grant it you.
But for my Brother, not a man would ſpeake,
Nor I (vngracious) ſpeake vnto my ſelfe
For him poore Soule. The proudeſt of you all,
Haue bin beholding to him in his life:
Yet none of you, would onee begge for his life.
O God! I feare thy iuſtice will take hold
On me, and you; and mine, and yours for this.
Come *Haſtings* helpe me to my Cloſſet.

127. *and*] *and and* Q_2.
numbe cold] Ff, Pope, +, Cam. + (subs.) *numbcold* Q_1Q_2. *num cold* Rowe. *numb-cold* Cap. et cet.
129. *pluckt*] *pukt* Q_1.
131. *wayting Vaſſalls*] *waighting vaſſals* Qq. *waiting vassals* Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. *waiting-vassals* Steev. et seq.
132. *deſac'd*] *defaſte* Q_{1-3}.
133. *deere*] *dcareſt* Q_3.
136. *man*] *maſt* Q_{3-5}.
139. *beholding*] *beholden* Q_4Q_8, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Ktly, Rlfe.
140. *onee*] F_2.
begge] *plead* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sta. Cam. +.
143, 144. *Come...Ah*] One line, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii.
Come...Clarence] One line, Qq, Cap. Coll. Hal. Sta. Cam. +.
143. Haſtings] [to Hast.] Cap.

---

132. **drunken Slaughter**] TAWNEY: That is, committed a murder under the influence of intoxication. Probably this is suggested by Stanley's phrase, 'riotous gentleman.' [Compare 'drunken prophecies,' I, i, 38.]

139. **beholding**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): The sense [*under obligation, obliged*], evidently originated in an error for *beholden*, either through confusion of the endings (*cf.* especially the 15th century spelling *-yne* for *-en*), or, more probably, after *beholden* was shortened to *beholde, behold*, and its grammatical character obscured; the general acceptance of 'beholding' may have been due to a notion that it meant *looking* (*e. g., with respect*, or *dependence*), or to association with the idea of *holding of* or *from* a feudal superior. (It was exceedingly common in the 17th century, for which no fewer than ninety-seven instances have been sent in by our readers.)

143. **Come . . . Closset**] COLLIER (*Emend.*, 328): An unimportant word is here added [by the MS Corrector] to complete the defective line, which is not found in any known impression of the play—'Come Hastings, *prithee*, help,' etc. Modern editors have generally finished this line by adding to it, 'Ah! poor Clarence!'

Ah poore *Clarence.* *Exeunt ſome with K.& Qneen.*
Rich. This is the fruits of raſhnes: Markt you not,
How that the guilty Kindred of the Queene
Look'd pale, when they did heare of *Clarence* death.
O! they did vrge it ſtill vnto the King,
God will reuenge it. Come Lords will you go,
To comfort *Edward* with our company.
Buc. We wait vpon your Grace. *exeunt.*

144. *Ah*] *Oh* Qq, Cam.+. *O* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
Exeunt...Qneen.] Exit. Qq.
145. *This is*] *These are* Pope,+, Varr. Ran.
fruits] Ff,+, Varr. Ran. *fruit* Qq et cet.
raſhnes] *rawnes* Q_{3-8}.
146. *guilty*] Om. Ff, Rowe.
146. *Kindred*] *kinred* Q_8.
147. Clarence] QqF_2F_3. *Clarence's* F_4, Rowe. *Clarence'* Pope et cet.
death.] $Q_2Q_3Q_5$,Ff, Rowe. *death?* Q_1Q_4 et cet.
149. *Come...go*] *But come lets in* Qq, Sta. *But come let us in* Cam.+.
151. Buc. *We... Grace*] Om. Qq, Sta.

---

a hemistich spoken by the King just before he goes out, which renders the line as redundant as it was before deficient.—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 168): Does Collier really think this interpolation necessary? or that the reading of the old copy was not quite intelligible. Among the modern editors who without reason added the hemistich to the line, we must number Collier.

143. **Hastings**] MALONE: Hastings was Lord Chamberlain to King Edward IV.

144. **Ah . . . Clarence**] SEYMOUR (i, 380): The unhappy fate of Clarence resembles strongly that of Posthumus Agrippa, as related by Tacitus, not only in the manner of their being taken off, but in the compunction and reconcilement of Edward and Augustus, and the insidious and callous policy that actuated both Richard and Tiberius.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., 51): Directly following the death of Edward IV., at that point where Holinshed discards his former authority, and bases his work on that of Sir Thomas More, the representation of Richard is altered. He is now, for the first time, a monster both in body and in soul, sinful deeds and long-cherished designs on the throne are imputed to him, of which no mention had formerly been made; now, moreover, he appears as the Shakespearean Richard. If there be actually thus two views of the character and actions of Richard in Holinshed, it is none the less true that Shakespeare chose the darker one based on that of Sir Thomas More; he has not, as has been frequently asserted, exaggerated this, but he has even softened it, and has strengthened the bonds which unite a monstrosity to humanity, instead of loosening them utterly. [See also CHURCHILL in *Appendix: Source of Plot.*]

146. **How that**, etc.] BOAS (p. 152): In this faculty of turning every opportunity to instant account, of wasting no resource, we see again the tact of the consummate craftsman in evil.

147. **Clarence death**] Compare I, iv, 184; also III, i, 161; or see, if needful, ABBOTT, §§ 217, 471.

Scena Secunda.

Enter the old Dutcheſſe of Yorke, with the two children of Clarence.

Edw. Good Grandam tell vs, is our Father dead?
Dutch. No Boy.
Daugh. Why do weepe ſo oft? And beate your Breſt?
And cry, O *Clarence*, my vnhappy Sonne.
Boy. Why do you looke on vs, and ſhake your head,
And call vs Orphans, Wretches, Caſtawayes,

1. Scena Secunda.] Scene continued, Qq.
The Same. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
2, 3. ...the two...Clarence.] ...Dutches of Yorke, with Clarence children. Qq.
4. Edw.] Ff. Boy. Qq, Cam.+. Son. Rowe et cet.
Good...vs] *Tell me good Granam* Qq, Sta.
6. Daugh.] Boy. Qq, Cam.+.
weepe ſo oft?] *you wring your hands*, Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *weep so, and oft* Coll. MS. *you weepe ſo oft* Ff et cet.
8. Boy.] Girle. Qq, Cam.+. (*Gerl* Q_1 Q_2.)
9. *Orphans, Wretches*] *wretches, orphanes* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. (*wretched, orphanes* Q_7Q_8.)

1. **Scena Secunda.**] CHURCHILL (p. 507): This scene should be carefully compared with that in the *True Tragedie of Richard III.*, wherein the Queen appears in sorrow after the death of Edward, and is comforted by her children, Elizabeth and the Duke of York. [See *Appendix: The True Tragedie*, p. 522.] In both scenes the children implore the sorrowing mother to reveal the cause of her grief. In each case the reply is that she is not sorrowing for the death of the children's father, but for another cause. Especial resemblance exists between *The True Tragedie's* 'What tho our Father be dead, yet behold his children, the image of him selfe,' and the words of the Duchess of York in Shakespeare's scene: 'I have bewept a worthy husband's death, And liv'd by looking on his images' [ll. 54, 55]. And between *The True Tragedie's* 'Good mother, expect the living and forget the dead,' and the words of Rivers to the Queen in Shakespeare: 'Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave, And plant your joys in living Edward's throne' [ll. 103, 104]. It is hardly necessary to say that for neither scene is there any chronicle authority.—BROOKE (p. 111): The main scope of the play is not lost sight of in this scene between the children and their aunt and grandam—a quiet moment in this tempest of crime. The fate of the young princes is shadowed forth in the talk of their cousins. The fate which overglooms the play is heard in the grief of the women. The gloom is deepened when the Queen enters wailing her husband's death, and she and the Duchess (who, with Margaret, serve the uses, in some sort, of the Greek chorus) toss their sorrow to and fro with the children of Clarence, till the whole world seems full of weeping. Then Gloucester, . . . mocking inwardly the sorrow he has caused, adds poignancy to the tragic pain the audience feels.

9. **Castawayes**] WORDSWORTH (*Sh. Knowledge*, etc., p. 33) notes that this

If that our Noble Father were aliue? 10
Dut. My pretty Coſins, you miſtake me both,
I do lament the ſickneſſe of the King,
As loath to loſe him, not your Fathers death:
It were loſt ſorrow to waile one that's loſt.
Boy. Then you conclude, (my Grandam) he is dead: 15
The King mine Vnckle is too blame for it.
God will reuenge it, whom I will importune
With earneſt prayers, all to that effect.
Daugh. And ſo will I.
Dut. Peace children peace, the King doth loue you wel. 20
Incapeable, and ſhallow Innocents,
You cannot gueſſe who caus'd your Fathers death. 22

10. *were*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *be* Qq et cet.
11. *both*] *much* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
13. *not...death*] *now your father's dead* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
14. *ſorrow to waile*] *labor to weepe for* (*labour*, Q_1Q_2).
15. *you...* (*my Grandam*)] *Granam you conclude that* Qq, Sta. Cam. + (subs.)
16. *mine*] *my* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *too*] *to* Ff et seq.
it] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Rlfe. *this* Qq et cet.
18. *earneſt*] *daily* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *daily earnest* Pope, + (– Var. '73).
all...effect] Om. Pope, + (– Var. '73).
19. Daugh. *And...I.*] Om. Qq.

word, in the sense of 'a person lost or abandoned by Providence, occurs once in the *Bible*, *1 Cor.* ix, 17: "I myself should be a castaway," and twice in Shakespeare.' But has not Wordsworth overlooked the fact that besides the present passage this word occurs in two others—*Tit. And.*: 'Like a forlorn and wretched castaway,' v, iii, 75; and *Ant. & Cleo.*: 'That ever I should call thee castaway,' III, vi, 40? MURRAY gives (*N. E. D. s. v.* B.) three examples of 'castaway' in the foregoing sense, before quoting the present line and the passage from *1 Cor.* mentioned by Wordsworth.—ED.

11. **Cosins**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 1. A collateral relative more distant than a brother or sister; a kinsman or kinswoman, a relative; formerly very frequently applied to a nephew or niece.

16. **too blame**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*) 6. The dative infinitive '*to blame*' is much used as the predicate after *be*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *to* was misunderstood as 'too,' and 'blame' taken as an adjective equivalent to *blameworthy, culpable*. [The present line quoted.] 1596. *1 Hen. IV:* III, i, 177: 'In faith, my Lord, you are too wilfull blame.' [ABBOTT compares (§ 73) *Othello*, III, iii, 211, 282, where, in the Folio, *to blame* is printed as here.]

18. **prayers**] ABBOTT (§ 479): Even where 'prayer' presents the appearance of a monosyllable, the second syllable was probably slightly sounded.

21. **Incapeable**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 5. *absol.* Destitute of, or deficient in, ordinary capacity or natural ability; incompetent; without natural qualification. [The present line quoted.]

Boy. Grandam we can: for my good Vnkle Gloſter
Told me, the King prouok'd to it by the Queene,
Deuis'd impeachments to impriſon him;
And when my Vnckle told me ſo, he wept,
And pittied me, and kindly kiſt my cheeke:
Bad me rely on him, as on my Father,
And he would loue me deerely as a childe.
Dut. Ah! that Deceit ſhould ſteale ſuch gentle ſhape,

23. *Grandam*] *Granam* Qq.
24. *prouok'd to it*] *provoked* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *provok'd to 't* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt.
26. *my Vnckle*] *he* Qq.
27. *pittied me*] *hugd me in his arme* Qq, Cam.+.
kindly] Om. Cam. conj.
cheeke] *cheekes* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
28. *Bad*] *And bad* Qq.
on my] *in my* Q_1.
29. *a*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *his* Qq et cet.
30. *Ah!*] *Oh*, Qq, Cam.+.
ſhape] *ſhapes* Qq, Cap. Var.'78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

---

27. **And pittied . . . cheeke**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 41) thinks that the change of this line from an alexandrine, as it is in the Quartos, to the present form is an evidence of Shakespeare's correction; and instances the fact that in the Quarto of *Rom. & Jul.*, printed in 1597, the same year as *Rich. III.*, there are ninety-two alexandrines, while in that of 1599 there are but six. He adds: 'I do not know how to avoid the inference that the weeding out of alexandrines was, at that time, characteristic of Shakespeare's *own* correcting hand.'—DANIEL (*Introd.*, xix): [The extraordinary line in the Quarto], although a strong point with those who believe the Folio to be a weak revision of the Quarto, sacrificing vigour of expression to smoothness of verse, really affords proof that the Folio gives us the original version of the lines, the Quarto a corruption of a proposed emendation. See I, iv, 243, 244: 'It cannot be, for he bewept my fortune *And hugg'd me in his armes*, and swore with sobs that he would labour my deliuery.' The audience had witnessed this parting, and this account of it would strike them as fanciful, to say the least; it was therefore probably proposed to take some part of Clarence's speech and give it to his son, in whose mouth it would be more appropriate. Clarence's speech had already been once altered, and in the Quarto it reads: 'It cannot be for *when I parted with him He* hugg'd me,' etc. The transfer to his son of the words 'hugg'd me in his arms' was probably a later suggestion, but not carried out, at least not in the copy from which the Quarto was printed; a copy which may be shrewdly suspected of containing many such half-realized emendations . . . Only from a copy in this chaotic condition can I imagine the Quarto to have been printed.—VAUGHAN suggests (iii, 52) that the Quarto line be retained but that the words 'me in his' be pronounced 'm-yins.' For those who like that sort of scansion this is just the sort of scansion they will like. —ED.

30. **Ah! that Deceit . . . shape**] Compare *Mer. of Ven.*, I, iii, 103: 'O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath.'

And with a vertuous Vizor hide deepe vice.
He is my ſonne, I, and therein my ſhame,
Yet from my dugges, he drew not this deceit.
Boy. Thinke you my Vnkle did diſſemble Grandam?
Dut. I Boy.
Boy. I cannot thinke it. Hearke, what noiſe is this?

Enter the Queene with her haire about her ears, Riuers & Dorſet after her.

Qu. Ah! who ſhall hinder me to waile and weepe?
To chide my Fortune, and torment my Selfe.
Ile ioyne with blacke diſpaire againſt my Soule,
And to my ſelfe, become an enemie.
Dut. What meanes this Scene of rude impatience?

31. *Vizor*] *vizard* Qq, Rowe, Pope, Cam.+. (*vifard* Q_1Q_2.)
deepe vice] *foule guile* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
32. *I*] *yea* Qq. *ay* Rowe et seq.
34. *Grandam*] *Granam* Qq.
35. *I*] *Ay* Rowe et seq.
36. *it. Hearke*] *it, hark* Qq.
37, 38. with...after her] Om. Qq. distractedly; Rivers and Dorset, following her. Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Huds. Rlfe.
39. *Ah! who*] *Oh, who* $Q_1Q_2Q_4$, Cam.+, Huds. *Wh who* Q_3. *Whoy* Q_5. *Who, who* Sta.
39, 40. *weepe?...my Selfe.*] Ff. *weep, ...my ſelfe?* Q_5, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+. *weep?...my ſelfe?* Q_1 et cet.
41. *Soule*] *ſelfe* Q_5.

31. **Vizor**] WRIGHT: That is, a mask. Properly speaking, it was the front part of a helmet which protected the upper part of the face, and was pierced with holes for the wearer to see through. Hence its name, which is derived from the French *visière*, defined by Cotgrave as 'the viser, or sight of an helmet.'

34. **dissemble**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 4. To conceal one's intentions, opinions, etc., under a feigned guise; 'to use false professions, to play the hypocrite' (J.).

36. **I cannot . . . it**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 462): In Shakespeare's abundance of individualising various characters of similar semblance, he has placed in juxtaposition with little York the young son of Clarence, whose innocent simplicity is no less natural than the other's innocent shrewdness. The sweet credulity which can perceive no guile beneath kindly demonstration, and the boyish quickness which instinctively discerns evil, without power to ward off its sinister approach, are equally touching exemplifications of childhood nature. How the pure, bright honesty of childish feeling shows in these few words of Clarence's young son, when . . . his grandam drops a hint of Richard's deceit, the boy exclaims . . . with the confidence of a clear young spirit, 'I cannot think it.' This comes with bright effect against the sharp-witted precocity of little York's colloquy with his mother and grandmother in scene iv of this Act.

43. **impatience**] WRIGHT: Here to be pronounced as a quadrisyllable. This play contains many such expedients for eking out the metre.

Qu. To make an act of Tragicke violence.
Edward my Lord, thy Sonne, our King is dead.
Why grow the Branches, when the Roote is gone?
Why wither not the leaues that want their ſap?
If you will liue, Lament: if dye, be breefe,
That our ſwift-winged Soules may catch the Kings,
Or like obedient Subiects follow him,
To his new Kingdome of nere-changing night.
Dut. Ah ſo much intereſt haue in thy ſorrow,
As I had Title in thy Noble Husband:

44. *violence.*] *violence*, Q_5.
45. *thy*] *your* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
46. *when...gone*] *now...withred* Qq, Cam.+. (*witherd* Q_1Q_2.)
47. *that...ſap*] *the ſap being gone* Qq, Cam.+.
49. *ſwift-winged*] *ſwiftwinged* Q_1. *ſwift winged* Qq,F_2.
51. *nere-changing night*] *ne're-changing night* Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. Ktly, Rlfe. *ne're changing light* Coll.(MS). *perpetuall reſt* Qq et cet. *perpetual light* Ktly conj.
52. *haue*] *haue I* QqFf et seq.
53. *in*] *to* F_3F_4, Rowe,+ (−Var. '73).

44. **To . . . violence**] TAWNEY: That is, its intention is to bring about a deed of sad cruelty to (myself). When Elizabeth spoke of turning enemy to herself [l. 42] we must suppose that she contemplated suicide.

51. **nere-changing night**] SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 168): Nothing can be more certain than that Shakespeare wrote: 'ne're changing night.' [See *Text. Notes.*] For in Clarence's narration of his dream we have it again: 'Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.'—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 154): The Quarto reading is not only more trivial than that of the Folio, but also seems, in the present mental state of the Queen, to harmonise only slightly with the context. In her desolation and despair she would hardly seek a consolatory image, but rather one full of melancholy and terror, such as that suggested by a realm of shadows, which here clearly presented itself to the mind of the poet.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875; p. 17): I do not myself see why this change should have been made. But if it was to avoid a too common-place expression, the need was more likely to be felt by Shakespeare himself than a corrector.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 89): I do not deny that the reading of the Folio is more lofty than that of the Quarto, but—is it appropriate? The speaker is Queen Elizabeth lamenting her husband's decease, which (for the time at least) has taken from life all its value in her eyes, and divested Death of all his terrors. This is the whole tenour of her speech. How extremely unnatural then, how utterly opposite to Shakespeare's manner, that here she should refer to death in its *gloomy* aspect, as a 'ne'er changing night.' . . . On the other hand, *perpetual rest* is just the idea of death which would most naturally occur to one in Queen Elizabeth's present frame of mind. But I can well understand that this view might not commend itself to the corrector, and so without regard to the context he substituted this tall phrase—a sort of stock phrase, it seems to my ear, 'ne'er changing night.'—WRIGHT: It is hard to say which is the worse phrase.

52, 53. **so . . . As**] Compare II, i, 92; or, if needful, see ABBOTT, § 275.

I haue bewept a worthy Husbands death,
And liu'd with looking on his Images:
But now two Mirrors of his Princely ſemblance,
Are crack'd in pieces, by malignant death,
And I for comfort, haue but one falſe Glaſſe,
That greeues me, when I ſee my ſhame in him.
Thou art a Widdow: yet thou art a Mother,
And haſt the comfort of thy Children left,
But death hath ſnatch'd my Husband from mine Armes,
And pluckt two Crutches from my feeble hands,
Clarence, and *Edward*. O, what cauſe haue I,
(Thine being but a moity of my moane)
To ouer-go thy woes, and drowne thy cries.
Boy. Ah Aunt! you wept not for our Fathers death:
How can we ayde you with our Kindred teares?
Daugh. Our fatherleſſe diſtreſſe was left vnmoan'd,
Your widdow-dolour, likewiſe be vnwept.

55. *with*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Rlfe. *by* Qq et cet.
59. *That*] *Which* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
61. *left,*] *left thee*, Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Huds.
62. *Husband*] *children* Qq.
63. *hands*] *limmes* Qq. *limbs* Cam.+.
64. Clarence, *and* Edward] *Edward and Clarence* Qq, Cam.+.
64, 65. *I*, (*Thine*] *I then*, *Thine* Vaughan.
65. *Thine*] *Then* Qq.
a moity] *moity* Q_{1-5} (subs.) *motitie* Q_6Q_7. *a moiety* Rowe et seq.
65. *moane*] *griefe* Q_{1-5}, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Huds. *ſelfe* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
66. *ouer-go thy woes*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Rlfe. *ouergo thy plaints* Qq et cet.
thy cries] *the cries* Q_5. *my cries* Ff.
cries.] *cries?* Qq.
67. *Ah*] *Good* Qq, Cam.+.
68. *Kindred*] *kindreds* Qq.
69. Daugh.] Gerl Qq. Girl Cam.+.
70. *widdow-dolour*] *widdowes dolours* Qq. *widow dolour* Rowe, Cap. Varr. Ran. *widow dolours* Pope,+.

55. **Images**] JOHNSON: That is, the children by whom he was represented.

56, 57. **Mirrors . . . crack'd . . . death**] MALONE: Compare *Rape of Luc.*: 'Poor broken glass, I often did behold In thy sweet semblance my old age new born; But now, that fair fresh mirror, dim and old, Shows me a bare-bon'd death by time out-worn' [ll. 1758–1761]. Also: 'Thou art thy mother's glass,' *Sonn.* iii. —WRIGHT: Two glasses reflecting his likeness, Edward and Clarence. The Duchess has forgotten Rutland. [The 'one false Glasse' is, of course, Richard, who is but a distorted image of his father.—ED.]

65. **moity of my moane**] MARSHALL: In spite of the alliteration we prefer the reading of the Folio. It will be observed that the whole of the next twenty or thirty lines are full of affectation, and therefore this alliteration was probably intentional.

65. **moity**] See I, ii, 276, and note.

70. **widdow-dolour**] WEBB: That is, grief as a widow. The phrases put into

Qu. Giue me no helpe in Lamentation, 71
I am not barren to bring forth complaints:
All Springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
That I being gouern'd by the waterie Moone,
May ſend forth plenteous teares to drowne the World. 75
Ah, for my Husband, for my deere Lord *Edward.*

72. *complaints*] *laments* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr.
73–75. In margin, Pope, Han.
74. *waterie*] QqFf. *watery* Dyce, Wh. i, Cam.+, Huds. *watry* Rowe et cet.
74. *Moone*] *moane* Q_{1-6}.
76, 77. *Ah*] *Oh* Qq, Cam.+.
76. *deere*] *eire* Q_1. *eyre* Q_2. *heire* Q_{3-8}. *dear* F_3F_4 et seq.

the mouths of the two children are harsh and artificial; indeed, the whole scene is not written in Shakespeare's best manner: it is rather in the style of his contemporaries, the influence of which can be traced in his more immature work.

73–75. **All Springs reduce their currents . . . drowne the World**] JOHNSON: That I may live hereafter under the influence of the moon, which governs the tides, and by the help of that influence drown the world. The introduction of the moon is not very natural.—STEEVENS: The same thought has already occurred in *1 Hen. IV:* 'being governed, as the sea is, by our noble and chaste mistress the moon.' [I, ii, 32. The First Quarto of *1 Hen. IV.* is dated 1598, one year later than the present play. In the Folio, of course, *1 Hen. IV.* precedes *Rich. III.;* it was doubtless this which caused this venial error on the part of STEEVENS.—ED.]—WRIGHT: The figure is extravagant enough; . . . and the introduction of the moon does not help [it] at all, unless we suppose that the Queen desires to find a period to her sorrows in madness, when, like the sea to which she compares herself, she would be subject to the influence of the moon.—VAUGHAN (iii, p. 55): Queen Elizabeth says: 'All streams empty themselves into the ocean of mine eyes, so that, as I am under the government of the moon, the moon converts this body of water into tides which deluge the world.' This assertion is always mistaken for a prayer.—WORDSWORTH (*Hist. Plays*, p. 328): This passage is one which I have allowed to remain in the text, but not, I must confess, without reluctance. The bombast is excessive. If this play had been subjected to the author's revision, it is inconceivable that he should have suffered these three lines to remain as they stand. [Both MARSHALL and TAWNEY think that the phrase, 'governed by the watery moon,' does not refer merely to the fact that the moon governs the tides, but quote several passages from other plays of Shakespeare wherein the watery nature of the moon is mentioned. May we not ascribe, however, to the Queen's words an astrological reference? Lilly says (p. 50), Chapter xi: '*Of the Moon, her properties and significations*—She is a feminine, nocturnal planet; cold, moist and phlegmatic . . . She signifies queens, countesses, ladies, all manner of women,' etc. It is not possible to assert that Shakespeare had in mind this latter signification in regard to Queens, countesses, etc., but who can say? For a somewhat similar figure compare Watson, *Hecatompathia, Sonnet lxi:* 'If *Neptunes* waues were all dride vp and gone, My weeping eyes so many teares distill, That greater Seas might grow by them alone.'—Arber's *Reprint*, p. 97.—ED.]

76–84. **Ah, for my . . . a losse**] HALLIWELL: This dialogue may be compared with the following, in the play, *Soliman and Perseda*, 1592: '*Lucina.* My friend

Chil. Ah for our Father, for our deere Lord *Clarence.*
Dut. Alas for both, both mine *Edward* and *Clarence.*
Qu. What ſtay had I but *Edward,* and hee's gone?
Chil. What ſtay had we but *Clarence?* and he's gone.
Dut. What ſtayes had I, but they? and they are gone.
Qu. Was neuer widdow had ſo deere a loſſe.
Chil. Were neuer Orphans had ſo deere a loſſe.
Dut. Was neuer Mother had ſo deere a loſſe.
Alas! I am the Mother of theſe Greefes,
Their woes are parcell'd, mine is generall.
She for an *Edward* weepes, and ſo do I:
I for a *Clarence* weepes, ſo doth not ſhee:

77, 80, 83. Chil.] Ambo. Qq (subs.)
78. Clarence] *my Clarence* Long MS ap. Cam.
79, 80. *hee's...he's*] *he is...he is* Qq. (*is he* Q_6Q_7).
79. *gone?*] *gone:* Q_5.
80. Clarence? ... *gone.*] *Clarence,* ... *gone?* Qq.
81. *they?...gone.*] *they, ...gone?* Qq.
82. *neuer*] *euer* Q_4.
83. *Were*] *Was* Qq.
neuer] *euer* Q_{2-8}.
ſo deere a] *a dearer* Q_{1-6}.
84. *neuer*] *euer* Q_{2-8}.
ſo deere a] *a dearer* Qq.
85. *Greefes*] *mones* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *Griefs* F_3F_4 et cet.
86. *is*] Ff, Rowe. *are* Qq et cet.
87. *an*] Om. Qq.

---

is gone and I am desolate. *Perseda.* My friend is gone and I am desolate:—Return him back, fair stars, or let me die. *Lucina.* Return him back, fair heav'ns, or let me die; For what was he but comfort of my life? *Perseda.* For what was he but comfort of my life?' [Striking as is the parallelism of the foregoing lines to the present dialogue, further transcription—there are eight lines more in the same form—is, I think, unnecessary. GERVINUS (i, 359) says: 'In the scenes where the lamentation of the women (II, ii; and IV, iii) alternates like a chorus, dramatic truth is sacrificed to the lyric or epic form, and to conceits in the style of the pastoral Italian poetry. These scenes call to mind the passages in *3 Hen. VI:* II, v, where the murderers of father and son lament over the slain. The form of these scenes, stichomythia, is borrowed from the ancient drama, of which the early plays of Shakespeare repeatedly remind us.'—ED.]

85. **the Mother of these Greefes]** MOULTON (p. 112): The Duchess of York is, by her years and position, the representative of the whole house; the factions who, in the play, successively triumph and fall are all descended from herself.

86. **Their woes are parcell'd]** WRIGHT: That is, divided among them severally; mine are general and include them all. There is a reference to the old division of land, part of which was 'parcelled' out among individuals, and the rest was held in common by the community. The same idea occurs in *Macbeth:* 'What concern they? The general cause? or is it a fee grief Due to some single breast,' IV, iii, 196. [Compare also Chapman's Homer, *Odyssey:* 'And what, my young Ulyssean heroë Provok'd thee on thee broad back of the sea, To visit Lacedæmon the divine? Speak truth some public good or only thine?'—Bk, iv, ll 420–424.—ED.]

Theſe Babes for *Clarence* weepe, * and ſo do I:
* I for an *Edward* weepe *, ſo do not they.
Alas! you three, on me threefold diſtreſt:
Power all your teares, I am your ſorrowes Nurſe,
And I will pamper it with Lamentation.
Dor. Comfort deere Mother, God is much diſpleas'd,
That you take with vnthankfulneſſe his doing.
In common worldly things, 'tis call'd vngratefull,
With dull vnwillingneſſe to repay a debt,
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent:
Much more to be thus oppoſite with heauen,

89, 90. ** and ſo...weepe **] Qq, Var. '78 et seq. Om. F_2Ff, Rowe.
90. *I for...not they*] Om. Pope,+.
weepe] Om. Q_4.
ſo do not] *ſo doe* $Q_2Q_3Q_5$. *and ſo do* Q_4.
91. *threefold diſtreſt*] *threefold-distrest* Theob. ii, Warb. Johns.
92. *Power*] *Proue* Q_2. *Pour* F_3F_4.
your teares] *yours teares* F_2.
93. *Lamentation*] *lamentations* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
94–105. Dor. *Comfort... Throne*] Om. Qq.

89, 90. **These Babes . . . so do not they**] MALONE: [See *Text. Notes.*] In the MS from which the Folio was printed, or in a corrected Quarto copy, these two lines undoubtedly were right; but the compositor's eye passing over two half lines, the passage was thus printed in the Folio in one line. . . . [This] confirms an observation that I have more than once had occasion to make in revising these plays: that there is reason to suspect that many of the difficulties in our author's works have arisen from the omission of either single words, single lines, or the latter half of one line with the half of the next; a solution which readers are very slow to admit, and generally consider as chimerical. One week's acquaintance with the business of the press (without those proofs which a collation of the Quartos with each other and with the first Folio affords) would soon convince them that my supposition is not a mere offspring of the imagination. In the plays of which there is no authentic copy but the first Folio, there is no means of *proving* such omissions to have happened; but the present and other proofs of their having actually happened in the other plays lay surely a reasonable ground for conjecturing that similar errors have happened in those pieces of which there is only a single ancient copy extant, and entitle such conjectures to indulgence. [An error similar to that in the present line in the Folio occurs in *Macbeth*, I, vii. The first Folio thus prints the lines: '—we but teach Bloody Instructions, which being taught returne To plague th' Inuenter, This euenhanded Iuſtice Commends th' Ingredience of our poyſon'd Challice To our owne lips.' The Second Folio omits the words 'th' Inuenter, This euenhanded Iuſtice Commends,' and this error is repeated by the other Folios and by Rowe.—ED.]

94–105. **Dor. Comfort . . . Throne**] WRIGHT: These two speeches are found in the Folios only. They could well be spared, even in this scene. [See *Appendix:* Pickersgill on the *Text.*]

For it requires the Royall debt it lent you.
Riuers. Madam, bethinke you like a carefull Mother
Of the young Prince your ſonne: ſend ſtraight for him,
Let him be Crown'd, in him your comfort liues.
Drowne deſperate ſorrow in dead *Edwards* graue,
And plant your ioyes in liuing *Edwards* Throne.

Enter Richard, Buckingham, Derbie, Haſtings, and Ratcliffe.

Rich. Siſter haue comfort, all of vs haue cauſe
To waile the dimming of our ſhining Starre:
But none can helpe our harmes by wayling them.
Madam, my Mother, I do cry you mercie,
I did not ſee your Grace. Humbly on my knee,
I craue your Bleſſing.

95. *you...vnthankfulneſſe*] *with unthankfulness you take* Pope, +.
104, 105. Edwards] Edward's F_3F_4.
105, 106. *Throne.* Enter...] *throne.* SCENE III. Enter... Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.
106, 107. ... Richard ... Ratcliffe.] Gloſter with others. (Gloceſt. Q_1Q_2.)
106. Derbie] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cam. + (subs.) Stanley Theob. et cet.
108. *Siſter*] *Madame* Qq, Cam. +.
110. *helpe our*] *cure their* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +.
112. *your Grace. Humbly*] *your Grace, humbly* Qq. *you: Humbly* Cap.

108. **Sister**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 151): Gloucester thus addresses his sister-in-law for the first time since the death of her husband, in order, by this hypocritical mask of friendship, to inspire her with a confidence in his pretended change of feeling. But the anonymous corrector of the Quarto has quite missed this point in making him here use the prosaic address, *Madam*.—WRIGHT: The Folios make Gloucester fulfil his promise to Clarence of calling her 'sister.' See I, i, 118. The appearance of Gloucester in this scene is unhistorical. He was in the north when he received the news of his brother's death. See Hall's *Chronicle, Edward V.*, p. 347.

110. **helpe**] For other examples of 'help' in the sense of *to remedy, to change for the better*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.* 2).

112, 113. **Humbly ... Blessing**] WORDSWORTH (*Sh. Knowledge*, etc., p. 171): I doubt not that the pious practice of children receiving benedictions from their parents—a practice common in our poet's time—was observed in his own family. That such must have been the case we may not unreasonably infer from his frequent mention of it, and from the easy natural manner in which it is introduced. Let me produce a few examples in illustration of the custom from other sources. In the *Life of Sir Thomas More*, published in the late Dr Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, we read: 'Towards his father he gave many proofs of his natural affection and lowly mind. Whensoever he passed through Westminster to his place in the Chancery . . . he would go to him [in the Court of King's Bench]

Dut. God bleſſe thee, and put meeknes in thy breaſt,
Loue Charity, Obedience, and true Dutie.
Rich. Amen, and make me die a good old man,
That is the butt-end of a Mothers bleſſing;
I maruell that her Grace did leaue it out.

114. *meeknes*] *meekenes* $Q_1Q_2Q_4$. *meekness* F_3F_4 et seq.
breaſt] *mind* Qq, Cam.+.
116–118. *Amen,...it out*] Aside. Han. Cap. Knt, Cam.+, Ktly.
and make...it out] Aside. Coll. Sta. Wh. i.
116. *and make me die*] *make me die* Q_5. *make me to die* Q_7Q_8.
117, 118. *That is...it out*] Aside. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce.
117. *That is*] *Thats* Qq.
butt-end] *butt end* Qq, Rowe,+.
a] *my* Q_{2-8}.
118. *that*] *why* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
out.] *out?* Q_{2-8}.

and reverently kneeling down in sight of all, ask him his blessing. This virtuous custom he always solemnly observed; tho' then men after their marriages thought themselves not bound to these duties of younger folks.' Stapleton, in his *Tres Thomæ* (*Eccl. Biog.*, ii, 73) bears witness to the same fact, and in recording it speaks of the practice as *peculiar to the English people*. We are told of Nicholas Ferrar, born 1592, that when he was twenty-seven years old, and his mother came to visit him at Little Gidding, 'though he was of that age, and had been engaged in many public concerns of great importance . . . at first approaching his mother, he knelt upon the ground to receive her blessing'; and he kept up the same practice in his own family; as did also Philip Henry, who died in 1696: so that we have evidence of the existence of the custom during two centuries (*op. cit.*, iv, 173, 181). Bishop Sanderson, 1657, mentions it (*Works*, ii, 35) as one of the observances which, in that disordered and distempered time, were cried down as 'rags of popery.' And there can be no doubt that during the Cromwellian usurpation our old English manners suffered not a little, and 'many practices which were themselves part and instruments of piety, were exploded and lost by being branded under that odious name' (*Eccl. Biog.*, iv, 180). [As other examples, in Shakespeare, where a blessing is asked of a parent, Wordsworth quotes, with comments, the following: *Coriol.*, II, i, 184–188; *Cymb.*, IV, iv, 43, 44; V, v, 266; *Tit. And.*, I, i, 161–164; *Lear*, III, ii, 12; IV, vii, 57, 58; V, iii, 10, 11; *Two Gent.*, II, iii, 27; *Hamlet*, III, iv, 170–172.]—GAIRDNER (p. 238) quotes a letter from Richard to the Duchess of York, dated from Pomfret, June 3d, 1484, in which, among other things, Richard says: 'I recommend me to you as heartily as is to me possible. Beseeching you in my most humble and affectuous wise of your daily blessing, to my singular comfort and defence in my need.' Gairdner then adds: 'The apologists of Richard have called attention to the "respectful terms" in which this letter is couched, and have found evidence therein of "filial deference," "confiding tenderness," and other qualities quite inconceivable in one who defamed his mother for his own selfish purposes. As well might the subscription "your humble servant" in the present day be quoted in proof of the deep Christian humility of the writer. Filial respect was quite as conventional a thing in the fifteenth century as taking off one's hat to a lady in the street. The terms used were strictly prescribed by custom. The demand for the parent's blessing was a simple matter of course, which every son, in writing to his father or mother, expressed in precisely similar terms.'

Buc. You clowdy-Princes, & hart-ſorowing-Peeres,
That beare this heauie mutuall loade of Moane,
Now cheere each other, in each others Loue:
Though we haue ſpent our Harueſt of this King,
We are to reape the Harueſt of his Sonne.
The broken rancour of your high-ſwolne hates,
But lately ſplinter'd, knit, and ioyn'd together,
Muſt gently be preſeru'd, cheriſht. and kept:

119. *clowdy-Princes*] F_2F_3. *cloudy--Princeſs* F_4. *cloudy princes* Qq et cet.
hart-ſorowing-Peeres] *hart ſorrowing peeres* Q_{3-8}. *heart-sorrowing peers* Rowe et seq.

120. *heauie mutuall*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Rlfe. *mutuall heauie* Qq et cet.

122. *of*] *for* Q_{2-8}.

124. *rancour*] *concord* Bailey.

124. *high-ſwolne hates*] Ff, +, Knt, Coll. Hal. *high ſwolne hearts* Qq et cet. (subs.)

125. *lately*] *laſtly* Q_7Q_8.
ſplinter'd] Rowe, +, Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. *ſplinterd* Q_1. *ſplintred* F_2F_3. *ſplintr'd* F_4. *ſplinted* Q_{2-8} et cet.

126. *gently*] *greatly* Q_{2-8}.

116, 117. **die a good old man . . . butt-end of a Mothers blessing**] Can total depravity be conveyed more completely than by this bitter, bitter sneer at—that than which what is holier?—a mother's prayer? Nothing that Richard ever does or ever says seems to me so utterly base as this. The contempt involved in 'butt-end' is the crowning cynicism which would fain smirch the very memories of bed-time prayers at a mother's knee.—ED.

119. **clowdy**] For other examples of this figurative use of 'cloudy' for *sullen, moody*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

124–126. **The broken rancour . . . cherisht. and kept**] M. MASON: As this passage stands, it is the rancour of their hearts that is to be preserved and cherished. But we must not attempt to amend this mistake, as it seems to proceed from the inadvertency of Shakespeare himself.—MALONE: Their broken *rancour* recently *splinted* and *knit*, the poet considers as a *new league of amity and concord;* and this it is that Buckingham exhorts them to preserve.—WRIGHT: 'The broken rancour' must properly mean *the breach* caused by 'rancour.'—R. G. WHITE (ed. ii): Confusion and nonsense, resulting from reckless writing. The meaning is that good will, the result of the breaking of the rancour, must be preserved.—VAUGHAN (iii, 56): No explanation of the Quarto reading is satisfactory, nor does the Folio amendment cure the difficulty, for if the breaking-up of the 'hates' is to be preserved, then the splinting and knitting together of such breaking-up is quite out of place, tending as it does to counteract that breaking-up. Besides this, 'broken rancour' is in the very next speech called 'the wound of malice,' which ought not to break out. I would interpret the Quarto lines thus: The broken and rancorous place in your swoln hearts, made such by the rupture between you, and but recently closed up and splinted by your reconciliation, is to be kept most studiously in its present knit and united condition. . . . 'Rancour' and not 'hearts' is assuredly the subject of 'must be preserved.'—DYCE: Richardson (*Dict. s. v. Splint*) remarks that in the present line 'splinter'd is by more [most?] editors altered to *splinted*';

Me ſeemeth good, that with ſome little Traine,
Forthwith from Ludlow, the young Prince be ſet
Hither to London, to be crown'd our King.
Riuers. Why with ſome little Traine,
My Lord of Buckingham?
Buc. Marrie my Lord, leaſt by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of Malice ſhould breake out,
Which would be ſo much the more dangerous,

128. *ſet*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i. *ſetcht* Qq, Pope, Theob. i. *fetch'd* Theob. ii et cet.

130–148. Riuers. *Why...ſay I.*] Om. Qq.

130, 131. As one line, Pope et seq.

but they had the authority of the Qq for the alteration. I adhere to the spelling of the Folio, because in *Othello*, II, iii, we have: 'This broken joint, between you and her husband, entreat her to splinter.'

128. **Ludlow, the young Prince**] 'As sone as the king was departed, the noble prince his sonne drew toward London, which at the time of his decease, kept his hous-hold at Ludlow in wales. Which countrey being far of from the law and recourse to iustice, was begon to be farre oute of good wyll and waxen wild, robbers and riuers walking at libertie vncorrected. And for this encheason the prince was in the life of his father sente thither, to the end that the authoritie of his presence, should refraine euill disposed parsons fro the boldnes of their formar outrages, to the gouernaunce and ordering of this yong prince at his sending thyther, was there appointed sir Antony Woduile Lord Riuers,' More, p. 18. [Ludlow Castle must ever hold a cherished place in memory; who can ever forget that there *Comus* had its first representation?—ED.]

128. **fet**] WRIGHT: ''Fet' is the form both of the past tense and past participle in Early English. In the Authorised Version of 1611 'fet' occurs several times, but always for the preterite. For instance, in *2 Samuel*, ix, 5: 'Then King David sent, and fet him out of the house of Machir.' In the Geneva Version of *Deuteronomy*, xix, 12, it is found for the infinitive: 'Then the Elders of his citie shall send and fet him thence.' Shakespeare again uses it for the participle in *Hen. V:* III, i, 18: 'Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof.'

130–148. **Why with . . . I**] STAUNTON: These following eighteen lines, and some others omitted in the Quartos, are invariably assumed to be additions made to the play subsequent to the publication of the early quartos. We must express our dissent to this postulate; and must add that, in the present instance, as in another, —IV, iv, where, in one speech, there are no less than fifty-five lines not found in the Quartos,—not only is there no indication whatever of interpolation, but the lines supposed to be added appear, to us at least, absolutely essential to the integrity of the dialogue.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 135): This omission by the anonymous corrector of the Quarto is inexplicable. The bystanders, as well as the audience, would assuredly desire to know why the young king should be so meanly attended. The Quarto, by making Richard reply, 'Then be it so,' renders Buckingham's speech merely the statement of a self-evident fact. [See *Appendix*, Pickersgill, on the *Text*.]

By how much the eſtate is greene, and yet vngouern'd.
Where euery Horſe beares his commanding Reine,
And may direct his courſe as pleaſe himſelfe,
As well the feare of harme, as harme apparant,
In my opinion, ought to be preuented.
Rich. I hope the King made peace with all of vs,
And the compact is firme, and true in me.
Riu. And ſo in me, and ſo (I thinke) in all.
Yet ſince it is but greene, it ſhould be put

135. *eſtate is*] *state's* Walker (Crit. iii, 72), Dyce ii, iii, Marshall. *greene, and*] Om. Pope, +, Cap.
137. *pleaſe*] *it please* Ktly.
137, 138. *himſelfe, As*] *himself. As* Vaughan (iii, 58).
140. Rich.] Riv. Long MS ap. Cam.
142. Riu.] Stan. Hanmer. Has. Capell, Hudson. Rich. Long MS ap. Cam.

135. **the estate is greene, and yet vngouern'd**] For a similar use of this phrase compare: 'The King was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm,' Bacon, *History of King Henry VII.*, p. 21, *Works*, vol. v.—ED.

137. **as please himselfe**] For other examples of 'please' used impersonally see WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 206. ABBOTT (§ 367) regards 'please' here as the subjunctive used indefinitely after the relative.

138. **harme apparant**] ABBOTT (§ 419 (4).): Though it may be generally said that when the noun is unemphatic, and the adjective is not a mere epithet but essential to the sense, the transposition of the adjective may be expected, yet it is probable that the influence of the French idiom made this transposition especially common in the case of some words derived from the French. Compare: 'Of antres vast and deserts idle,' *Othello*, I, iii, 140; 'By Providence divine,' *Tempest*, I, ii, 158.

141. **compact**] WRIGHT: Accented on the last syllable, as it is everywhere else in Shakespeare except *1 Hen. VI:* V, iv, 163: 'And therefore take this compact of a truce.'

142. **Riu. And . . . me**] CAPELL (ii, 179): This speech, with some others on each side of it, appear'd first in the Folio, whose printer has most unquestionably committed an error in prefixing '*Riu.*' to 't; and another as plain as that in the next speech, to which he prefixes '*Hast.*' The first speech cannot belong to any but one of Richard's confederates: two are upon the scene—Hastings and Buckingham; and a third who was more his friend than the Queen's: the speaker takes up Buckingham's argument, and unites with him actively; the other faintly assents in the speech following: now if those characters be consider'd to whom the speeches are now given [*Hastings; Stanley*, see *Text. Notes*], it will appear that *Hastings* has most pretensions to that which is most active, and not the tamer character Stanley.—MARSHALL: Perhaps the dramatist was right in allowing one of the Queen's party to consent to the arrangement proposed by Gloucester, as, of course, they were not supposed to have any suspicion that an attack was going to be made on the prince.

To no apparant likely-hood of breach,
Which haply by much company might be vrg'd :
Therefore I ſay with Noble Buckingham,
That it is meete ſo few ſhould fetch the Prince.
Haſt. And ſo ſay I.
Rich. Then be it ſo, and go we to determine
Who they ſhall be that ſtrait ſhall poſte to London.
Madam, and you my Siſter, will you go
To giue your cenſures in this buſineſſe. *Exeunt.*
Manet Buckingham, and Richard.

147. *ſo*] *but* Han.
148. Haſt.] Sta. Capell, Hudson.
150, 162. *London*] Ff, Rowe. *Ludlow* Qq et cet.
151. *Siſter*] *mother* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +.
152. *buſineſſe.*] *waightie buſineſſe.* Anſ. *With all our hearts.* Qq, Sta. Cam. + (subs.) *weighty business?* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Hal.
152, 153. Exeunt...Richard.] Exeunt all but Buckingham and Gloster. Mal. et seq.
153. Manet] Manent Ff.

144, 145. **likely-hood . . . Which haply . . . might be vrg'd**] SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v. urge. b.*): That is, might be spoken of in consequence of too great an attendance. [SCHMIDT gives numerous examples of 'urge,' in the sense of *to speak of, to mention*. The present play alone furnishes eight.—ED.]—TAWNEY: 'Which,' of course, refers to 'likelihood.' Rivers means to say that, if too large a number accompanied the prince, those who made the arrangements would lay themselves open to the charge of having done the very thing most likely to bring about a breach of the peace.

151. **Madam, and you my Sister**] DYCE here prefers the Quarto reading (see *Text. Notes*) since, 'throughout the present scene at least, Gloucester evidently keeps up towards the Queen an appearance of due respect,—which would be not a little violated if here he addressed *his mother first*.'—MARSHALL: There is no disrespect to the Queen (who was not, be it remembered, queen regnant) in Gloucester addressing his *mother*, who was much the older lady, first; and the use of the term 'sister' seems to be intentional, Richard's object being to inspire Elizabeth with confidence by seeming to treat her with a brother's affection, and not ceremoniously as a subject. [See note on 'sister,' l. 108, above.—ED.]

152. **censures**] That is, *opinions, counsels*.

152. **businesse**] Here to be pronounced, for the sake of the metre, as a trisyllable.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 18): [The omission, in the Folio, of the Quarto half line, 'With all our hearts,' is] by oversight, I presume. It cannot have been meant for correction.—PICKERSGILL (*op. cit.*, p. 89): One instance out of many of the Corrector's abhorrence of half lines. As the completion of them would involve too large a draft upon his inventive genius, he cuts the Gordian knot by leaving them out altogether.—MARSHALL: '*Ans.*' [in the Quarto] might have been a misprint for *Ambo;* but, dramatically speaking, it is much better that the Queen and Duchess should make their exit without saying anything.

Buc. My Lord, who euer iournies to the Prince,
For God ſake let not vs two ſtay at home:
For by the way, Ile ſort occaſion,
As Index to the ſtory we late talk'd of,
To part the Queenes proud Kindred from the Prince.
Rich. My other ſelfe, my Counſailes Conſiſtory,
My Oracle, My Prophet, my deere Coſin,
I, as a childe, will go by thy direction,
Toward London then, for wee'l not ſtay behinde. *Exeunt*

Scena Tertia.

154–162. Aside, Cap.
155. *God*] *Gods* QqF$_2$. *God's* F$_3$F$_4$ et seq.
ſtay at home] *ſtay behinde* Q$_1$, Cam.+. *be behinde* Q$_{2-8}$, Sta.
157. *late*] *lately* Q$_{2-8}$,F$_4$, Rowe.
158. *Queenes*] *Queen's* F$_3$F$_4$ et seq.
Prince] *king* Qq, Cam.+.
160, 161. *Prophet, my...direction,*] *prophet!—my...direction.* Theob. Warb.
et seq.
161. *I, as*] *I like* Qq. *I, like* Cam.+.
162. *wee'l*] *we will* Qq.
Exeunt.] Exeunt Ric. and Buc. last. Cap.
1. Scena Tertia.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE IV. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.
A Street near the Palace. Theob. et seq. (subs.)
1–54. Om. Coll. (MS).

157. **Index**] That is, *introduction, prelude.* Compare IV, iii, 88; and for other examples, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*).

158. **the Prince**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 151): Here again the anonymous corrector of the Quarto has seen fit to change the words of the poet. [See *Text. Notes.*] But Buckingham would have been the last to apply the royal title to the son of Edward who has heretofore been designated as 'the Prince' only, inasmuch as he had not yet been proclaimed King, or crowned.

159. **Consistory**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): † 1. A place where councillors meet, a council-chamber. (Almost always as a translation of the corresponding French or Latin word, and never applied to anything English.) [The present line quoted.] —DELIUS: In the poem *The Ghost of Richard III.* Richard says: 'My working head, my counsel's consistory Debates how I might reign, the princes living.' [*Shakspere Soc. Reprint*, p. 33.]

161. **I, as a childe, will go by thy direction**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: This from that arch-schemer, Richard, shows his subtle mode of making men's weaknesses subservient to his own views, since he affects to be guided by Buckingham's superior ability in craft and strategy, of which he knew him to be proud. See Buckingham's first speech in the dialogue between himself and Richard, Act III, sc. v.

1. **Scena Tertia.**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 469): Some of Shakespeare's most insignificant scenes abound with notable axioms and aphoristic wisdom. For example, lines 39–50. In this short and apparently unimportant scene the serene piety and resignation coming in contrast with the treasons and cruelty with which the whole argument of the drama is fraught, is conceived in the

Enter one Citizen at one doore, and another at the other.

1.*Cit.* Good morrow Neighbour, whether away ſo faſt?

2.*Cit.* I promiſe you, I ſcarſely know my ſelfe: Heare you the newes abroad?

1. Yes, that the King is dead.

2. Ill newes byrlady, ſeldome comes the better:

2, 3. one Citizen...the other.] two Citizens. Qq. two Citizens, meeting. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

4. *Good...Neighbour*] *Neighbor well met* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

6. *ſcarſely*] *hardly* Ff, Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Ran.

7. *Heare*] 1 *Heare* Qq, Sta.

8. 1. *Yes*] 2 *I* Qq. 2 Cit. *Ay* Sta. Cam.+.

that] Om. Ff, Rowe,+.

9. 2. *Ill*] 1 *Bad* Qq. 1 Cit. *Bad* Sta. Sec. Cit. *Bad* Cam.+.

byrlady] *birlady* Qq. *by'r lady* F_4 et seq.

the better] *better* Q_7Q_8. *a better* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Ran.

---

full spirit of Shakespeare's prevailing philosophy.—IRVING arranges certain lines from this scene to follow continuously the dialogue in II, i, and changes the interlocutors from First, Second, and Third Citizens to Hastings, Stanley, Buckingham, and Gloucester, thus: '*Hast.* I fear the king will die! *Stan.* God help the while. *Buck.* Woe to the land that's govern'd by a child! *Glo.* Come, come, we fear the worst: all will be well. *Buck.* All may be well; but if Heaven sort it so, 'Tis more than I expect. *Glo.* Come, let us go, To comfort Edward with our company. [*Exeunt. Enter* Catesby, *meeting* Cardinal.] *Cate.* Whither away? *Card.* The King is dead. *Cate.* God help the while.' Criticism of an arrangement by one who has shown himself such a master in stage-management, must be offered with hesitation; but it may be questioned whether this complete change in construction has not destroyed the only necessity for any of the dialogue? As shown in the foregoing note by COWDEN-CLARKE, this whole scene is intended to reflect the attitude of the common people towards the death of the king, and the consequent changes. The speeches assigned to each of these three Citizens, as WEBB justly points out, are characteristic of three types of men: 'the First,' he says, 'is of a hopeful temperament, while the Third is just as sure that trouble is at hand. The Second knows not what to think. He hopes for the best but has his doubts.' The hopeful tone of the First Citizen's remarks is, I think, an indication that Shakespeare intended him to be a young man; the Second's doubtful utterances are, possibly, those of middle age, while the Third is an old man full of wise saws and modern instances. To the last are assigned the longer speeches, and it is the second beginning: 'When clouds are seen,' etc., that silences completely the First Citizen, at the same time winning the Second to the older man's view of evil times at hand. —ED.

9. **seldome comes the better**] REED: A proverbial saying, taken notice of in the *English Courtier and Country Gentleman*, 1586, sign, B: '—as the proverbe sayth, seldome come the better. *Val.* That proverb indeed is auncient, and for the most part true.'—MALONE: This passage, quoted by Reed, proves that there

I feare, I feare, 'twill proue a giddy world.

Enter another Citizen.

3. Neighbours, God ſpeed.
1. Giue you good morrow ſir.
3. Doth the newes hold of good king *Edwards* death?
2. I ſir, it is too true, God helpe the while.
3. Then Maſters looke to ſee a troublous world.
1. No, no, by Gods good grace, his Son ſhall reigne.
3. Woe to that Land that's gouern'd by a Childe.
2. In him there is a hope of Gouernment,

Which in his nonage, counſell vnder him,

10. *giddy*] *troublous* Q_1, Cam.+. *troubleſome* Q_{2-6}.

12, 13. *Neighbours...ſir*] *Good morrow neighbors* Qq, Sta.

14. *the*] *this* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

15. 2. *I ſir...while.*] 1 *It doth* Qq. 1 Cit. *Ay, ſir...while.* Sta.

16. *troublous*] *troubleſome* Q_8.

17. *good*] Om. Q_{2-6}.

20. *Which*] Ff,+, Dyce, Sta. Huds. Ktly. *With* Coll. (MS). *That* Qq et cet.

nonage] *Non-age* F_4, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb.

---

is no corruption in the text; and shows how very dangerous it is to disturb our author's phraseology merely because it is not familiar to our ears at present. [See *Text. Notes.*]—WRIGHT: This proverbial expression occurs in Heywood's *Three Hundred Epigrammes, vpon three hundred prouerbes*, 1562, 111 (*Spens. Soc.*, p. 144): '*The better cumth seldome.* Séeldome cumth the better, come or go who will, One nayle driueth out an other, wée se still.' [It is also given in Ray's *Proverbs*, p. 130. For the use of 'better' used as a noun, and opposed to the *worse*, ABBOTT (§ 92) compares the French proverb, 'Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien.'—ED.]

15. **God helpe the while**] For other examples of this use of 'while,' see ABBOTT, § 137.

18. **Woe . . . Childe**] STEEVENS: 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child.'—*Ecclesiastes*, x, 16.—WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s Knowledge*, etc.): That it is an unhappy thing for a country when its king is under age is a thought which might occur to many minds; but that the thought should be expressed in words so precisely parallel could not have happened without actual contact of the mind of the one writer with the mind of the other. Among the countless marvels of Shakespeare'e mind it is not the least remarkable that he appears equally at home in regard to matters that must have been alien from his own experience and to those that came within it.—WRIGHT: This text is quoted again by Buckingham in his speech at the Guildhall, 'Wo to that realme whose kyng is a child' (Hall, p. 371), and in his conversation with Morton, Bishop of Ely, 'I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorye, that often ruithe the realme, where chyldren rule, and women gouerne' (*ibid.*, p. 386). [Is it not possible that the use of this phrase by the Chronicler prompted Shakespeare to its present application quite as much as the verse in *Ecclesiastes*?—ED.]

20–22. **Which in his nonage . . . till then gouerne well**] JOHNSON: The word 'which' has no antecedent, nor can the sense or connection be restored by any

And in his full and ripened yeares, himſelfe
No doubt ſhall then, and till then gouerne well.
1. So ſtood the State, when *Henry* the ſixt
Was crown'd in Paris, but at nine months old.
3. Stood the State ſo? No, no, good friends, God wot
For then this Land was famouſly enrich'd
With politike graue Counſell; then the King
Had vertuous Vnkles to protect his Grace.
1. Why ſo hath this, both by his Father and Mother.
3. Better it were they all came by his Father:
Or by his Father there were none at all:
For emulation, who ſhall now be neereſt,
Will touch vs all too neere, if God preuent not.
O full of danger is the Duke of Glouſter,

23. Henry] *Harry* Qq. *Henery* Ktly.
24. *in*] *at* Qq.
nine] *ix.* Q_1. *xi.* Q_2.
25. *No, no...wot*] *no good my friend not ſo*, Qq.
26. *this*] *our* Q_3.
27. *With*] *Which* F_4.
29. 1. *Why ſo*] 2 *So* Qq.
29, 30, 31. *his*] *the* Qq, Cam. +.
32. *who ſhall now*] *now, who ſhall* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +, Ktly, Huds.
33. *Will*] *Which* Q_{2-8}.

---

change. I believe a line to be lost, in which some mention was made of the *land* or the *people*.—MALONE: I suspect that one was rather omitted after this line. Neither Folio nor Quarto reading affords a very clear sense.—BOSWELL: I see no difficulty. We may hope well of his government under all circumstances: we may hope this of his council while he is in his nonage, and of himself in his riper years.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 18): 'Which in his non-age counsel under him [May execute by his authority:] would make the sentence intelligible and grammatical; though it does not, to my ear, quite suit the turn of the words. The 'and till then' in line 22 stands in the way.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 90): Why should it be supposed that a line is omitted here? The construction is awkward certainly, but it is complete, and quite Shakespearean. . . . The corrector, however, by changing *that* to 'which,' showed that he did not understand the construction of the passage, and betrayed himself to be *not* the author. [PICKERSGILL adopts the foregoing explanation by BOSWELL.]

20. **nonage**] WRIGHT: That is, *minority*. Cotgrave has: '*Pupilarité:* f. Nonnage.'

23, 24. **Henry the sixt . . . at nine months old**] WEBB: During the long minority of Henry VI. England was, through the Royal Council, governed by the Bishop of Winchester, an uncle of the late king: while the French conquests and the prosecution of the war, . . . were vested in the hands of the child-king's uncles, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, the 'virtuous uncles' of l. 28.

23. **Henry**] WRIGHT: 'Henry' must here be a trisyllable.

And the Queenes Sons, and Brothers, haught and proud:
And were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
This ſickly Land, might ſolace as before.
1. Come, come, we feare the worſt: all will be well.
3. When Clouds are ſeen, wiſemen put on their clokes;
When great leaues fall, then Winter is at hand;
When the Sun ſets, who doth not looke for night?
Vntimely ſtormes, makes men expect a Dearth:
All may be well; but if God ſort it ſo,
'Tis more then we deſerue, or I expect.
2. Truly, the hearts of men are full of feare:
You cannot reaſon (almoſt) with a man,
That lookes not heauily, and full of dread.
3. Before the dayes of Change, ſtill is it ſo,
By a diuine inſtinct, mens mindes miſtruſt

35. *Sons, and Brothers, haught and*] *kindred hautie and* Qq. *sons and brothers haughty* Pope, +. *sons and brothers haughty and* Var.'73. *kindred hautie are and* Cap. conj.
36. *to rule*] *rule* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
38. 1. *Come*] 2. *Come* Cap. conj.
will be] *ſhall be* Qq, Cam. +. (*ſhalbe* Q_1Q_2.)
39. *are ſeen*] *appeare* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
40. *then*] *the* Qq, Cam. +.
42. *makes*] *make* Q_{1-7}, Ff.
42. *Dearth*] *darth* Q_1.
43. *may*] *men* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
45. 2.] 1 Qq.
hearts] *ſoules* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
feare] *bread* Q_1Q_2. *dread* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
46. *You*] *Ye* Qq, Cam. +. (*Yea* Q_7Q_8.)
reaſon (*almoſt*)] *almoſt reaſon* Qq, Cam. +.
47. *heauily*] *heauy* Q_7Q_8.
dread] *feare* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
48. *dayes*] *times* Q_{1-6}, Sta. Cam. +.

---

35. **haught**] WRIGHT: That is, *haughty*. Compare 'Clifford and the haught Northumberland,' *3 Hen. VI:* II, i, 169. [Also *Rich. II:* IV, i, 254: 'No Lord of thine, thou haught, insulting man.']

36. **And were they to be rul'd**] ABBOTT (§ 105): Here, at first sight, *but* seems required instead of 'and.' But 'and were they' means *if indeed they were*. (Compare 'And if they live I hope I need not fear,' III, ii, 165.)

37. **solace**] That is, *be happy, take delight;* compare 'One thing to rejoice, and solace in,' *Rom. & Jul.*, IV, v, 47; also *Cymb.*, I, vi, 86.

42. **makes**] For other examples of the third person plural in *s*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

46. **You cannot reason (almost)**] Compare 'Would you imagine or almost believe,' III, v, 40.

46. **reason**] See I, iv, 157.

49. **instinct**] To be pronounced, through Latin influence, with the accent on the second syllable; compare 'Háth, by instínct, knówledge from óther's eyes.' —*2 Hen. IV:* I, i, 86, or see ABBOTT, § 490.

Purſuing danger : as by proofe we ſee
The Water ſwell before a boyſt'rous ſtorme :
But leaue it all to God. Whither away ?
2 Marry we were ſent for to the Iuſtices.
3 And ſo was I : Ile beare you company. *Exeunt.*

50. *Purſuing danger*] Ff, Rowe,Coll. Ktly. *Enſuing dangers* Qq, Cam.+. *Ensuing danger* Pope et cet.
51. *Water*] *waters* Qq, Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '73, Sta. Cam.+.
52. *God.*] *God:* Qq. *God,* Ff.
53. *Marry we were...Iuſtices*] *We are ...Iuſtice.* Qq. *Marry we were...justice's* Anon. ap. Cam.
54. *Ile*] *I'le* F_4.

49–51. **mens mindes mistrust . . . before a boyst'rous storme**] TOLLET notes that this simile is taken from Holinshed: '—before such great things, mens hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgiue them; as the sea without wind swelleth of himselfe sometime before a tempest.'—iii, p. 271. This passage, WRIGHT remarks, is not original with Holinshed, but is taken almost *verbatim* from More's *Richard the Third* (p. 66); Hall also copies this passage, but instead of 'the sea without wind' he substitutes 'the south wynde.' TAWNEY refers to Bacon: 'And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states.'—*Essay* xv, *Of Seditions and Troubles.* As this *Essay* first appeared in the edition of 1625 it is possible that this simile was suggested by the present passage in Shakespeare. Bacon (*Historia Ventorum*, published in 1622) says: 'Si mare silentio intumescat, et intra portum altius solito insurgat, aut aestus ad littora celerius solito accedat, ventos praenunciat.'—*Prognostica Ventorum*, § 63. Thus showing that this peculiar action of the sea was a matter of not unfamiliar observation. As regards the passage from Holinshed and More, referred to by Tollet and by Wright, CUNLIFFE (p. 77) compares it to: 'Mittet luctûs signa futuri Mens ante, sui præsaga mali. Instat nautis fera tempestas, Cum sine vento tranquilla tument.'—Seneca, *Thyestes*, 961–4. This passage Jasper Heywood thus translates: 'For sorrow sendes (in signe that woes draw nie). The mind that wots before of after yll. The sturdy storms the shipmen over lye, When voyd of wynd thasswaged seas do rest.'—*Seneca, his Tenne Tragedies*, etc., 1581, p. 36, *verso*. CHURCHILL (p. 127) justly remarks that whatever Senecan influence there is, it is exerted on More not Shakespeare.—ED.

50. **Pursuing**] WRIGHT: The Folios read 'pursuing danger,' although in F_1 the catchword on the previous page is 'ensuing.'

52. **But leaue it all to God**] MRS GRIFFITHS (p. 315): Nothing can demonstrate the investigating faculties of Shakespeare more than [the foregoing scene]. He never lived in any times of commotion himself, therefore the particular knowledge he there shows, in the general nature of such a crisis, must be owing more to philosophy than experience; rather to his own reflection, than any knowledge of history. I speak with regard to the English writers only on such subjects; who were all, before his time, most barren of observation and maxim. And as to the Greek and Roman historiographers, who were rich in both, the invidious Commentators of our Poet have denied him any manner of acquaintance with such *outlandish literati;* and I . . . have *joined issue* with them in this particular. For learning gives no talents, but only supplies the faculty of showing them; and this he could do, without any foreign assistance.

Scena Quarta.

Enter Arch-biſhop ,yong Yorke, the Queene, and the Dutcheſſe.

Arch. Laſt night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford,
And at Northampton they do reſt to night: 5

1. Scena Quarta.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE v. Pope,+ (−Var. '73).
The Same. A Room in the Palace. Cap.

2, 3. Arch-biſhop...Dutcheſſe.] Cardinall, Dutches of Yorke, Qu. young Yorke. Qq. (Quee, Q_1Q_2). the Archbishop of York, the young Duke of York, Queen Elizabeth, and the Duchess of York. Cam.+.

4. Arch.] Car. Qq (throughout).

4. *Laſt...lay*] *I heard they lay the last night* Pope,+.
heard] *heare* Q_1Q_2, Cap. Mal. Var. '21, Cam.+.
lay] *rested* Cap.

4, 5. *Stony Stratford...And...Northampton*] *Northampton...Stoniſtratford* Qq. *Northampton ... Stony-Stratford* Pope,+, Cap. Mal. Var. '21, Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

5. *they do reſt*] *will they be* Qq, Cam.+. *they do lye* Cap.

2. **Arch-bishop**] See *Dram. Person.*

4. **lay at Stony Stratford**] WRIGHT: The house is still shown where, tradition says, the young King lodged.

4, 5. **Stony Stratford . . . Northampton**] MALONE: An anonymous remarker, who appears not to have inspected a single Quarto copy of any of these plays, is much surprised that editors should presume to make such changes in the text [as in the Quarto], without authority, as he intimates, and assures us the Folio reading is right, the fact being that 'the prince and his company did in their way to London actually lye at Stony-Stratford one night, and were the next morning taken back by the Duke of Glocester to Northampton, where they lay the following night. See Hall, *Edw. V.*, fol. 6.' Shakespeare, it is clear, either forgot this circumstance, or did not think it worth attending to. According to the original copy in Quarto, at the time the Archbishop is speaking, the King had not reached Stony-Stratford, and consequently his being taken back to Northampton on the morning after he had been at Stratford, could not be in the author's contemplation. Shakespeare well knew that Stony-Stratford was nearer to London than Northampton; therefore in the Quarto the young king is made to sleep on one night at Northampton, and the Archbishop very naturally supposes that on the next night, that is, on the night of the day on which he is speaking, the king would reach Stony-Stratford. It is highly improbable that the editor of the Folio should have been apprized of the historical fact above stated; and much more likely that he made the alteration for the sake of improving the metre, regardless of any other circumstance. How little he attended to topography appears from a preceding scene, in which he makes Gloucester, though in London, talk of sending a messenger to that town, instead of Ludlow. [See II, ii, 149, 161.] By neither reading can the truth of history be preserved, and therefore we may be sure that Shakespeare did not mean, in this instance, to adhere to it. According to the Quarto reading, the scene

[4, 5. Stony Stratford . . . Northampton]

is on the day on which the King was journeying from Northampton to Stratford; and of course the Messenger's account of the peers being seized [lines 48–50], which was after the King had lain at Stratford, is inaccurate. If the Folio reading be adopted, the scene is, indeed, placed on the day on which the King was seized; but the Archbishop is supposed to be apprized of a fact which, *before the entry of the Messenger*, he manifestly does not know, and which Shakespeare did not intend he should appear to know; namely, the Duke of Gloucester's coming to Stratford the morning after the King had lain there, taking him forcibly back to Northampton, and seizing the Lords Rivers, Grey, [and Sir Thomas Vaughan]. The truth is, that the Queen herself, the person most materially interested in the welfare of her son, did not hear of the King's being carried back from Stratford to Northampton till about *midnight* of the day on which this violence was offered him by his uncle. (See Hall, *Edward V.*, fol. 6.) Historical truth being thus deviated from, we have a right to presume that Shakespeare, in this instance, did not mean to pay *any* attention to it, and that the reading furnished by the Quarto was that which came from his pen: nor is it possible that *he* could have made the alteration which the Folio exhibits, it being utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour and scope of the present scene. If the Archbishop had known that the young King was carried back to Northampton, he must also have known that the lords who accompanied him were sent to prison; and, instead of eagerly asking the Messenger, 'What is thy news?' l. 47 might have informed *him* of the whole transaction.—STEEVENS: Shakespeare does not always attend to the propriety of his own alterations. As historical truth must be violated whichever reading be chosen, I am content with such an arrangement as renders the versification smoothest. Where sense cannot claim a preference, a casting vote may be safely given in favour of sound. —SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 19): As the Prince was on his way from Ludlow to London, and Stony-Stratford is nearer to London than Northampton, the alteration has certainly very much the appearance of a correction made for the sake of the metre without consideration of the sense. . . . [The scene] is evidently derived, either directly, or indirectly through Hall, or Stowe from More. According to which, the Archbishop had been roused 'not long after midnight' by a messenger from Lord Hastings; '*of whom he heard* that these Dukes were *gone back* with the king's grace *from* Stony Stratford *unto* Northampton.' Upon which, he roused and armed his household, and taking the Great Seal with him, '*came yet before day unto the Queen.*' What he had 'heard' was what he had been told by Hastings's messenger: it was exactly what he said: and it was true. The Prince had lain at Stratford *last* night, and *to-night* (that is, the night not yet past, in which they were speaking) he was to rest at Northampton. In this case, therefore, the correction is clearly right, and the Quarto wrong. For it was not true either that they did lie at Northampton the night before, or that they were to be at Stony-Stratford that night, or that he had heard news to that effect; and it may be reasonably suspected that some one unto whose hands the MS of the *Quarto* passed on its way to the printer had noticed what his topographical knowledge assured him was a mistake, and, not being nice about metre, had introduced the correction, which Shakespeare in revising the play removed. The next line: 'Tomorrow or next day, they will be here,' is quite consistent. They were on their way to London; and though they had gone twelve miles back, and would therefore be so much later in arriving, there was no difficulty that need trouble a playgoer in

To morrow, or next day, they will be heere.
Dut. I long with all my heart to ſee the Prince:
I hope he is much growne ſince laſt I ſaw him.
Qu. But I heare no, they ſay my ſonne of Yorke
Ha's almoſt ouertane him in his growth.
Yorke. I Mother, but I would not haue it ſo.
Dut. Why my good Coſin, it is good to grow.

6. *they will*] *will they* Q_7Q_8.
9. *no*] *not* Pope, + (−Var. '73).
10. *Ha's*] F_2. *Has* F_3F_4, +, Varr. Ran. Steev. Var. '03, '13. *Hath* Qq et cet.
almoſt] Om. Q_{6-8}.
10. *ouertane*] *overtaken* Rowe. *over-ta'en* Pope et seq. (subs.)
his] Om. Q_7Q_8.
12. *good*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt. *young* Qq et cet. (subs.)
Coſin,] *Cousin?* Cap.

supposing that they might arrive within two days.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 90): I do not think that the coincidence of the Folio with the statement in Hall's Chronicle can fairly be regarded as *accidental*. I should say that Shakespeare, following Hall or More, gave these facts as he found them there; but it is clear that he did not remember at the moment that Stony Stratford is nearer to London than Northampton is, or he would certainly not have made the Archbishop announce the retrograde movement of the King's escort . . . without any explanation whatever. . . . [According to Spedding's view] the Archbishop announces the intelligence before he has himself received it! for the . . . Messenger arrives considerably later in the scene. The fact is, Shakespeare deviates a little from historical truth in order to attain dramatic effect: he makes the messenger arrive *during* the Archbishop's interview with the Queen, whereas, actually, it was the news the Messenger brought that led to the interview. It is necessary, therefore, to suppose that the Archbishop had obtained *from some other source* the intelligence which he announces at the outset. Then the drama is perfectly consistent with *itself*, although it is not consistent with history. My view with regard to the relation between the Folio and the Quarto here is this: the reading of the Folio is substantially what Shakespeare wrote, and it was the reading of the copy which the corrector revised: the latter may have altered an unimportant word or two, but he left the passage essentially as he found it. In the Quarto we have a deliberate alteration of the original reading, made, no doubt, to obviate the difficulty arising from the respective positions of Northampton and Stony Stratford with regard to London; but whether this alteration was made by Shakespeare, or by some one else, . . . there is not any evidence to show. Upon the whole, I regard this example as neutral, so far as concerns the question, was Shakespeare the corrector of the play?—DANIEL (p. xvii): The transposition of localities [as in the Quarto] has the additional advantage of agreement with the *intention* of the author as expressed in l. 6; and, whether it appear paradoxical or not, I should say that the slight sacrifice of rhythm involved in the change is another proof of the revision itself. Note, that we have here in the Folio, in l. 4, one of the numerous proofs that one of the later Quartos was used in preparing the Folio version for the press. The 'tell-tale' word 'heard' was derived from one of the [Q_{2-6}]—from Q_6, of course, according to my theory. [See *Appendix:* Daniel, on the *Text*.]

12. **good Cosin . . . good to grow**] This rather awkward repetition of 'good,'

Yor. Grandam, one night as we did ſit at Supper,
My Vnkle *Riuers* talk'd how I did grow
More then my Brother. I, quoth my Vnkle Glouſter,
Small Herbes haue grace, great Weeds do grow apace.
And ſince, me thinkes I would not grow ſo faſt,
Becauſe ſweet Flowres are ſlow, and Weeds make haſt.
Dut. Good faith, good faith, the ſaying did not hold
In him that did obiect the ſame to thee.
He was the wretched'ſt thing when he was yong,
So long a growing, and ſo leyſurely,
That if his rule were true, he ſhould be gracious.
Yor. And ſo no doubt he is, my gracious Madam.
Dut. I hope he is, but yet let Mothers doubt.
Yor. Now by my troth, if I had beene remembred,
I could haue giuen my Vnkles Grace, a flout,
To touch his growth, neerer then he toucht mine.

13. *Grandam*] *Granam* Q_{3-8}.
15. *Vnkle*] *Nnckle* Q_1.
16. *do*] Om. Qq.
17. *me thinkes*] *methinks* F_3F_4.
18. *haſt*] *haſte* Qq.
23. *his rule were true*] *this were a true rule* Q_1Q_2. *this were a rule* Q_{3-8}, Sta. *this rule were true* Cam.+.
24. Yor.] Ff, +. Car. Qq. Arc. Cap. et cet. (subs.)
And...Madam] *Why Madame ſo no doubt he is* Qq, Cam.+.
25. *he is*] *ſo too* Qq, Cam.+.
28. *To touch...toucht*] *That ſhould haue neerer toucht his growth then he did* Qq. *That should have near touch'd his growth than he did* Vaughan (iii, 62).

---

in the Folio, SPEDDING considers due to a 'careless printer,' and therefore classifies it as among the 'alterations in the Folio *not* intended by Shakespeare.'

16. **Small Herbes . . . grow apace**] WRIGHT: Compare Heywood's *Proverbs:* 'Ill weede growth fast, that is showyng In the show of thy fast growyng.'—Spens. Soc. reprint, p. 164. [Also Ray's *Proverbs:* 'Ill weeds grow apace,' p. 428.]

17. **since**] ABBOTT (§ 62): 'Since' is here used for *since then*, like our *ever since*. Compare a transitional use of 'since' between an adverb and conjunction in 'Waverly; or, 'tis Sixty Years since.' Omit ''tis,' and 'since' becomes an adverb.

21. **the wretched'st thing**] JOHNSON: 'Wretched' is here used in a sense yet retained in familiar language, for *paltry, pitiful*, being below expectation.—RITSON: Rather, *the weakest, most puny, least thriving*.

24. **gracious Madam**] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 289) considers this repetition in the Folio to be due to the eye of the transcriber having caught the word 'gracious' in the preceding line. He furnishes many examples of lines wherein a like substitution may have occurred.

26. **if I had beene remembred**] For other examples of this construction, see ABBOTT, § 295, or SCHMIDT, *Lex.*, *s. v.* Remembered.

Dut. How my yong Yorke,
I prythee let me heare it.
Yor. Marry (they ſay) my Vnkle grew ſo faſt,
That he could gnaw a cruſt at two houres old,
'Twas full two yeares ere I could get a tooth.
Grandam, this would haue beene a byting Ieſt.
Dut. I prythee pretty Yorke, who told thee this?
Yor. Grandam, his Nurſſe.
Dut. His Nurſe? why ſhe was dead, ere ỹ waſt borne.
Yor. If'twere not ſhe, I cannot tell who told me.
Qu. A parlous Boy:go too, you are too ſhrew'd.
Dut. Good Madam, be not angry with the Childe.

29, 30. *How...it*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
29. *yong*] *prettie* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *Yorke,*] *Yorke?* Qq.
30. *prythee*] *pray thee* Qq, Cam.+. *prithee* F_4.
34, 36. *Grandam*] *Granam* Qq.
34. *byting*] *biting* Q_1. *prettie* Qq.
35. *prythee*] *pray thee* Qq, Cam.+. *prethee* F_3. *prithee* F_4.
35. *this?*] *ſo?* Qq. (*ſo.* Q_1.)
37. *His Nurſe?*] Om. Q_{2-8}. *waſt*] *wert* Qq, Cam.+.
39. *parlous*] *perilous* Qq. *per'lous* Johns. Var. '73. *you are*] *thou art* Q_7Q_8.
40. Dut.] Ff,+, Varr. Ran. Steev. Var.'03,'13, Sing. Ktly. Car. Qq. Arch. Cap. et cet. *the*] *a* F_3F_4,+ (−Var. '73).

32. **he could gnaw a crust at two houres old**] 'It is for trouth reported . . . that hee [Richard] came into the world with the feete forwarde . . . and (as the fame runneth) also not vntothed.'—*More*, p. 8.

38. **I cannot tell who told me**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 462): He had heard his mother say it. She rebukes him for being 'too shrewd.' Here is a touch of caution in the character of the young York, the natural birth of surrounding plots and machinations. [See note by HUNTER, l. 40.]—BARNARD: Apparently he had overheard it in conversation not meant for his ears, but archly puts his Grandam off by replying 'His nurse.'

39. **parlous**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): A syncopated form of *perilous*, . . . found from fourteenth century alongside of the fuller forms, but since seventeenth century more or less archaic in literary use; common dialectally from Durham to Hampshire. 2. Dangerously cunning, clever, eager, etc.; keen, shrewd. [The present line quoted.]

39. **shrew'd**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The older sense is malicious, mischievous, scolding or shrew-like, as in: ['O, when she's angry, she is keen and shrewd.']—*Mid. N. Dream*, III, ii, 323.

40. **Dut. Good Madam, be not angry**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 87): This passage affords another illustration of the superiority of the text of the Folios over that of the Quartos in this play. [In the Ff this line] is given to the Duchess of York, with whom it is much more in character. The poet seems to have intended that we should understand that the boy had on some occasion overheard his mother say what he repeats concerning his uncle, and she is disturbed to find that what

Qu. Pitchers haue eares. 41

Enter a Meſſenger.

Arch. Heere comes a Meſſenger: What Newes?
Meſ. Such newes my Lord, as greeues me to report.
Qu. How doth the Prince? 45
Meſ. Well Madam, and in health.
Dut. What is thy Newes? 47

42. a Meſſenger] Dorſet. Qq, Sta.

43–47. As four lines, ending *Meſſenger ...my Lord...Prince?...Newes?* Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Ktly.

43. Two lines, ending *Meſſenger... Newes?* Cap. Dyce, Huds.

a...Newes?] *your ſonne, Lord Marques Dorſet, What newes Lord Marques?* (as two lines, ending *Dorſet... Marques?*) Qq, Sta. *your son, Lord Dorset. What news, lord marquess?* Vaughan (iii, 63).

43. *What Newes?*] *What news with you?* Coll. ii (MS).

44. Meſ.] Dorſ. (throughout) Qq, Sta.

report] *vnfold* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.

45, 46. As one line, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Huds.

45. *doth*] *fares* Qq, Cam.+.

47. *thy Newes?*] *thy newes then* Q_1, Cam.+. *the newes then* Q_{2-8}, Sta.

---

she had said thus finds its way to the Duchess, as it might seriously affect herself. She excuses herself by saying that it was not intended to be heard, at least not by her son.—DYCE (ed. i): I cannot agree with Hunter that the prefix of the Folio is the right one.

41. **Pitchers haue eares**] MALONE: Shakespeare has not quoted this proverbial saying correctly. It appears from *A Dialogue both Pleasaunt and Pietifull*, by William Bulleyn, 1564, that the old proverb is this: 'Small pitchers have great ears.'—RITSON: Compare 'Pitchers have ears, and I have many servants.'—*Tam. of Shr.*, IV, iv, 52. [BREWER (*s. v.* Pitchers) explains this proverbial saying as referring to the fact that 'the handles or ears of small jugs are out of proportion to their size.']

42. **Enter a Messenger**] CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note x.*): We have followed the Folios in reading '*a Messenger*,' and in assigning the speeches that follow to him rather than to the Marquess Dorset as in the Quartos. The change must have been deliberate, and as the Queen does not greet the person who brings the intelligence, and expresses no anxiety for his safety when she herself is going to sanctuary, it seems more proper that the messenger should be one of inferior rank than one so nearly connected with the Queen. His ignorance of the cause of the arrest of the nobles and the terms in which he speaks of them are in keeping with the character of a messenger. In IV, i, the Queen apparently meets Dorset for the first time since Richard's designs were disclosed, and passionately urges his escape.—DANIEL (p. xvii): For the service of the stage and to economize a '*Messenger*,' Dorset is made [in the Quartos] to deliver this part, and is thereby placed in a most incongruous position. It is impossible to read the part given to him in the Quarto without at once perceiving that it was never originally intended for him: the '*Messenger*' of the Folio was clearly its *first* exponent.

Meſſ. Lord *Riuers*, and Lord *Grey*,
Are ſent to Pomfret, and with them,
Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, Priſoners.
Dut. Who hath committed them?
Meſ. The mighty Dukes, *Glouſter* and *Buckingham.*
Arch. For what offence?
Meſ. The ſumme of all I can, I haue diſclos'd:
Why, or for what, the Nobles were committed,
Is all vnknowne to me, my gracious Lord.
Qu. Aye me! I ſee the ruine of my Houſe:

48–50. *Lord...Priſoners*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Varr. Ran. Two lines, ending *Pomfret...Priſoners* Qq et cet.
49, 50. *Pomfret*...Vaughan, *Priſoners*] *Pomfret, prisoners; and with them...Vaughan*, Cap. Varr. Ran.
49. *and*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Varr. Ran. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Om. Qq et cet.
51–53. As two lines, ending *Dukes*, ... *offence?* Steev. et seq.
52. As two lines, ending *Dukes*... Buckingham. Pope,+ (–Var.'73).
52. Glouſter] Cloceſter Q_3.
53. Arch.] Queen. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Huds.
offence?] *offence.* Q_r.
55. *for*] Om. Q_2.
the] *theſe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
56. *Lord*] *Lady* Qq, Pope,+, Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Dyce, Cam.+.
57. *Aye*] *Ah* Rowe,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal.
ruine of my] *downefall of our* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

48–50. **Lord Riuers . . . Priſoners**] See note by MALONE, ll. 4, 5, *supra*.

52. **Glouſter and Buckingham**] WRIGHT: At the time of the king's death Buckingham was on the Welsh Marches and Richard at York. They met at Northampton, each with a strong body of horse, on the day that the young king left for Stony Stratford.

53. **Arch. For what offence?**] JOHNSON: This question is given to the *Archbishop*, but the Messenger plainly speaks to the Queen or the Duchess.—MALONE: The editor of the Folio altered *lady* [as in the Quarto] to 'lord' in l. 56; but it is more probable that the compositor prefixed *Car.* (the designation of the Archbishop in the Quarto) to the words: 'For what offence?' instead of *Qu.* than that *lady* should have been printed in the subsequent speech instead of 'lord.' Compositors always keep the names of the interlocutors in each scene ready-composed for use; and hence mistakes sometimes arise.—DYCE (ed. i): The messenger in replying above to the Archbishop, calls him 'my Lord'; later the Archbishop addresses the Queen as 'my gracious Lady,' l. 68.—MARSHALL: Setting aside the fact that both Quartos and Folios have 'my gracious lady' in l. 56, the epithet 'gracious' has been applied to the Queen, l. 24, and therefore the supposition that *lady* was a misprint in the Folio for 'lord' can hardly be entertained.

55. **Why, or for what**] ABBOTT (§ 75): A distinction seems here to be drawn between 'why' and 'for what.' 'Why' refers, perhaps, to the past cause, 'for what,' to the future object.

57. **the ruine of my House**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 160): Here, partly through carelessness, partly through misunderstanding, the anonymous corrector of the Quarto changes 'my house' to *our house*. Since the message referred to

The Tyger now hath ſeiz'd the gentle Hinde,
Inſulting Tiranny beginnes to Iutt
Vpon the innocent and aweleſſe Throne:
Welcome Deſtruction, Blood, and Maſſacre,
I ſee (as in a Map) the end of all.
Dut. Accurſed, and vnquiet wrangling dayes,
How many of you haue mine eyes beheld?
My Husband loſt his life, to get the Crowne,
And often vp and downe my ſonnes were toſt
For me to ioy, and weepe, their gaine and loſſe.
And being ſeated, and Domeſticke broyles
Cleane ouer-blowne, themſelues the Conquerors,
Make warre vpon themſelues, Brother to Brother;
Blood to blood, ſelfe againſt ſelfe: O prepoſtorous

58. *The...Hinde*] In italics, F_3F_4.
ſeiz'd] *ceazd* Qq. (*ſeaze* Q_7.)
59. *Iutt*] *iet* Qq. *jet* Coll. Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
60. *aweleſſe*] *lawleſſe* Qq.
61. *Blood*] *death* Qq, Cam.+.
66. *And often*] *Too often* Coll. MS.
68, 69. *ſeated, and...broyles...ouer--blowne, themſelues the Conquerors,*] $Q_{7\text{-}8}$. *ſeated and...broiles, ...ouerblowne themſelues the conquerors* Q_1. *ſeated, and ... broiles ... ouerblowne, themſelues (the Conquerors,)* Ff. *ſeated, and... broiles...ouerblowne, themſelues, the conquerors,* Rowe et seq.
70, 71. *Brother...blood,*] *bloud againſt bloud* Qq, Pope,+.
71. *againſt*] *'gainst* Steev. Varr.
prepoſtorous] *most preposterous* Pope,+.

the relatives of the Queen alone, Elizabeth would hardly speak of any other than her own house, and not that of York, which was not directly concerned.

59. **Insulting Tiranny**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Insult, *v*): '*Insultāre* may be viewed either as frequentative of *insilīre*, to leap upon, . . . or as a compound of *in* + *saltāre*, frequentative of *salīre*. Cotgrave has: "*Insulter*, to insult, crow, vaunt, or triumph over; to wrong, reproach, affront; contemne; also to rebound, reioyce at, leape for ioy."'—The phrase 'insulting tyranny' occurs also in *1 Hen. VI:* IV, vii, 19, where it is applied to death.

59. **Iutt**] WRIGHT: To *jet* is commonly to strut, to walk proudly, to throw the body about in an affected manner; and hence it has been supposed to have in this passage the secondary sense of to be ostentatious. But *jet* and 'jut' . . . are the same in origin, and signify to *stick out, project*, and so to *encoach upon*. So Cotgrave interprets the French *Iettée*, 'a iettie or iuttie, a bearing out or leaning ouer in buildings.' Compare 'Think you not how dangerous It is to jet upon a prince's right?' *Tit. And.*, II, i, 64. And again in the old play, *Sir Thomas More:* 'It is hard when Englishmens pacience must be thus jetted on by straungers.'—*Sh. Soc. reprint*, p. 2.

71. **O prepostorous**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 42): I cannot help suspecting that the 'O' was meant to be struck out. I should indeed have thought Pope's conjecture of 'O most preposterous' the more probable; nor should I have objected to the alexandrine in this place, though such alexandrines belong

And franticke outrage, end thy damned ſpleene, 72
Or let me dye, to looke on earth no more.
Qu. Come, come my Boy, we will to Sanctuary.
Madam, farwell. 75
Dut. Stay, I will go with you.
Qu. You haue no cauſe.
Arch. My gracious Lady go,
And thether beare your Treaſure and your Goodes, 79

72. *outrage*] *courage* Var. '03, '13. *thy*] *the* Q_2.
73. *earth*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *death* Qq et cet.
75–78. As two lines, ending, *you...go*, Steev. et seq.
75. *Madam, farwell*] Om. Qq.
76. *Stay ... go*] *Ile go along* Qq, Cam.+.
79. *thether*] *thither* QqFf.

rather to a later stage in Shakespeare's versification. But if the error was the omission of a word like *most*, it seems unlikely that it would have been overlooked while the correction was under consideration. ['Preposterous' is not, I think, here used, as so frequently by Shakespeare, in its derivative sense; but in the sense, as *contrary to nature*, *perverted*, etc.—ED.]

73. **looke on earth no more**] THEOBALD (ed. ii): By the reading of the Quartos the thought is finely and properly improved. The old Dutchess had no antipathy to the world, or looking upon the earth in general: Her complaints are restrain'd to the calamitous Days she had seen, the Miseries and Slaughters of civil Wars at home: during the Process of which she had been witness to so many Murthers, such Havock and Destruction; that she very reasonably wishes that such Outrage may cease, or that she may not live to see any more Friends massacred. —CAPELL (ii, 180): The thought of this line, which wants no explaining, recalls another of great singularity that makes the close of a Sonnet in this Poet's collection . . . : 'So shalt thou feed on death, that feeds on men And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.' [*Sonnet* cxlvi.]—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 154): If this passage be taken in connection with the rest of the speech of the Duchess, it will be seen that the reading of the Folio, 'earth,' though apparently commonplace, is nevertheless the more correct. The many horrors of war, which, for so many years, have passed before her eyes, have so wearied her that she prays for death to be free from the sight of her own country—the earth.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 20) classifies the Folio change, 'earth,' among the 'alterations not intended by Shakespeare'; and adds: 'An injudicious correction, I should say, but for the origin of which it is not necessary to seek beyond the printing-office.'

74. **we will to Sanctuary**] ROLFE: That is, the sanctuary at Westminster. This old building stood where Westminster Hospital now stands (then within the precincts of the Abbey), and retained its privileges as a refuge for criminals until the dissolution of the monastery, and for debtors until 1602. This was the second time that Elizabeth had fled thither; the first having been in 1470, when with her mother and her three daughters she was the guest of Abbot Milling until the birth of her son Edward, Nov. 1 of that year.—WHEATLEY (iii, 208): The privileges survived the Reformation, and the bulk of the houses which composed the precinct were not taken down till 1750.

For my part, Ile reſigne vnto your Grace
The Seale I keepe, and ſo betide to me,
As well I tender you, and all of yours.
Go, Ile conduct you to the Sanctuary. *Exeunt*

Actus Tertius. Scœna Prima.

The Trumpets ſound.
Enter yong Prince, the Dukes of Gloceſter, and Buckingham, Lord Cardinall, with others.

81. *betide*] *betid* Q_6.
to] *it* Ff, Rowe, Pope, +.
83. *Go*] *Come* Qq, Cap. Varr. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +, Huds.
1. Actus...Prima.] Om. Qq.
The Same. A Street. Cap. The Cloisters. Westminster Abbey. Irving.
2. The...found.] Flourish. Cap.
3. yong Prince,] QqFf, Cam. +. young prince attended, Cap. Prince of Wales, Rowe et cet.
3. Dukes ... Buckingham,] Richard Catesby, Buckingham, Cap. et seq. (subs.)
4. Lord Cardinall...others.] Cardinall, &c. Qq. Archbishop...others. Rowe, +. Cardinal Bouchier...others. Knt, Rlfe. Cardinal Bourchier, Catesby and others. Cam. +. Cardinal Bourchier...others. Cap. et cet.

80, 81. **Ile resigne . . . The Seale**] STEEVENS: Afterwards, however, this obsequious Archbishop, to ingratiate himself with King Richard III., put his majesty's badge, the *Hog*, upon the gate of the Public Library, Cambridge.

81. **and so betide to me**] ABBOTT (§ 297): 'Betide' may here be used impersonally. But perhaps 'so' is loosely used as a demonstrative for *such fortune*, in the same way in which *as* assumes the force of a relative [in 'I have not from your eyes that gentleness As I was wont to have.'—*Jul. Cæs.*, I, ii, 33].

83. **Go, Ile conduct you**, etc.] WEBB: This powerful scene is a fitting close to the Second Act. It should be observed that its strength lies, not in the interest of the characters, which are in themselves relatively insignificant, nor in any special elevation of diction or thought, but merely in the *action*, the surprising 'reversal of fortune,' the change in the situation. The scene opens with a company of Lords and Ladies engaged in elegant trifling, in witty comments on the utterances of a precocious child. Suddenly a messenger comes in with his news and all is changed. In the imprisonment of Rivers and Gray the company are not slow to perceive a deadly blow struck at themselves. The gloomy vaticinations of Queen Elizabeth, together with the agonized exclamations of the Duchess, are a fitting prelude to the disasters which are soon to fall on them and their party. Moreover, it will be noticed that though Richard is not himself present, his influence is paramount. The scene opens with caustic allusions to his deformities, only to close with a remarkable instance of his power. Perhaps no scene more clearly shows how *Richard III.* is a one-man play.

4. **Lord Cardinall**] CHURCHILL (p. 207): In making the Cardinal of this scene Cardinal Bourchier of Canterbury [see *Text. Notes*], the editors must assume that Shakespeare followed Hall—preceded by Polydore Vergil and the Croyland

Buc. Welcome ſweete Prince to London,
To your Chamber.
Rich. Welcome deere Coſin, my thoughts Soueraign
The wearie way hath made you Melancholly.
Prin. No Vnkle, but our croſſes on the way,
Haue made it tedious, wearifome, and heauie.
I want more Vnkles heere to welcome me.
Rich. Sweet Prince, the vntainted vertue of your yeers
Hath not yet diu'd into the Worlds deceit:
No more can *you* diſtinguiſh of a man,
Then of his outward ſhew, which God he knowes,
Seldome or neuer iumpeth with the heart.
Thoſe Vnkles which you want, were dangerous:
Your Grace attended to their Sugred words,
But look'd not on the poyſon of their hearts:
God keepe you from them, and from ſuch falſe Friends.
Prin. God keepe me from falſe Friends,
But they were none:
Rich. My Lord, the Maior of London comes to greet
you.

5, 6. *Welcome...Chamber.*] Ff, Rowe. As one line, Qq et cet.
7. *Soueraign*] *ſoueraigne.* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$. *Sovereign*, Rowe et seq. (subs.)
10. *Haue*] *Hath* Q_8.
13. *Hath*] *Haue* Q_{6-8}.
14. *No*] *Nor* Q_{1-7}, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
18. *Sugred*] *ſuger'd* Rowe, Pope. *ſugar'd* Theob. et seq.
21, 22. Prin. *God...none*] Prince. [Aside.] *God...none.* Cam. conj. Marshall.
God keepe...none] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
21. *from falſe*] *frō ſuch falſe* Q_4.
23, 25, 26. *Maior*] *Maire* Q_7. *Major* F_2F_3. *Mayor* F_4 et seq.

Continuator—and not Holinshed. The latter follows More, who has, by a historical mistake, not found in the Latin version, the Archbishop of York.

6. **Chamber**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): † 6. A province, city, etc., directly subject, and yielding immediate revenue to the king; more loosely: Capital, metropolis, royal residence; ? royal port or dockyard.

14, 15. **of a man . . . of his outward shew**] ABBOTT (§ 174): The meaning here seems to be, 'you can make no distinctions *about* men more than,' *i. e.*, 'except, *about* their appearances.' Compare 'Since my dear soul was mistress of her choice And could of men distinguish.'—*Hamlet*, III, ii, 69.—WEBB: Shakespeare in this sentence expresses two separate ideas: you can only distinguish between men by their outward appearance, and, you do not see the difference between men's outward semblance and their real inward thoughts.

15, 38. **God he knowes**] Compare I, iii, 221; or see ABBOTT, § 243.

16. **iumpeth**] For examples of 'jump,' meaning to *agree*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex. b.*).

Enter Lord Maior.

Lo.Maior. God bleſſe your Grace, with health and happie dayes.

Prin. I thanke you, good my Lord, and thank you all:
I thought my Mother, and my Brother *Yorke*,
Would long, ere this, haue met vs on the way.
Fie, what a Slug is *Haſtings*, that he comes not
To tell vs, whether they will come, or no.

Enter Lord Haſtings.

Buck. And in good time, heere comes the ſweating Lord.

Prince. Welcome, my Lord: what, will our Mother come?

Haſt. On what occaſion God he knowes, not I;
The Queene your Mother, and your Brother *Yorke*,
Haue taken Sanctuarie: The tender Prince
Would faine haue come with me, to meet your Grace,
But by his Mother was perforce with-held.

Buck. Fie, what an indirect and peeuiſh courſe
Is this of hers? Lord Cardinall, will your Grace

25. Maior.] the Lord Mayor, and his Train. Cap. et seq.
28. *all.*] all: [they kiss his Hand, and retire. Cap. Exeunt Mayor, &c. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Hal. Ktly, Huds.
41. *haue*] Om. $Q_2Q_3Q_5$.
43. *an*] *an an* F_2.
peeuiſh] *peeniſh* Q_3.

28. **thank you all**] STAUNTON objects to CAPELL'S abrupt dismissal of the Lord Mayor after this line [see *Text. Notes*], but does not suggest a more fitting period for that official's exit. It is hardly likely that Shakespeare intended him to be a silent spectator of the whole of the following discussion between Gloucester, Buckingham, and Hastings.—ED.

31. **Slug**] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 346): *To slug*, active and neuter, connected with *sluggard*. *Slug* for *sluggard;* also for anything that obstructs motion or progress. [The present line quoted.]

34. **sweating**] WEBB suggests that there is here perhaps a pun intended on 'Hastings.'

43. **peeuish**] See I, iii, 204.

44. **Lord Cardinall**] WRIGHT: In Holinshed (p. 717, col. i) it is Richard and not Buckingham who suggests that the Cardinal should take upon him the office of persuading the Queen to give up her son. . . . In More's narrative, which Holinshed copies, it is left uncertain who the 'Lord Cardinal' is, and in the sequel we find that the Archbishop of York undertakes the mission. [See note by CHURCHILL, l. 4, *supra;* also *Appendix: Source of Plot.*]—DANIEL (*Time Analysis*, p. 328, *foot-note*): The prelate of II, iv, in the Folio is an Archbishop; in the Quarto

Perſwade the Queene, to ſend the Duke of Yorke
Vnto his Princely Brother preſently?
If ſhe denie, Lord *Haſtings* goe with him,
And from her iealous Armes pluck him perforce.
Card. My Lord of Buckingham, if my weake Oratorie
Can from his Mother winne the Duke of Yorke,
Anon expect him here: but if ſhe be obdurate
To milde entreaties, God forbid
We ſhould infringe the holy Priuiledge
Of bleſſed Sanctuarie: not for all this Land,
Would I be guiltie of ſo great a ſinne.
Buck. You are too ſenceleſſe obſtinate, my Lord,

45. *to*] *the* Q_5. *they* Q_5. *she* Anon. ap. Cam.
47. *denie*] *dgnie* Q_5.
goe] *you goe* F_2. *you go* F_3F_4, +, Varr. Ran.
him] *them* Q_{5-6}.
49. Card.] Arch. Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Ran.
51. *Anon*] Om. Steev. conj.
52. *God*] Q_{3-6}, Ff, +. *God in Heauen* Q_1Q_2, Var. '73 et cet.
54. *bleſſed*] Om. Pope, + (– Var. '73).
55. *great*] *deepe* Q_1Q_2, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam. +.
56. *ſenceleſſe obſtinate,*] QqFf, Rowe, Theob. i, Warb. *senseless, obstinate,* Pope, Han. *strict and abstinent* Coll. ii (MS). *senseless-obstinate* Theob. ii et cet.

---

he is a Cardinal. The prelate of the present scene is a Cardinal in both versions. Editors decide that the first is Archbishop Rotheram of York, and that the second is Cardinal Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. It may be doubted whether Shakespeare intended to present more than one personage. If Holinshed was his authority, he certainly did not; for according to Holinshed, Rotheram was at that time a Cardinal and Lord Chancellor; it was he who conducted the Queen to sanctuary, and it was he who afterwards persuaded her to give up the Duke of York.—THOMPSON: In view of the confusion, due to More, between Bourchier and Rotheram, it should be noted that, both in More and Shakespeare, the Cardinal already has consented to attempt *persuasion*, but objects to *force*. It is very unlikely that Rotheram would have undertaken persuasion so readily, and very improbable that the opportunity should have been offered to him. See *Appendix* to Canon Leigh-Bennett's, *Archbishop Rotheram*, 1901, p. 178.

49. **Buckingham**] For examples where polysyllabic names in the middle of a line receive but one accent, see ABBOTT, § 469 (p. 354); compare III, vii, 236.

54. **Sanctuarie**] WALKER (*Vers.* 163) gives several examples, besides the present line, wherein 'sanctuary' is, for the sake of the metre, to be pronounced as a disyllable. He adds: 'In old times the words, like the thing itself, was in frequent use, and, like other familiar terms, became shortened for convenience sake. In Sir Henry Ellis's *Letters Illustrative of English History*, as quoted, *Athenæum*, *No* 973, p. 625, col. 3, letter from Lawrence Stubbs to Cardinal Wolsey, *the sanctuary men* are called in three places *Sentuary* [*sic.*] *men*. *Santry* still exists as a family name; so, by the way, does "Sanctuary."'

56. **sencelesse obstinate**] COLLIER (ed. ii): The old reading makes the

Too ceremonious, and traditionall. 57
Weigh it but with the groſſeneſſe of this Age,

58. *groſſeneſſe of this*] *greatneſſe of this* Q_5. *greatneſſe of his* Q_7Q_8. *greenness of his* Warb. Han. Cap. *goodness of his* Coll. ii (MS). *looseness of this* Cartwright.

Duke of Buckingham quite abusive in his language to the Cardinal. He would hardly have addressed such terms to an inferior, much less to Cardinal Bourchier: the printer misread *abstinent* 'obstinate,' and conformed the other epithet [*strict*], perhaps not very clearly written, to that word [see *Text. Notes*]; but who before ever heard of such a compound as 'senseless-obstinate'?

57. **ceremonious, and traditionall**] WARBURTON: 'Ceremonious' for *superstitious;* 'traditional' for *adherent to old customs.* [Is not the scansion of this line difficult, or almost impossible, unless Walker's rule (*Crit.*, ii, 73), of the elision of the middle *e* in 'ceremonious,' be adopted? It would then read: Too cer | 'moni | ous and | tradi | tional. And yet even this is harsh. In making a quadrisyllable of 'ceremonious,' a contraction of the last two syllables *-ious* occurs almost instinctively.—ED.]

58. **the grossenesse of this Age**] WARBURTON: But the more 'gross,' that is, the more *superstitious*, the age was, the stronger would be the imputation of violated sanctuary. The speaker resolves this question in the negative, because it could be claimed by those only whose actions necessitated them to fly thither; or by those who had an understanding to demand it, neither of which could be an infant's case: the first line, then, should be read: '*the greenness of his age*,' that is, the Duke of York's. The corrupted reading of the old Quarto is something nearer the true: 'the *greatness* of his age.'—JOHNSON: Warburton's emendation is very plausible, yet the common reading may stand: That is, compare the act of seizing him with the 'gross' and licentious practices of *these times*, it will not be considered as a violation of sanctuary, for you may give such reasons as men are now used to admit.—HEATH (p. 294): A mistake in the pointing of the former editions misled Warburton to misunderstand the construction, and in consequence the meaning, of this passage, and occasioned his having recourse to his emendation. This is evident from his own reasoning in support of it. Put but a semicolon at the end of the preceding line, and a full stop at the end of this, and then we may fairly reinstate the common reading clear of all objection. That is, you consider it only according to that gross undistinguishing superstition which prevails in the present age.—CAPELL (ii, 181): The address'd person is charg'd in the speech's entry with being senseless-obstinate in his attachment to church forms and matters of meer traditional establishment, such as (it is insinuated) are rights of sanctuary generally: the extension of that right in the present case is the next topic; and he is told, in this line and the next, that it does not extend to children, persons of *green* years; and the reasons why it extends not are set forth in the lines that follow: This is the speech's chain; and so natural and consequential that the editor cannot persuade himself—there will be a person in future who shall look on what has obtain'd in many copies other than as itself a corruption likewise transmitted down from the first.—MALONE: Warburton is not accurate. The original Quarto, 1597, and the two subsequent Quartos, as well as the Folio, all read 'grossness.' *Greatness* is the corrupt reading of a late Quarto of no authority, printed in 1622

You breake not Sanctuarie, in ſeizing him:
The benefit thereof is alwayes granted
To thoſe, whoſe dealings haue deſeru'd the place,
And thoſe who haue the wit to clayme the place:
This Prince hath neyther claym'd it, nor deſeru'd it,

63. *neyther*] *never* F_4, Rowe.

[Q_6].—ANON. (Qu. LETTSOM? *Blackwood's Maga.*, Aug., 1853, p. 316): This may be paraphrased, do not go to your Traditions, but take into account the unrefining character, and somewhat licentious practise of this age, and you will perceive that you break not sanctuary in seizing him; for common sense declares that youth of his years cannot claim this privilege. This interpretation renders Collier's MS Corrector's inept substitution, *goodness of his age*, quite unnecessary. *Strict and abstinent* [for '*senseless-obstinate*'] is still worse.—HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 88): If for 'this age' we read *his age*, we should have all the effect of Warburton's admirable suggestion, with less disturbance of the text, 'grossness' being taken as equivalent to *greatness* in its comparative sense, when used as equivalent to *size* or *extent*.—R. G. WHITE: That is (and very clearly to my apprehension) weigh it but with the gross judgement, the blunted perception of this age.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: This may mean, if the lawlessness of those who usually claim sanctuary be compared with the young prince's innocence, which needs no such protection, then there can be no breaking of sanctuary in taking him thence. In the account given in Hall's *Chronicle*, whence Shakespeare probably derived the groundwork for the present scene, Buckingham enlarges upon the vices of those who require the safety of sanctuary in contradistinction to the royal child's immaculacy, so as to give colour to the above interpretation.—LETTSOM (ap. DYCE ii): The context seems to require a word like *cunning* or *knowledge;* for the meaning is apparently, examine the matter well, the superior knowledge and cleverness of the present age, and you will find you can seize the child without breaking sanctuary.—WRIGHT: Johnson in reality gives two interpretations, which turn upon the different meanings of which 'weigh with' is capable: weigh this act against the violent practises of these times, and so, compare it with them; or, weigh it as such actions are weighed in this gross age, and so, estimate it by that standard.—VAUGHAN (iii, 69): [In III, vi, the] Scrivener says, in pointing out the inconsistency between the time apparently given to the preparation of the indictment against Hastings, and the time actually required for it: 'Who so gross That seeth not this palpable device?' Where Holinshed says: 'Every child might well perceive that it was prepared before.' It is clear, therefore, that in Shakespeare's terminology 'grossness' is characteristic of childhood, and an equivalent of *childishness*. 'Grossness,' therefore, applies here to the child's age, and not to the world's age. [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives numerous passages wherein 'grossness' does not necessarily mean *childishness*, but rather *dullness, stupidity*. Because Shakespeare elsewhere paraphrases a certain word in Holinshed, in a certain way, is it quite justifiable to apply that paraphrase to the word when used by him in a wholly different connection?—ED.] —WEBB: The obvious meaning of this seems to be, the times are grown so bad that strong measures must be taken; the privilege of sanctuary has been abused and must be suspended with a high hand, if wrongdoers are to be brought to justice.

And therefore, in mine opinion, cannot haue it.
Then taking him from thence, that is not there,
You breake no Priuiledge, nor Charter there:
Oft haue I heard of Sanctuarie men,
But Sanctuarie children, ne're till now.
Card. My Lord, you ſhall o're-rule my mind for once.
Come on, Lord *Haſtings*, will you goe with me?
Haſt. I goe, my Lord. *Exit: Cardinall and Haſtings.*
Prince. Good Lords, make all the ſpeedie haſt you may.
Say, Vnckle *Gloceſter*, if our Brother come,
Where ſhall we ſoiourne, till our Coronation?
Glo. Where it think'ſt beſt vnto your Royall ſelfe.

64. *And*] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran. Dyce ii, iii.
65. *taking*] *take* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
thence] *hence* Dyce i.
that...there] *to do him good* Wordsworth conj.
there] *worthy* Bailey (ii, 288).
68. *ne're*] *neuer* Qq.
69. *o're-rule*] *ouerrule* Qq.
71. Exit...Haſtings.] Om. Q_1Q_2.
72. *Good Lords*] *My Lords* Cap. (corrected in Errata).
75. *think'ſt*] Q_{3-8},Ff, Wh. i. *thinks* Walker (Vers. 284). *ſeemes* Q_1Q_2 et cet.

64. **And therefore**] DYCE (ed. ii) upholds the omission of this 'and' in the Second Folio, saying that the 'eye of the transcriber, or of the original compositor, had caught the word from the second line above.' Was this roving eye also responsible for other repetitions in the lines preceding and following this? Lines 61, 62, both end with 'the place'; lines 63, 64, with 'it'; lines 65, 66, with 'there.' Is it not possible that the editor of the Second Folio omitted 'and' for the sake of the metre?—ED.

65. **taking him from thence, that is not there**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: The effect of this paradoxical sentence is most characteristic; it is in keeping with the sophistry used by Buckingham, and with the crooked policy of his casuistry. [Shakespeare is here, I think, paraphrasing the speech of the Duke of Buckingham as given by More and copied by Hall and Holinshed: '[reason] is not fullye so farreforth, as may serue to lette vs of the fetchynge foorth of this noble manne to hys honoure and wealthe, oute of that place in whiche he neither is, nor canne be a Saynctuary manne.'—p. 46.—ED.]

68. **Sanctuarie children**] See *Appendix: Source of Plot*, for origin of this speech.—BESANT (p. 155): The following note by Machyn, [the City Chronicler of the Tudor period], presents one of the last appearances of the old Sanctuary customs: 'The vi day of December the abbot of Westminster went a procession with his convent; before him went all the sanctuary men with crosse keys upon their garments, and after whent iij for murder: one was the Lord Dacre's sone of the Northe . . . and a boy that kyld a byge boye that sold papers and pryntyd bokes, . . . the boy was one of the chylderyn that was at the sckoll ther in the abbey.'—*Diary*, p. 121. [According to the foregoing, 'sanctuary children'—though spoken of by More as almost unknown—were perhaps not so unusual a sight to the Londoner of Shakespeare's time.—ED.]

75. **it think'st**] WRIGHT (note on *think'st thee*, *Hamlet*, *V*, ii, 63): The word

If I may counſaile you, ſome day or two
Your Highneſſe ſhall repoſe you at the Tower:
Then where you pleaſe, and ſhall be thought moſt fit
For your beſt health, and recreation.
Prince. I doe not like the Tower, of any place:
Did *Iulius Cæſar* build that place, my Lord?

76. *may*] *my* Q_3.
78. *and*] *as* Q_7Q_8.
78. *ſhall be*] *ſhalbe* Qq.

'think' in this passage is not the same in origin as *think* used personally, but comes from the Anglo-Saxon *thincan*, to seem, appear, which is used impersonally with all personal pronouns. The other word is *thencan*, to think, and the distinction is maintained in the German *dünken* and *denken*.

76. **some day or two**] For other examples of 'some' used with a numeral adjective, qualifying a singular noun of time, see ABBOTT, § 21.

77. **Your Highnesse . . . at the Tower**] LEGGE (i, 210): To modern ears the very name of the Tower is ominous; but it was otherwise in the fifteenth century, when it was a royal palace, the state apartments of which continued to be occupied by the sovereign until the days of Elizabeth. Edward IV. had been lodged there before his coronation, and had frequently kept his Court there with great magnificence. The Tower had been selected because the Prince would there be less accessible to the influences from which it was deemed important to separate him. So far from its being intended to make it a place of captivity, the Croyland Chronicler informs us that 'a discussion took place in the Council' ('in Senatu,' by which, as elsewhere, he doubtless means in the Council, and not, as has been invariably represented, in Parliament), 'about removing the King to some place where *fewer restrictions* would be imposed upon him.' It had long been the custom for the sovereigns to take up their residence at the Tower for a short time previous to their coronation, 'and thence they generally proceeded in state through the city to be crowned at Westminister.' All authorities are agreed in representing Richard as acting with the tenderness which his nephew's temperament and circumstances demanded. He is even said to have besought him on his knees to banish fear, to confide in his affection, and rely on the necessity of those summary measures which occasioned him such painful forebodings. The removal to the Tower seems to have taken place about the 19th of May, and the preparations for the coronation were hurried forward.

80. **of any place**] ABBOTT (§ 409): This (which is a thoroughly Greek idiom, though independent in English) is illustrated by Milton's famous line: 'The fairest of her daughters Eve.' The line is a confusion of two constructions: 'Eve fairer *than* all her daughters,' and 'Eve fairest *of* all women.' So 'I dislike the tower *more than any place*' and '*most of all places*' becomes, 'of any place.'—WRIGHT: Compare, for this construction, 'Of all men else I have avoided thee.'—*Macbeth*, V, viii, 4; and 'That York is most unmeet of any man.'—*2 Hen. VI:* I, iii, 167.

81. **Did Iulius Cæsar build that place**] WHEATLEY (iii, 392): There is no authority to confirm tradition in the remote antiquity assigned to the Tower. No part of the existing structure is of a date anterior to the keep, or the great square

Buck. He did, my gracious Lord, begin that place,
Which ſince, ſucceeding Ages haue re-edify'd.
Prince. Is it vpon record? or elſe reported
Succeſſiuely from age to age, he built it?
Buck. Vpon record, my gracious Lord.
Prince. But ſay, my Lord, it were not regiſtred,
Me thinkes the truth ſhould liue from age to age,
As 'twere retayl'd to all poſteritie,
Euen to the generall ending day.
Glo. So wiſe, ſo young, they ſay doe neuer liue long.

82. Buck.] Glo. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sta.
82, 83. *He did..ſince*] As one line, omitting *gracious*, Steev. conj.
83. *re-edify'd*] *rebuilt* Han.
84. *record?*] *record*, Qq.
86. *Vpon*] *It is upon* Cap.
89. *retayl'd*] *intail'd* Warb.
poſteritie] *poſteritie* Q_2.
90. *ending*] Q_{2-8},Ff, Rowe, Pope, Wh. i. *all-ending* Q_1 et cet.
91. *neuer*] *ne'er* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Hal. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Ktly, Coll. iii.

tower in the centre, called the White Tower, and this, it is well known, was built by William the Conqueror, circ. 1078. During excavations made for building purposes in 1772 and 1777 some ruins of an old stone wall nine feet in thickness, and of which the cement was exceedingly hard, were found near the White Tower, and these were either the remains of an earlier edifice, or a portion of the bulwarks of the old wall. Some old Roman coins were also found at the same time.

82. **my gracious Lord**] MARSHALL objects to the omission of the epithet 'gracious,' proposed by Steevens [see *Text. Notes*], since 'Buckingham does not elsewhere address Edward, the titular King, simply as "my Lord."' Gloucester so does, but he, as prince of the blood, was entitled so to do.'

83. **re-edify'd**] WRIGHT: This word only occurs again in *Tit. And.*, I, i, 351: 'This monument five hundred years hath stood, Which I have sumptuously re-edified.' Compare: 'The ruin'd wals he did reædifye,' Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, II, x, 46. 'Edify' was formerly not infrequently used in its literal sense as equivalent to *build*. So in *Faerie Queene:* 'There was an holy chappell edifyde,' I, i, 34. [CRAIGIE (*N. E. D.*) gives numerous examples of 're-edify,' in the sense *to rebuild*, extending over a period from 1420 to 1680.]

89. **retayl'd to all posteritie**] WARBURTON: And so it is; and, by that means, like so many 'retailed' things, becomes adulterated. We should read '*intail'd* to all posterity'; which is finely and sensibly expressed, as if the *truth* was the natural inheritance of our children; which it is impiety to deprive them of.—JOHNSON: 'Retail'd' may signify *diffused, dispersed.*—M. MASON: 'Retailed' means *handed down from one to another.* Richard uses the word 'retailed' in the same sense in IV, iii, 352, where, speaking to the Queen of her daughter, he says: 'To whom I will retail my conquest won.'

90. **generall ending**] MARSHALL: The omission of *all* [in the Folios, and all the Quartos but the First] very likely arose from the transcriber mistaking it for the final syllable of 'general.'

91. **So wise . . . neuer liue long**] STEEVENS: A proverbial line: 'Is cadit

Prince. What ſay you, Vnckle? 92
Glo. I ſay, without Characters, Fame liues long.
Thus, like the formall Vice, Iniquitie,
I morallize two meanings in one word. 95

93. *liues*] *ne'er lives* Mason, Ran.
94, 95. *Thus...word.*] Aside. Ff et seq.
94. *formall Vice, Iniquitie*] *formal wise antiquary* Han. i. *formal-wise antiquity* Warb. Han. ii. *formal vice hypocrisy* Long MS ap. Cam.
95. *morallize two*] *moralize: two* Warb. conj. Johns. Var. '73. *moralize, —two* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.

---

ante senem, qui sapit ante diem.'—REED: Bright says (*Treatise on Melancholy*, 1586, p. 52): 'I have knowne children languishing of the splene, obstructed and altered in temper, talke with gravitie and wisdome, surpassing those tender yeares, and their judgement carrying a marvellous imitation of the wisdome of the ancient, having after a sorte attained that by disease, which other have by course of yeares; whereon I take it the proverbe ariseth, that they be of short life who are of wit so pregnant.'—WRIGHT: This sentiment is attributed by Pliny to Cato the Censor. 'For Cato that famous Censor, writing to his sonne as touching this argument, hath delivered, as it were out of an Oracle, that there is an observation of death to be collected even in them that are in perfect health. For (saith he) youth resembling age, is an undoubted signe of untimely death, or short life.'—*Nat. Hist.*, vii, 51, Holland's translation.

93. **Characters**] WRIGHT: The noun has here the accent on the second syllable only in this passage in Shakespeare. In *Hamlet*, I, iii, 59, the verb has the same accent: 'And these few precepts in thy memory See thou character.'

94, 95. **like the formall Vice, Iniquitie ... two meanings in one word**] THEOBALD was the earliest to note that 'vice' signified 'not a *quality* but a *person*,' and at times, under this name, certain sins, such as Iniquity, Covetousness, etc. were personated. This truthful assertion WARBURTON denied, and, after a useless parade of learning, involving references to a Grecian idea of antiquity and quotations from Ben Jonson, propounded an emendation, which no editor, except Hanmer, has ever honoured by adopting, as follows: 'Thus like the formal-wise Antiquity, I moralize: Two meanings,' etc.—JOHNSON: To what equivocation does Richard refer? The position immediately preceding, that fame lives long without characters, that is, without the help of letters, seems to have no ambiguity. He must allude to the former line: 'So young so wise, they say, do ne'er live long,' in which he conceals, under a proverb, his design of hastening the Prince's death.—CAPELL (ii, 181): Richard's double-meaning word is 'characters,' which, as he accents it, signifies *letters;* and so taken his answer confirms the Prince's opinions, that fame, the renown of things, might live, though *not register'd:* another way, his line's meaning may be—that fame might live long without *desert* from great actions; intimating that his own actions, which he did not mean should be great or good either, would operate as well as better [*sic.*] that way. —M. MASON: The Prince having caught some parts of the former line, asks Richard what he says, who, in order to deceive him, preserves in his reply the latter words of the line, but substitutes other words at the beginning of it, of a different import from those he had uttered. This is the equivocation that Gloster

[94, 95. like the formall Vice, . . . two meanings in one word]
really made use of, though it does not correspond with his own description of it. 'Word' is not here taken in its literal sense, but means a *saying, a short sentence.* —HEATH (p. 297): Richard doth not, in this passage, seriously moralize at all, or even dream of so doing. . . . The term *moralize* is only introduced in allusion to the title of our old dramatic pieces, which were commonly called moralities, in which the Vice was always one of the shining characters.—STEEVENS: From the following stage direction, in *Histriomastix, or The Player Whipt*, 1610, it appears that 'the Vice' and 'Iniquity' were sometimes distinct personages: 'Enter a roaring devil, with the Vice on his back, Iniquity in one hand, and Juventus in the other. *Devil.* Ho, ho, ho! these babes mine are all, The Vice, Iniquite, and Child Prodigal.' [l. 281, et seq., ed. Simpson.] The following part of this note was obligingly communicated by the Rev. Mr Bowle, of Idmestone near Salisbury. I know no writer who gives so complete an account of this obsolete character as Archbishop Harsnet, in his *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, p. 114, Lond., 1608: 'It was a pretty part (he tells us) in the old church-playes, when the nimble Vice would skip up nimbly like a jackanapes into the devil's necke, and ride the devil a course, and belabour him with his wooden dagger, till he made him roare, whereat the people would laugh to see the devil so vice-haunted.'—UPTON (*Var.* '21, *Appendix*, 248): The allusion here is to the Vice, a droll character in our old plays, accoutred with a long coat [see COLLIER, *post*], a cap with a pair of ass's ears, and a dagger of lath. Shakespeare alludes to his buffoon appearance in *Twelfth Night:* 'In a trice, like to the old Vice;—Who with dagger of lath, in his rage and his wrath, Cries, ah, ah! to the Devil,' IV, ii, 134. In *2 Henry IV:* III, ii, 343, Falstaff compares Shallow to a Vice's dagger of Lath. In *Hamlet*, III, iv, 98, Hamlet calls his uncle 'A vice of kings,' *i. e.*, a ridiculous representation of majesty. The iniquity was often the Vice in our moralities; and is introduced in Ben Jonson's *The Devil's an Ass*, and likewise mentioned in his *Epigr.* CXV: 'Being no vitious person, but the Vice About the town, . . . Acts old Iniquity, and in the fit Of miming, gets th' opinion of a wit.' But a passage cited from his play [p. 10, ed. Gifford] will make the following observations more plain: Pug asks the devil 'to lend him a Vice.' '*Satan.* What Vice? . . . *Pug.* Why any: *Fraud*, Or *Covetousness*, or lady *Vanity*, Or old *Iniquity*. *Sat.* I'll call him hither. *Enter Iniquity. Ini.* What is he calls upon me, and would seem to lack a *Vice?* Ere his words be half spoken, I am with him in a trice.' Again in *1 Henry IV:* II, iv, 499, where Hal, humourously characterizing Falstaff, calls him, 'That reverend Vice, that great Iniquity, that father Ruffian, that Vanity of years,' in allusion to this buffoon character.—MALONE: 'Moralize' as a verb active occurs in *Rape of Luc.:* 'Nor could she moralize his wanton sight, More than his eyes were open to the light,' ll. 104, 105. Where it means, *to interpret, or investigate the latent meaning of his wanton looks*, as in the present passage, it signifies either, to extract the double and latent meaning of one word or sentence, or to couch two meanings under one word or sentence. So 'moral' is used in *Much Ado* for a secret meaning: 'You have some moral in this Benedictus,' III, iv, 77. The word which Richard uses in a double sense is 'live,' which in his former speech he had used literally, and in the present is used metaphorically. [Mason's argument, that 'word' may here signify a whole sentence], is defective. Though in tournaments the motto on a knight's shield was formerly called *The word*, it never at any period was called '*One* word.' . . . 'The formal Vice' perhaps means *the shrewd*, the *sensible Vice.*

[94, 95. like the formall Vice, . . . two meanings in one word]

In *The Com. of Err.*, V, i, 105, 'a formal man' seems to mean, *one in his senses; a rational man.* Again, in *Twelfth Night*, '—this is evident to any formal capacity,' II, v, 128.—RANN: The double meaning expression here is—'ne'er lives long,' as applied *privately* to the Prince, openly to *fame.*—KNIGHT: The equivocation which Richard uses consists in the repetition of the words 'live long,' which the Prince has caught, but with a different 'meaning.' He has 'moralized two meanings' by retaining the same conclusion of his sentence, or 'word.'—DOUCE (i, 468): When the *vicious* qualities annexed to the names of this singular theatrical personage in our old dramas, together with the mischievous nature of his general conduct and deportment, be considered, there will scarcely remain a doubt that the word 'Vice' must be taken *in its literal and common acceptation.* It may be worth while just to state some of these curious appellations, such as *shift, ambidexter, sin, fraud, vanity, covetousness, iniquity, prodigality, infidelity, inclination,* and many others that are entirely lost, or still lurk amidst the impenetrable stores of our ancient dramatic compositions.—COLLIER (*Hist. Dram. Poet.*, ii, 266): The Vice was wholly unknown in our 'religious plays,' which have hitherto gone by the name of Mysteries, and to which Gifford, Malone, and Theobald refer. *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen* and *King Darius*, which both contain the character of 'the Vice,' were not written until the reign of Mary. The same remark will apply to the *Interlude of Queen Hester*, 1561, which differs from other religious plays, inasmuch as 'the Vice' there is a court Jester and servant, and is named Hardy-dardy. . . . In the most ancient Moral-plays characters of gross buffoonery and vicious propensities were inserted for the amusement and instruction of the audience: but, although we hear of 'the fool' in Medwell's interlude performed before Henry VIII. in 1516, such a character seems very rarely to have been specifically called 'the Vice' anterior to the Reformation. . . . He did not by any means constantly wear the parti-coloured habilaments of a fool: he was sometimes required to act a gallant, and now and then to assume the disguise of virtues it suited his purpose to personate. In *The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen* he several times changes his apparel for the sake of deception. In *The Trial of Treasure*, 1567, he was not only provided, as was customary, with his wooden dagger, but in order to render him more ridiculous, with a pair of spectacles (no doubt of preposterous size), which he is desired by one of the characters to put on. The 'long coat' worn by 'the Vice,' alluded to in Ben Jonson's *Devil is an Ass*, I, i, was doubtless that dress which, Douce informs us, belonged 'to the Idiot or natural fool,' often of a mischievous or malignant disposition; and it affords another link of connection between the Vice and the domestic fool. The same observation may, perhaps, be made upon the 'false skirts' mentioned by Jonson in his *Staple of News;* and the 'juggler's jerkin' in the same passage might be the sort of dress worn by the Vice in the interlude of *Jack Juggler.* —WARD (i, 60): As there is in the old French moralities no character similar to 'the Vice,' he must be assumed to have been of native English origin. . . . It is impossible not to admire the ingenuity of this invention, which counterbalanced the dead weight of the abstractions constituting the main agents of the morality. It was the character of 'the Vice' which helped to make possible the growth of comedy out of the moralities.—STAUNTON: May [Richard] not refer to the double sense of the word 'characters' [see Capell], which signifies both the signs by which we communicate ideas, and the good or evil qualities which distinguish us?—WRIGHT:

Prince. That *Iulius Cæſar* was a famous man,
With what his Valour did enrich his Wit,
His Wit ſet downe, to make his Valour liue:
Death makes no Conqueſt of his Conqueror,

99. *makes*] *made* Han. 99. *his*] Q_{2-8}, Ff, Rowe, Pope, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *this* Q_1 et cet.

'Formal' appears to be here used very much as we now use *conventional* to describe that which was regular and in accordance with ordinary rule and custom. The Vice of the Stage was a familiar figure to the audience, and they were thoroughly accustomed to his proceedings. . . . It would appear from the present passage that one of his devices for [making the audience laugh] was to play upon the double meanings of words. In Holland's *Pliny*, vii, 48, 'vice' is the rendering of the Latin *mima:* 'Luceia a common vice in a play, followed the stage and acted thereupon 100 yeeres.' As the moral of any circumstance or narrative is the meaning which lies hidden in it, to 'moralize' signifies *to draw out* or *interpret* this meaning. Compare: 'Did he not moralize this spectacle,'—*As You Like It*, II, i, 44,—that is, deduce from it some moral sense. And hence to expound generally. . . . Richard is afraid that his villainy should not be sufficiently apparent, and in his '*Asides*' to the audience becomes his own expositor.—VAUGHAN (iii, 72): The word to which Gloucester describes himself as giving two meanings I take to be the one word 'say.' . . . 'I say' in Gloucester's reply is the antithesis to 'they say' in l. 91. . . . The two meanings [which he moralises 'in one word'] are—the one, *speak* or *utter;* the other, *lay down as a maxim or opinion.* This equivocation with this one word makes his whole answer both a truth and a lie—a truth to the ear, a lie to the understanding. The two words 'live long' were, perhaps, repeated by Gloucester in order to facilitate the acceptance of his statement, as the words had probably been overheard, but they did not constitute the equivocation of that statement.—MARSHALL: It would seem that 'formal' does not here mean *precise, pedantic,* or, as it is generally explained, *conventional,* because 'the Vice' was *conventional* in his dress, demeanour, and his jokes; but it would seem rather to have the sense of *common, ordinary,* as it is used in: 'Thou shouldst come like a Fury crown'd with snakes Not like a formal man.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, II, v, 40, 41. [MARSHALL asserts that 'formal' does not mean *conventional,* but what is *common, ordinary.* Is not this the very meaning given, and justly, by Wright, to 'conventional'? Possibly this is Richard's most triumphant equivocation. Could he have achieved greater success than by the bewilderment of the critics, who in turn have decided that his equivocating words are: 'so wise, so young'; 'characters'; 'I say without characters'; 'live'; 'ne'er live long'; and 'say'? When my betters are so distraught would it not verge on impudency either to decide or to suggest?—ED.]

97. **With what**] ABBOTT (§ 252) calls attention to this curious use of 'what,' meaning here, *that with which.*

99. **his Conqueror**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 149): Death has not conquered Julius Cæsar, who may, much rather, be said to have conquered death, inasmuch as he still lives, at least, in fame. This fine thought the anonymous corrector of the Quarto so little understood that he altered 'his' to *this.* [That the Folio reading, although having so few advocates, is nevertheless to be preferred for the reasons given by DELIUS, is the opinion of the present ED.]

For now he liues in Fame, though not in Life.
Ile tell you what, my Couſin *Buckingham.*
Buck. What, my gracious Lord?
Prince. And if I liue vntill I be a man,
Ile win our ancient Right in France againe,
Or dye a Souldier, as I liu'd a King.
Glo. Short Summers lightly haue a forward Spring.

100. *now*] *yet* Cap.
101. *my*] Om. F_3F_4.
102. *gracious*] *good* Cap.
103. *And*] *An* Theob. et seq.
106. *Short...Spring.*] In Italics, F_3F_4. Aside. Johns. Cap.
106. *Summers...haue*] *summers...has* Pope i. *summer...has* Pope ii, + (– Var. '73).
lightly] *likely* Q_8. *mostly* Gould.

100. **For now . . . not in Life**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 463): Shakespeare not infrequently makes his children talk beyond their years, and at times almost greatly; nevertheless they still wear the childlike air and manner—so completely did he invest himself for the time in the spiritual garment of each character as he summoned it to the scene. The questions the little king puts to his uncle respecting Julius Cæsar, and his precocious reflection upon the character of that great Roman, strictly harmonise with his forced maturity of mind, and yet the manner of his speech is youthful. Although here is sound philosophy, and that it is somewhat precocious in reflection, yet how perfectly is the language in which it is expressed that of a superior-minded child!

103–105. **And if I liue . . . as I liu'd a King**] CHURCHILL (p. 505): The young King [in *The True Tragedy*] gives evidence of a maturity for which the chronicle offers no hint. This may find its source in *3 Hen. VI.* The same ripeness is still more extensively shown by the Prince in Shakespeare. That *The True Tragedy* may have been partly responsible for this is suggested not only by its precedence in the conception, but by the likeness in the following passages: '*King.* Ah gods, if I do live my fathers yeares as God forbid but I may, I will so roote out this malice & enuie sowne among the nobilitie, that I will make them weary that were the first beginners of these mischiefes. *Gray.* Worthily well spoken of your princely Maiestie, Which no doubt sheweth a king-like resolution.'

103. **And if**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* And. C. *conj. conditional* = If.): This was a common use of Middle High German *unde;* . . . It may have originated from ellipsis, as in the analogous use of *so, e. g.*, 'I'll cross the sea, *so* it please my lord' (Shakespeare); *cf.* 'and it please'; or it may be connected with the introductory *and* in 'And you are going?' A direct development from the original prepositional sense, though *a priori* plausible, is on historical grounds improbable. Modern writers, chiefly since Horne Tooke, have treated this as a distinct word, writing it *an*, a spelling occasionally found *circa* 1600, especially in *an' 't*, equivalent to *and it.*

106. **lightly**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): † 6. b. As is apt to happen; commonly, often. [SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) quotes the present line as the only example of Shakespeare's use of the word 'lightly' in the foregoing sense. Between the several subdivisions of meaning given by Bradley, *e. g.*, '4. Easily, readily; 5. Quickly, swiftly; 6. As may easily happen. † 6. b. As is apt to happen'; besides the use

Enter young Yorke, Haſtings, and Cardinall. 107

Buck. Now in good time, heere comes the Duke of Yorke.

Prince. *Richard* of Yorke, how fares our Noble Brother? 110

Yorke. Well, my deare Lord, ſo muſt I call you now.

Prince. I, Brother, to our griefe, as it is yours:
Too late he dy'd, that might haue kept that Title,
Which by his death hath loſt much Maieſtie. 115

107. young] Om. Rowe, +, Cap. Dyce. and] Om. Qq. Cardinall.] Archbishop. Rowe, +. the Cardinal. Cap. et seq.

110. *Noble*] *louing* Q_1Q_2, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam, +, Ktly, Huds.

112. *deare*] Q_{3-6},Ff, Rowe. *dread* Q_1 Q_2 et cet.

114. *Too late*] *Too soon* Han. *So late* Vaughan (iii, 74).

---

of 'lightly' in l. 137, the exact shade of meaning is in the present line not *lightly* discriminated.—ED.]

107. **Enter young Yorke**] WRIGHT: In the history, the young Duke was brought to his uncle in the Star Chamber and afterwards taken to join his brother at the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's.

112. **deare Lord**] KNIGHT: The epithet *dread* [of Q_1Q_2] requires to be retained, for 'dear Lord' would not mark the new title by which York addresses his brother—'*lord*' being the title by which York is himself subsequently named.—R. G. WHITE: [*Dread Lord* was a royal title, and] it is selected with noticeable tact, as the one which marks most strongly the change of relation between the little playfellows. 'Great and manifold were the blessings, Most Dread Sovereign'—are the words in which the translators of our Bible began their Dedication to King James.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 155): The formality in the speech of the prince to his younger brother is intended to be slightly jocose, and with the same spirit of jocosity the younger prince replies, addressing his brother indeed as his Lord, but yet qualifying his address with the familiar 'dear.' The anonymous corrector of the Quarto has completely destroyed the delicate formality of the first line, as well as the familiarity of the second, since he changes 'noble' to *loving* and 'dear' to *dread*. [That the Quarto reading *dread* is the more fitting is shown, I think, by the reply of the young king: 'Too late he died that might have kept that title Which by his death hath lost much majesty.' The title which has lost majesty in its new representative is presumably the royal one, and not that of 'dear Lord.' The use of 'our' in the preceding line seems to indicate also the remembrance by the young king of his royal position.—ED.]

114. **Too late he dy'd**] WARBURTON: That is, too lately, the loss is too fresh in our memory. [SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.* adv. 3) furnishes many examples of *late* used in this sense. KEIGHTLEY suggests that the words should be *too soon* [see *Text. Notes*], or *too early*, and adds: 'This may perhaps be regarded as an instance of the substitution of a contrary term.' See *Expositor*, p. 62, § 10, where a remarkable number of similar typographical errors is given.—ED.]

Glo. How fares our Couſin, Noble Lord of Yorke? 116
Yorke. I thanke you, gentle Vnckle. O my Lord,
You ſaid, that idle Weeds are faſt in growth:
The Prince, my Brother, hath out-growne me farre.
Glo. He hath, my Lord. 120
Yorke. And therefore is he idle?
Glo. Oh my faire Couſin, I muſt not ſay ſo.
Yorke. Then he is more beholding to you, then I.
Glo. He may command me as my Soueraigne,
But you haue power in me, as in a Kinſman. 125
Yorke. I pray you, Vnckle, giue me this Dagger.
Glo. My Dagger, little Couſin? with all my heart.
Prince. A Begger, Brother? 128

119. *out-growne*] *ouergrowne* Q_8.
120, 121. As one line, Steev. et seq.
121. *idle?*] *idle.* F_3F_4.
123. *he is*] *is he* Theob. ii, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
beholding] *beholden* Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Ran. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sta.
125. *in me*] *o'er me* Coll. MS.
126. *Vnckle, giue*] *uncle then, give* Han. Steev. Var. '03, '13. *gentle uncle, give* Ktly. *uncle give to* Ibid. conj. (Exp. 263).
this] *this your* Theob. ii, Warb. Johns.

---

118. **You said, that idle Weeds, etc.**] COURTENAY (*Comment.*, ii, 82) remarks that he can 'find no warrant in the *Chronicles*' for this 'pert conversation of the Duke of York.' But then the *Chronicles* are also silent in regard to the scene between Clarence and the Murderers; and also to the main part of the remorse of Edward for the death of his brother.—ED.

123. **beholding**] See II, i, 139, and note.

126. **giue me this Dagger**] ABBOTT (p. 449) cites this line as an example of dramatic irony.—MARSHALL: The emendation which we have ventured to print is a very simple one. [Thus: 'I pray you, uncle, give me this—(*playing with Gloucester's sword-belt—then touching the dagger*) this dagger.'] It is probable that, if our conjecture is right, the transcriber might have overlooked the repetition of *this*. It is pretty certain, whether we insert the word *this* or not, that the speaker was intended to pause before naming his request; and it would seem, from the context, that Gloucester had no idea of what the little prince was going to ask for, and that he was rather relieved when he found that his request was a comparatively trifling one.—BARNARD (*Notes & Queries*, 23d May, 1896, p. 402): This may simply be meant to represent a natural request on the part of a pert, forward boy, or it may also involve an intimation that it were well that Gloucester should be rendered harmless by being disarmed. May it, however, further imply the disarming of Gloucester in another sense as well? For one of the most familiar amulets against the evil eye was a model of a sword or dagger; and there would be a touch of Shakespearean irony in thus proposing that Richard should provide his intended victim with a counter-charm against his own malignity. [See note by BARNARD, I, ii, 50.]

Yorke. Of my kind Vnckle, that I know will giue,
And being but a Toy,which is no griefe to giue.
Glo. A greater gift then that, Ile giue my Couſin.
Yorke. A greater gift? O, that's the Sword to it.
Glo. I, gentle Couſin, were it light enough.
Yorke. O then I ſee, you will part but with light gifts,
In weightier things you'le ſay a Begger nay.
Glo. It is too weightie for your Grace to weare.
Yorke. I weigh it lightly, were it heauier.
Glo. What, would you haue my Weapon, little Lord?
Yorke. I would that I might thanke you, as, as, you

129. *Of*] *Ay, a beggar, brother, of* Anon. ap. Cam.
that...will giue] *that...will give't* Lettsom ap. Dyce ii. *who will give't, I know* Marshall conj.
130. *And*] Om. Lettsom ap. Dyce ii.
being but] *being* Ff. *but* Anon. ap. Cam.
which is] *it is* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Cap. Om. Steev. conj.
griefe] *gift* Q_{6-8}, Johns. Varr. Ran.
to giue.] *to lack.* Anon. ap. Cam. *to.* Vaughan, doubtfully (iii, 75).
132. *to*] *too* Q_5.
134. *you will*] *you'll* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
gifts] *gift* Rowe.
136. *weightie*] *heauy* Q_1, Cam.+.
137. *I weigh*] *I'd weigh* Han. *I'd wear* Lettsom ap. Dyce ii.
139. *thanke*] *thinke* Q_8.
as, as,] *as as* Q_3. *as—as—* Walker (Crit. iii, 173), Huds. *as* QqFf et cet.

130. **being**] For other examples of a 'contraction in words, wherein a light vowel is preceded by a heavy vowel or diphthong,' see ABBOTT, § 470. Such a contraction, Abbott remarks, will explain this apparent Alexandrine.

137. **I weigh it lightly**] WARBURTON: That is, I should still esteem it but a trifling gift, were it heavier.

138. **my Weapon**] MARSHALL: Note the emphasis [on 'my']; Gloucester asks contemptuously: 'Would you, child as you are, have *my* weapon, the sword with which I have done such mighty deeds?' [This is Marshall's own emphasis, and probably correct, but it is not the rhythmical emphasis. Is it possible to read the line with its due iambics, and make the ictus fall on 'my'?—ED.]

139, 140. **as, as, you call me**] PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 92): There can be very little doubt, I think, that in this scene the corrector of the Folio, for some reason or other, had recourse to one of the Quartos; [the present line] appears to make it almost certain that the particular Quarto was Q_3. Now it will be observed that the misprints . . . are not such as any one might correct; but if the corrector had been the *author*, would he not certainly have restored the true reading? . . . The commas which are inserted after each 'as' in the Folio, show how desperately the corrector had tried to extract a meaning out of the mere printer's blunder in Q_3, the copy which he had then before him.—WRIGHT: [This repetition of 'as'], apparently to indicate a hesitation on the part of the speaker, makes the verse redundant. [If this be a misprint, it is certainly felicitous; and rightly interpreted by WALKER, see *Text. Notes.*—ED.]

call me.
Glo. How?
Yorke. Little.
Prince. My Lord of Yorke will ſtill be croſſe in talke:
Vnckle, your Grace knowes how to beare with him.
Yorke. You meane to beare me, not to beare with me:
Vnckle, my Brother mockes both you and me,
Becauſe that I am little, like an Ape,
He thinkes that you ſhould beare me on your ſhoulders.
Buck. With what a ſharpe prouided wit he reaſons:

143. *ſtill*] *euer* F_3F_4, Rowe.
149. Buck.] Card. or Hast. Anon. ap. Cam.
149–152. [Aside to Hastings. Cap.
149. *ſharpe prouided*] *sharp-provided* Theob. et seq.

143. **crosse in talke**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Cross, adj.): 5 † a. Of persons, their dispositions, actions, etc. Given to opposition; inclined to quarrel or disagree; perverse, froward, contrarious. [The present line quoted.]

147, 148. **Ape, . . . you should beare me**] JOHNSON: The reproach seems to consist in this: at country shows it was common to set the monkey on the back of some other animal, as a *bear*. The Duke, therefore, in calling himself 'ape,' calls his uncle *bear*.—STEEVENS: Compare: '—Thou hast an excellent back to carry my lord's ape,' *First Part of the Eighth Liberal Science, entituled Ars Adulandi, &c.* by Ulpian Fulwel, 1576. See likewise Hogarth's *Humours of an Election*, plate iv. York also alludes to the protuberance on Gloucester's back, which was commodious for carrying burdens, as it supplied the place of a porter's knot.—M. MASON: I do not believe that the reproach is what Johnson supposes, or that York meant to call his uncle a *bear*. He merely alludes to Richard's deformity, his high shoulder, or hump-back, as it is called. That was 'the scorn' he meant to 'give his uncle.'—DOUCE (ii, 35): There is a fine picture, by Holbein, of Henry VIII. and some of his family. In it is an admirable portrait of Will Somers, the king's fool, with a monkey clinging to his neck and apparently rendering his friend William a very essential piece of service, wherein this animal is remarkably dexterous. . . . York may therefore mean to call his uncle a *fool*, and this, after all, may be the *scorn* that Buckingham afterwards refers to.

149. **sharpe prouided wit**] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 330): The MS Corrector assures us that, although the intention of the dramatist is evident, a decided misprint has crept into the line: he reads, '*sharply pointed* wit.'—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, 171): 'Sharp provided' could never be a misprint for *sharply pointed*, nor do they resemble in sound. The old reading, according to Baret, may well be continued: 'provided of those things which he should saie.' Interference, and especially such a violent change as the correctors propose, is entirely unnecessary. —COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 468): The little York's pert and sly taunts to his uncle Gloucester, in the presence of the young king, are most naturally managed, and as skilfully contrasted with the sweet, gentle sketch of his brother, whose premature thought has taken the character of pensive care and unnaturally early wisdom.

To mittigate the ſcorne he giues his Vnckle,
He prettily and aptly taunts himſelfe:
So cunning, and ſo young, is wonderfull.
Glo. My Lord, wilt pleaſe you paſſe along?
My ſelfe, and my good Couſin *Buckingham*,
Will to your Mother, to entreat of her
To meet you at the Tower, and welcome you.
Yorke. What, will you goe vnto the Tower, my Lord?
Prince. My Lord Protector will haue it ſo.
Yorke. I ſhall not ſleepe in quiet at the Tower.
Glo. Why, what ſhould you feare?

150. *giues*] *giue* Q_3Q_5.
151. *prettily*] *pretely* Qq.
153. *Lord*] *gracious Lord* Han. Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13.
wilt] QqFf, Rowe. *will it* Ktly. *will't* Pope et cet.
you] *your highness* Cap. *your grace to* Coll. ii, iii (MS). *you to* Ktly.
154. *Couſin*] *Cooſen* Q_1. *couzen* Q_4.
158. *will*] Q_{2-8},Ff, Rowe, Pope. *here will* Han. Cap. *needes will* Q_1 et cet.
160. *what*] *Sir, what* Han. Cap. Steev. Var. '03, '13.

155. **Will to your Mother**] Compare: 'I'll to the king and signify to him,' I, iv, 101.—OECHELHÄUSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 100): The opinion advanced by Rötscher, and later adopted by other æsthetic critics, for example, Meziéres, that Richard's design of murdering his nephews first came to maturity during this conversation with the prince, cannot, in my opinion, be maintained consistently with the whole tenour of the play, and especially with Richard's character. Had he let fall those grim *asides*—so portentous of an approaching end—on the occasion of the mocking gibes of the precocious little Duke of York, it would be a more plausible ground for the foregoing opinion that he here first contemplated the murder. But Richard uttered both those asides in conversation with the *elder* of the two princes. Is it in accordance with the present events and characters to conceive that the innocent remarks on the founding of the tower by Cæsar, and the sensible remark: 'Methinks the truth should live from age to age,' etc., first suggested to Richard the thought of murdering *both* nephews? The removal itself, no matter whether Prince Edward appeared witty or not, was a natural consequence of the first step. Imprisonment in that wild time of party-discord was so insufficient that, in order to remain in undisturbed possession of the throne, this bloody deed must have been of necessity included in Richard's *original idea*.

158. **will haue it so**] The reading '*e'en* will have it so,' which is that of COLLIER'S MS, was not adopted by him either in his edition ii, or in his Mono-volume.—ED.

160. **Why, what should you feare**] STEEVENS: Without Hanmer's addition of *sir*, this half line is harsh and quite unmetrical.—MALONE: Certainly unmetrical, and why not? Here Steevens again falls into the error which I have so often had occasion to mention—that every word, and every short address of three or four words, are to be considered as parts of metrical verses, a notion which has again and again been confuted. But if any were to be made to this line, a more improper

Yorke. Marry, my Vnckle *Clarence* angry Ghoſt:
My Grandam told me he was murther'd there.
Prince. I feare no Vnckles dead.
Glo. Nor none that liue, I hope.
Prince. And if they liue, I hope I need not feare.
But come my Lord: and with a heauie heart,
Thinking on them, goe I vnto the Tower.
A Senet. Exeunt Prince, Yorke, Haſtings, and Dorſet.

Manet Richard, Buckingham, and Catesby.

Buck. Thinke you, my Lord, this little prating *Yorke*
Was not incenſed by his ſubtile Mother,

162. *Grandam*] *Granam* Qq.
163, 164. As one line, Ktly.
165. *And*] *An* Theob. et seq.
166. *and*] Om. Qq.
168. A Senet.] Om. QqFf, Rowe,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Ktly. Dorſet.] Archbishop. Han.
169. Manet ... Catesby.] Manent ... Catesby. F_2F_4, Rowe. Om. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Exeunt all but Richard ...Catesby. Cam.+. SCENE II. Manent ...Catesby. Pope,+ (–Var.'73).

---

word than *sir* could scarcely be found. Hanmer should seem to have been thinking of the court of George II. In our days we address the princes of the blood by the title of *sir;* but I have found no instance of such an address being used to a prince in the time of Shakespeare.

161. **Clarence angry Ghost**] Compare: 'The bitter sentence of poor Clarence death,' I, iv, 184.

165. **And if**] See l. 103 *supra.*

165. **And if they liue . . . feare**] VAUGHAN (iii, 75): If 'they' be referred to the uncles that live of Gloucester's answer [there is an absurdity]; but there is perfect propriety and sense if 'they' be referred to the 'uncles' of the prince's observation. In this case we must take the two speeches of the prince together as meaning this: 'I fear not my uncles if they are dead, and I hope I need not fear at all if my uncles are alive.' The prince is desirous to avoid any statement that he is not afraid of his *living* uncle Richard, and he frames his language accordingly, so as to answer Gloucester's question in form, without giving him the assurance for which the question was asked. . . . That the words, 'And if they live,' do refer to the 'uncles dead' of the prince's speech, is evinced by what follows: 'And with a heavy heart Thinking on them go I unto the Tower'; where 'them' cannot possibly relate to any but uncles, who, as he supposed, might be dead.

171. **incensed**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): v.[2] † 4. To incite to some action; to urge, instigate, stir up, 'set on.' Coverdale: *Erasmus Par.* i, *Pet.* 7: 'The Profession . . . whereunto they ought rather to be encensed and allured by your honest behauiour.' —NARES: To put sense into, to instruct, inform. A provincial expression still quite current in Staffordshire, and probably Warwickshire, whence we may sup-

To taunt and ſcorne you thus opprobriouſly?
Glo. No doubt, no doubt: Oh 'tis a perillous Boy,
Bold, quicke, ingenious, forward, capable:
Hee is all the Mothers, from the top to toe.
Buck. Well, let them reſt: Come hither *Catesby*,
Thou art ſworne as deepely to effect what we intend,
As cloſely to conceale what we impart:
Thou know'ſt our reaſons vrg'd vpon the way.
What think'ſt thou? is it not an eaſie matter,
To make *William* Lord *Haſtings* of our minde,
For the inſtallment of this Noble Duke
In the Seat Royall of this famous Ile?

173. *perillous*] Q_1Q_2,F_2F_3. *perilous* Q_{3-6}, Coll. Hal. *perlous* Q_7Q_8. *per'lous* Pope,+. *parlous* F_4 et cet.

175. *Mothers*] *Mother's* Rowe et seq. *the top*] *top* F_3F_4.

176, 177. *Well... Thou*] As one line, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

Well... ſworne] As one line (omitting *hither*), Pope,+. Ending lines *reſt...ſworne* Cap. Steev. Varr. As one line, Varr. Mal.

176. Catesby] *gentle Catesby* Cap. Steev. Varr.

177. *deepely*] *deep* Dyce ii conj, Marshall.

Thou art ſworne] Separate line, Cam. conj.

179. *know'ſt*] *knoweſt* Qq.

180, 186. *think'ſt*] *thinkeſt* Qq.

181. William *Lord*] *Lord William* Pope,+ (–Var.'73), Marshall.

182. *inſtallment*] *inſtalement* Q_1Q_2.

---

pose Shakespeare had it. Buckingham does not mean provoked, for the child had shown no anger; but *instructed, schooled.* [MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Insense) gives numerous examples wherein the word means *to instruct.*—ED.]—WRIGHT: Although a meaning of 'incense' may be, *to instruct, to inform*, the usual signification of the word [*to instigate*] gives very good sense in the present passage.

173. **perillous**] See note on 'parlous,' II, iv, 39.

174. **capable**] That is, quick of apprehension, intelligent.

176. **Catesby**] For other examples of *e* mute, pronounced, see ABBOTT, § 487; compare III, vii, 61; 69; 87; 89, where this name, although occurring in the middle of the line, must, for the sake of the metre, be pronounced 'Catésby.'

177. **Thou art sworne**] WRIGHT: These words should perhaps be placed by themselves, or, omitting 'hither,' be read with the previous line.—TAWNEY: Possibly 'deeply' may be taken with 'effect,' in the sense of *cunningly.* [Would not a comma after 'deeply' render the sense of these two lines somewhat clearer? Thus: 'Thou art sworn as deeply, to effect what we intend, As closely to conceal what we impart.' That is, You are as deeply sworn to carry out our wishes, as you are to secrecy in regard to them.—BARNARD offers as an alternative interpretation to the above: Thou art sworn both cunningly to effect what we intend and closely to conceal what we impart.—ED.]

183. **Seat Royall**] WRIGHT: Compare: 'and the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with solempnite rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roial.'—Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 375.

Cates. He for his fathers ſake ſo loues the Prince,
That he will not be wonne to ought againſt him.
Buck. What think'ſt thou then of *Stanley*? Will not hee?
Cates. Hee will doe all in all as *Haſtings* doth.
Buck. Well then, no more but this:
Goe gentle *Catesby*, and as it were farre off,
Sound thou Lord *Haſtings*,
How he doth ſtand affected to our purpoſe,
And ſummon him to morrow to the Tower,
To ſit about the Coronation.
If thou do'ſt finde him tractable to vs,
Encourage him, and tell him all our reaſons:
If he be leaden, ycie, cold, vnwilling,

185. *ought*] QqFf, Rowe, Pope, Han. Cap. *aught* Theob. et cet.
186, 187. *Will not hee?*] *what will he?* Qq, Cam. +.
189–191. Two lines, ending: Catesby ...Haſtings, Pope et seq.
189. *but*] *than* Rowe ii.
190. *farre*] *a farre* Qq. *far* F_3F_4 et seq.
191, 192. *Sound...affected*] One line, Qq.
191. *thou*] Q_1Q_2. Om. Q_{3-8}.
192. *doth ſtand*] *ſtands* Qq.
to our purpoſe] *Vnto our purpoſe, if he be willing*, as one line, Qq.
our] *your* Q_4.
193–195. *And...to vs*] Om. Qq.
196. *tell*] *ſhew* Qq, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
197. *leaden*] *laden* F_3F_4.
ycie, cold] *icy-cold* Ingleby, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

190, 191. **farre off, Sound thou Lord Hastings**] Compare: 'It is better to sound a person with whom one deals, afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question.'—Bacon, *Essay: Of Negotiating*. This essay appeared in the edition of 1597, the same year as Q_1 of the present play.—ED.

193, 194. **And summon him . . . the Coronation**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 137): The omission of these lines in the Quarto leaves it somewhat enigmatical why Hastings should be on the point of departure for the council as given in the next scene.—KOPPEL (p. 19): From several passages in the next scene it is evident that Hastings was to take part in this council, which is here mentioned. Thus Stanley warns him in regard to the 'divided councils,' to which Hastings replies: 'His honour and myself are at the one'; again, 'Go bid thy master rise and come to me; And we will both together to the tower.' Moreover, in the following scene Catesby does not carry out the orders given here by Richard; he merely speaks of the lords at Pomfret, and then quickly learns just how Hastings stands as regards the crowning of Richard. There is no question of any summons by Catesby: such would have been utterly superfluous, since Hastings was certainly about to depart for the Tower. Thus, in further contradiction of the opinion of Delius, the omission of this passage should rather be regarded as a justifiable and intelligent correction.

Be thou ſo too, and ſo breake off the talke,
And giue vs notice of his inclination:
For we to morrow hold diuided Councels,
Wherein thy ſelfe ſhalt highly be employ'd.
Rich. Commend me to Lord *William:* tell him *Catesby*,
His ancient Knot of dangerous Aduerſaries
To morrow are let blood at Pomfret Caſtle,
And bid my Lord, for ioy of this good newes,
Giue Miſtreſſe *Shore* one gentle Kiſſe the more.
Buck. Good *Catesby*, goe effect this buſineſſe ſoundly.
Cates. My good Lords both, with all the heed I can.
Rich. Shall we heare from you, *Catesby*, ere we ſleepe?
Cates. You ſhall, my Lord.
Rich. At *Crosby* Houſe, there ſhall you find vs both.

198. *the*] *your* Qq, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
205. *Lord*] *friend* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. (*friends* Q_{6-8}.)
206. *Miſtreſſe*] *gentle Miſtreſſe* Q_{3-5}. *gentle Miſtris* Q_6. *gentile Mis* Q_7. *gentle Mis* Q_8.
207. *goe*] Om. Qq.
208. *can*] *may* Qq, Cam. +.
209. *Shall*] *Sall* Q_4.
211. Crosby *Houſe*] Ff, Rowe, Wh. i. *Croſby place* Qq. *Crosby-Place* Pope et cet.
ſhall you] *you ſhall* Rowe, +, Varr. Ran.

198. **the talke**] WRIGHT, in referring to the Quarto reading *your*, remarks that the 'MS had probably "y^r" or "y^e."'

200. **diuided Councels**] 'But the protectour and the duke, after that, they had set the lord Cardinall, the Archebishoppe of Yorke than lorde Chauncellour, the Bishoppe of Ely, the lord Stanley and the lord Hastinges than lord Chamberleine, with many other noble men to commune and deuise about the coronacion in one place: as fast were they in an other place contryuyng the contrary, and to make the protectour kyng.'—*More*, p. 66.

203. **Knot**] Compare: 'A knot you are of damned blood-suckers,' III, iii, 8.

209, 210. **Shall we heare from you . . . You shall, my Lord**] DANIEL (*Introd.*, xix): With a mere change of name, these speeches occur again in IV, ii, 'Shall we heare from you Tirrel, ere we sleepe? Ye shall my Lord.' Now on the first occurrence of these speeches it is to be noted that Catesby does not execute his mission 'till the next morning, and it surely does not require any great effort of the imagination to suppose that, in revision, these speeches were *therefore* transferred to the Tyrell scene where they fit better; though through oversight they were not struck out in the previous Catesby scene. It could never have been intended that they should appear in both places. . . . All such variations between the Folio and Quarto, it seems to me, can only be regarded as alterations of the Folio version when the Quarto was prepared. Until evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, all the other textual variations in the two versions must be set down to the same cause, due allowance being, of course, made for error and corruption.

211. **Crosby House**] See I, ii, 236, and note.

Exit Catesby. 212

Buck. Now, my Lord,
What ſhall wee doe, if wee perceiue
Lord *Haſtings* will not yeeld to our Complots? 215
Rich. Chop off his Head:
Something wee will determine:
And looke when I am King, clayme thou of me
The Earledome of Hereford, and all the moueables
Whereof the King, my Brother, was poſſeſt. 220

212. Exit Catesby] Om. Q_1Q_2.
213, 214. *Now...perceiue*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
213. *Now*] Om. Pope,+, Cap. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
215. *Lord*] *William Lord* Qq, Sta. *Complots*] *complot* Q_4.
216, 217. *Chop...determine*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
216. *Head:*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Knt, Wh. i. *head man*, Qq. *head, man*, Pope et cet.
217. *Something...determine*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Knt, Wh. i. *Somewhat...do* Qq et cet.
217. *Something*] *'s somewhat* Vaughan (iii, 77).
218. *clayme thou*] *thou claim* Vaughan (iii, 78).
219. *Hereford*] Q_1Q_2. *Herford* Qq. (*Hertford* Q_6.)
all] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
220. *was*] *ſtood* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.

---

215. **Complots**] WRIGHT: Cotgrave has '*Complot:* m. A complot, conspiracie, couin, confederacie, packe, or compacting together.'

217. **Something . . . determine**] KNIGHT: It is difficult not to have a leaning to the Quarto reading, with which we have so long been familiar; but, on the other hand, it is impossible to believe that the correction came from any hand but that of the author.—COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 330): [Since] Richard's answer to Buckingham is made, by the MS corrector, to conform precisely to the words of the Quarto, we may perhaps conclude that the actor so recited the line in the time of the old corrector, and not as it stands more tamely in the Folios.—R. G. WHITE: Aside from the authority of the Folio, 'determine,' in its fine sense, *bring to an end*, is much preferable to the more vague and commonplace *do* [of the Quarto] (Richard means to have done with vacillation and vacillators in the surest and quickest way), and the change avoids the bald repetition of Buckingham's query, 'what shall we do?' and also the cacophony, 'somewhat *we will*.'—MARSHALL: It is not necessary to take 'determine' here as equivalent to *to put an end to*. It seems to us that the Qto reading is more commonplace than that of the Ff. Gloucester answers with characteristic promptitude, 'Chop off his head,' so getting rid of Hastings; but the next sentence, 'something we will determine,' is spoken in a more serious manner, the meaning being, having got rid of him, we will determine on some plan of action.

219. **Earledome of Hereford**] WRIGHT: Buckingham claimed the earldom of Hereford in virtue of his descent from Thomas of Woodstock, who married Eleanor, daughter and coheiress of Humphrey de Bohun.

Buck. Ile clayme that promiſe at your Graces hand.
Rich. And looke to haue it yeelded with all kindneſſe.
Come, let vs ſuppe betimes, that afterwards
Wee may digeſt our complots in ſome forme.
Exeunt.

221. *Graces*] Om. Q_7Q_8. *hand*] *hands* Qq, Cam.+.
222. *all kindneſſe*] *all willingneſſe* Q_1, Sta. Cam.+. *willingneſſe* Q_{2-6}.

221. **Buck. Ile clayme that promise]** RICHARDSON (p. 30): [Buckingham] possesses some talents, and considerable discernment of human nature: his passions are ardent; he has little zeal for the public welfare, or the interests of virtue or religion; yet to a certain degree, he possesses humanity and a sense of duty. He is moved with the love of power and of wealth. He is susceptible, perhaps, of envy against those who arise to such pre-eminence as he thinks might have suited his own talents and condition. Possessing some political abilities, or at least possessing that cunning, that power of subtile contrivance, and that habit of activity, which sometimes pass for political abilities, and which, imposing upon those who possess them, make them fancy themselves endowed with the powers of distinguished statesmen; he values himself for his talents, and is desirous of displaying them. Indeed, this seems to be the most striking feature in his character; and the desire of exhibiting his skill and dexterity appears to be the foremost of his active principles. Such a person is Buckingham; and the conduct of Richard is perfectly consonant. Having too much penetration, or too little regard to the public weal, to be blindfolded or imposed upon, like the Mayor Richard treats him with apparent confidence. Moved, perhaps, with envy against the kindred of the Queen, or the hope of preeminence in consequence of their ruin, he concurs in the accomplishment of their destruction, and in assisting the usurper to attain his unlawful preferment. But, above all, excessively vain of his talents, Richard borrows aid from his counsels, and not only uses him as the tool of his designs, but seems to share with him in the glory of their success. Knowing, too, that his sense of virtue is faint, or of little power, and that the secret exultation and triumph for over-reaching their adversaries will afford him pleasure sufficient to counterbalance the pain that may arise in his breast from the perpetration of guilt, he makes him, in a certain degree, the confident of his crimes. It is also to be remarked that Buckingham, elated with the hope of reward, and elated still more with vanity in the display of his talents, appears more active than the usurper himself; more inventive in the contrivance of expedients, and more alert in their execution. There are many such persons, the instruments of designing men: persons of some ability, of less virtue, who derive consequence to themselves by fancying they are privy to the vices or designs of men whom they respect, and who are lifted with triumph in the fulfilment of crafty projects. Richard, however, sees the slightness of Buckingham's mind, and reveals no more of his projects and vices than he reckons expedient for the accomplishment of his purpose: for, as some men, when at variance, so restrain their resentments as to leave room for future reconciliation and friendship, so Richard manages his seeming friendships as to leave room, without the hazard of material injury to himself, for future hatred and animosity.

Scena Secunda.

Enter a Meſſenger to the Doore of Haſtings.

Meſſ. My Lord, my Lord.
Haſt. Who knockes?
Meſſ. One from the Lord *Stanley.*
Haſt. What is't a Clocke?
Meſſ. Vpon the ſtroke of foure.

Enter Lord Haſtings.

Haſt. Cannot my Lord *Stanley* ſleepe theſe tedious Nights?
Meſſ. So it appeares, by that I haue to ſay:
Firſt, he commends him to your Noble ſelfe.
Haſt. What then?

1. Scena Secunda.] Scene continued, Qq. Before Lord Hastings House. Theob.
2. the Doore of] Lord Qq. (Lo: Q_1Q_2.)
3–5. One line, Sing. Ktly.
3–7. Two lines, ending: *Stanley... foure* Steev. Var. '03, '13.
3. *My Lord,*] *What ho* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
4. *knockes?*] *knocks at the doore?* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
5. *One*] *A meſſenger* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
the] Om. Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran.
6. *What is't*] *Whats* Qq.
8. Enter ... Haſtings.] Om. Q_1Q_2. Enter L. Haſt. Qq (after l. 5).
9. *my*] Om. Coll. iii.
My Lord Stanley] *thy Maſter* Q_1, Theob.+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *thy maiſter* Q_{2-8}.
theſe] *the* Q_{2-8}, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr.
tedious] *teditous* Q_3Q_5.
11. *appeares*] *ſhould ſeeme* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
that] *what* Rowe ii.
12. *ſelfe*] *Lordſhip* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
13. *What*] *And* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
13, 14. One line, Steev. Var. '03, '13.

9. **Cannot my Lord, etc.**] CAPELL (ii, 182): The superior ease of this speech and the three that follow it will recommend them to the comparer; the speaker's sense in this first is—are the nights so tedious thy master can't sleep in them? and in his second he cuts the messenger short, whose division made him fear he would sermonise; the levity of the proceeding is consonant to all that comes from him afterwards.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 21): The Folio reading is a metrical irregularity, such as we find frequently in the Quarto, and generally corrected in the Folio. But if the corrector, whoever he was, forgot to strike out *thy*, in the Quarto line, it would easily be turned into 'my' by the printer's intelligence.—MARSHALL: If we adopt the reading of F_1 we must elide 'Cannot' into *Can't*. It looks very much as if the passage were intended to be prose.

Meſſ. Then certifies your Lordſhip, that this Night
He dreamt, the Bore had raſed off his Helme:
Beſides, he ſayes there are two Councels kept;
And that may be determin'd at the one,
Which may make you and him to rue at th'other.
Therefore he ſends to know your Lordſhips pleaſure,
If you will preſently take Horſe with him,
And with all ſpeed poſt with him toward the North,
To ſhun the danger that his Soule diuines.
Haſt. Goe fellow, goe, returne vnto thy Lord,
Bid him not feare the ſeperated Councell:
His Honor and my ſelfe are at the one,
And at the other, is my good friend *Catesby*;

14, 15. *Then...dreamt*] *And then he ſends you word He dreamt to night* (ending first line with *word*) Qq, Mal. Cam. +. *And then he sends you word, my Lord He dreamt* (ending first line with *Lord*) Cap. (Steev. Varr. follow Qq ending first line with *dreamt*).

15. *Bore*] *beare* Q_{1-5}. *Boar* F_4 et seq. *raſed off*] *raſte* Q_{1-4}. *caſte* Q_{5-8} (subs.) *raiſed off* F_3F_4. *raz'd* Cap. *rased* Mal. *razed* Cam.+.

16. *kept*] *held* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.

17. *may be*] *many be* Q_7Q_8.

18. *at*] Om. Taylor MS ap. Cam.

20. *you will preſently*] *preſently you will* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.

21. *ſpeed*] *ſpeedy* Q_7.
with him toward] *into* Qq. *with him towards* Rowe ii,+. *hence into* Cap.

23. *Goe*] *Good* Q_{3-8}.

24. *Councell*] $Q_{2-6}F_2$, Rowe, Rlfe. *counſell* F_3. *councill* F_4. *counſels* Q_1 et cet. (subs.)

26. *good friend*] *ſeruant* Qq, Cam.+.

---

15. **Bore . . . rased off his Helme**] STEEVENS says this term '"rased" or *rashed* is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a boar,' and quotes: 'In his anointed flesh rash boarish fangs.'—*Lear* (Quarto), III, vii, 58; also 'ha, cur avaunt, the bore so rase thy hide.'—Warner, *Albion's England*, 1602, bk, vii, ch. xxxvi. CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* Rase. v.[2] to pull or pluck) gives the present line as an example, but among the many meanings which he also assigns to *Rase*, v[1], that mentioned by Steevens does not appear. Under *Rash* v[1], 3 (to dash things together, or one thing through another), the line from the Quarto *Lear* is quoted by Craigie; but a technical meaning as applied to the injury by a boar is not assigned to it. By the boar is, of course, meant Gloucester. See I, iii, 237. —ED.

16. **two Councels**] See III, i, 200.

25. **His Honor**] MALONE: This was the usual address to noblemen in Shakespeare's time. Compare 'I leave it to your honourable survey, and your honour to your heart's content.'—*Ven. & Ad., Dedication.*

26. **at the other, is . . . Catesby**] MALONE: Compare 'I fear'd the end; my Catesbies being there Discharg'd all doubts: Him held I most entire.'—*Mirror for Magistrates; The Lord Hastings*, 1575 [p. 420, ed. 1610].

Where nothing can proceede, that toucheth vs,
Whereof I ſhall not haue intelligence:
Tell him his Feares are ſhallow, without inſtance.
And for his Dreames, I wonder hee's ſo ſimple,
To truſt the mock'ry of vnquiet ſlumbers.
To flye the Bore, before the Bore purſues,
Were to incenſe the Bore to follow vs,
And make purſuit, where he did meane no chaſe.
Goe, bid thy Maſter riſe, and come to me,
And we will both together to the Tower,
Where he ſhall ſee the Bore will vſe vs kindly.

Meſſ. Ile goe, my Lord, and tell him what you ſay.
Exit.

Enter Catesby.

29. *without inſtance*] *wanting inſtance* Q_1, Theob. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Kly, Huds. *wanting inſtancie* Q_{2-6} (subs.)
30. *hee's ſo ſimple*] *he is ſo fond* Qq, Cam.+, Coll. iii (*he is fond* Q_4). *he's ſo fond* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii, Sta. Huds.
31. *mock'ry*] *mockery* Qq.
32. *purſues,*] *purſues vs* Q_1Q_2. *purſue vs* Q_{3-6}.
34. *no*] *to* Q_4.
38. *Ile goe, my Lord, and*] *My gracious Lord Ile* Qq, Sta. Cam.+ (*gratious* Q_1Q_2).
39. Exit] Om. Q_1Q_2.
40. Enter Catesby.] Enter Cateſ. Q_1. Enter Cateſby to L. Haſtings. Qq.

26. **my good friend Catesby**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 155): Shakespeare is but following his authority—Holinshed—in thus making Hastings refer to Catesby as his 'good friend'; but the anonymous corrector of the Quarto, who does not appear to have read the chronicles, considers 'my good friend' in the mouth of a nobleman as too undignified, and therefore substitutes the meaningless phrase, *my servant*.

29. **without instance**] JOHNSON: That is, *wanting* some *example*, or *act of malevolence*, by which they may be justified: or which, perhaps, is nearer to the true reading, wanting any *immediate* ground or reason.—M. MASON: 'Instance' seems to mean *symptom* or *prognostic*. Compare: 'Before the always wind-obeying deep Gave any tragic instance of our harm.'—*Com. of Err.*, I, i, 65.—DYCE (*Gloss. s. v. instance*): A word used by Shakespeare with various shades of meaning which it is not always easy to distinguish—motive, inducement, cause, ground; symptom, prognostic; information, assurance; proof, example, indication. [The majority of editors have accepted Johnson's interpretation of 'instance' in preference to that of Mason.—ED.]

38. **Ile goe, my Lord**, etc.] This line, as it appears in the Quartos, is repeated in III, vii, 74, with but slight variation, thus: 'Ile tell him what you say, my Lord'; possibly the reason for the changes in the Folio text in both lines is that given by DANIEL in explanation of a somewhat similar repetition in III, i, 209, 210, and IV, ii, 93.

Cates. Many good morrowes to my Noble Lord.
Haſt. Good morrow *Catesby*, you are early ſtirring:
What newes, what newes, in this our tott'ring State?
Cates. It is a reeling World indeed, my Lord:
And I beleeue will neuer ſtand vpright,
Till *Richard* weare the Garland of the Realme.
Haſt. How weare the Garland?
Doeſt thou meane the Crowne?
Cates. I, my good Lord.
Haſt. Ile haue this Crown of mine cut frõ my ſhoulders,
Before Ile ſee the Crowne ſo foule miſ-plac'd:
But canſt thou gueſſe, that he doth ayme at it?
Cates. I, on my life, and hopes to find you forward,
Vpon his partie, for the gaine thereof:
And thereupon he ſends you this good newes,
That this ſame very day your enemies,
The Kindred of the Queene, muſt dye at Pomfret.
Haſt. Indeed I am no mourner for that newes,
Becauſe they haue beene ſtill my aduerſaries:
But, that Ile giue my voice on *Richards* ſide,
To barre my Maſters Heires in true Deſcent,
God knowes I will not doe it, to the death.
Cates. God keepe your Lordſhip in that gracious minde.
Haſt. But I ſhall laugh at this a twelue-month hence,

43. *tott'ring*] *tottering* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
45. *will*] *it will* Q_1Q_2. *twill* Qq. *'twill* Pope, Cam.+.
47, 48. *How...Crowne?*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
How] *Howe?* Q_1. *How?* Q_2. *Who* Qq.
47. *weare the Garland*] Om. Taylor MS ap. Cam.
51. *Before Ile*] *Ere I will* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
miſ-plac'd] *miſplaſte* Qq (*miſ-pla'ſt* Q_4). *misplac'd* Rowe et seq.
53. *I, on*] *Vpon* Qq.
58. *my aduerſaries*] *mine enemies* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

46. **the Garland**] Compare: 'In whose time [that of Edward IV.] and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the garland, keping it, lesing and winning againe, it hath cost more englishe blood then twise the winning of Fraunce.'—*More*, p. 107.
54. **Vpon his partie**] Compare: 'To fight on Edwards party for the crown.'—I, iii, 147; also IV, iii, 565.
62. **the death**] See I, ii, 199.

That they which brought me in my Maſters hate,
I liue to looke vpon their Tragedie.
Well *Catesby*, ere a ſort-night make me older,
Ile ſend ſome packing, that yet thinke not on't.
Cates. 'Tis a vile thing to dye, my gracious Lord,
When men are vnprepar'd, and looke not for it.
Haſt. O monſtrous, monſtrous! and ſo falls it out
With *Riuers, Vaughan, Grey:* and ſo 'twill doe
With ſome men elſe, that thinke themſelues as ſafe
As thou and I, who (as thou know'ſt) are deare
To Princely *Richard*, and to *Buckingham.*
Cates. The Princes both make high account of you,
For they account his Head vpon the Bridge.
Haſt. I know they doe, and I haue well deſeru'd it.

Enter Lord Stanley.

66. *which*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. Rlſe. *who* Qq et cet.
68. *Well...ere*] *I tell thee Cateſby.* Cat. *What my Lord?* Haſt. *Ere...* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
older] *elder* Qq, Cam.+.
69. *on't*] *on it* Qq, Cam.+ (*one it* Q_7Q_8).
72. *falls it*] *it fals* Q_8.
74. *that*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Dyce, Sta. *who* Qq et cet.
75. *know'ſt*] *knoweſt* Q_1Q_2.
76. *and to*] *and* Ff.
78. *For...Bridge*] Aside. F_4 et seq.
79. *it*] *i* Q_3Q_5.

66. **in my Masters hate**] For examples of 'in' used for *into*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

68, 69. **Well Catesby . . . thinke not on't**] MARSHALL: It is difficult to see why some editors should have adopted the Quarto reading here. The interpolated speech of Catesby is quite unnecessary. Hastings is addressing Catesby all through the scene. If he had been addressing any one else, or if these lines had referred to some totally different subject, the interpolation of Q_1 would have some meaning; as it is, it only spoils the metre.

72. **O monstrous, monstrous**] WEBB: A fine example of Shakespearean irony. After the preceding scene an audience would be vividly conscious of the foolish confidence of Hastings and the treachery of his companion, in whom he relies. Secure, as he thinks, of Richard's friendship, he is blind to his own peril, and takes a very human though not malevolent interest in his enemies' fate.

78. **his Head vpon the Bridge**] WRIGHT: London Bridge, where the heads of traitors were exposed on a tower which stood at the north end of the drawbridge. When this was taken down they were placed over the gate at the Southwark end. [These heads, stuck on poles, appear like little pins in the print published by the New Shakspere Society, 1881, and entitled: 'Old London Bridge—as Shakspere saw it, about 1600, after 1576, when the traitors' heads were remov'd to the Southwark Gate. The earliest full view, from a unique drawing in Pepys's collection, in Magdalen College, Cambridge.'—ED.]

Come on, come on, where is your Bore-ſpeare man? 81
Feare you the Bore, and goe ſo vnprouided?
Stan. My Lord good morrow, good morrow *Catesby:*
You may ieaſt on, but by the holy Rood,
I doe not like theſe ſeuerall Councels, I. 85
Haſt. My Lord, I hold my Life as deare as yours,

81. *Come on, come on*] *What my Lo:* Q_1. *What my L.* Q_{2-8}. *What my good Lord!* Anon. ap. Cam.
82. *goe*] *goe you* Q_{6-8}.
83–86. *My Lord...Lord*] Three lines, ending: *may...doe...Lord* Taylor MS ap. Cam.
83. *good morrow* Catesby] *and good morrow, Catesby* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Ran. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt.
86. *My Lord*] Separate line, Johns. Cap. Varr. Mal. Cam. +.
yours] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Coll. Hal. *you do* Vaughan (iii, 80). *you do yours* Qq et cet.

83. **Catesby**] See III, i, 176.

84. **the holy Rood**] The following is condensed from MORRIS's *Legends of the Holy Rood* (*Early Eng. Text Soc.*, No 46): When Adam was about to die, he sent his Son Seth to the angel at the gate of Eden to beg for the oil of Mercy. Seth was unsuccessful in his quest of the oil, but the angel gave him three pippins, or kernels of an apple, to place under Adam's tongue, as soon as he was dead. Out of these three kernels would spring three trees—cedar, the tree of height, denoting the Father; cypress, a tree of sweet savour, representing the Son; and the pine, a fruit-bearing tree, the Holy Ghost and his gifts. After Adam's death the kernels, placed as directed, began to grow, and three small wands or trees stood in Adam's mouth until the time of Moses. Each grew separately out of the same root and was of an ell in length. When Moses and the Israelites came to the Vale of Hebron the three rods were noticed by Moses as being typical of the trinity, and he drew them from the earth. By means of these rods he healed the sick and performed many miracles. When he knew that his end was near, he planted the three rods near Mount Tabor in Arabia. There they remained for a thousand years in the same state until King David, instructed by God, found them and brought them to Jerusalem. The rods united into one tree with three branches at the top. When Solomon was completing the Temple, begun by David, there was needed a large beam, to supply which Solomon ordered the rood-tree to be cut down, but by no manipulation could it be made to fit, so Solomon ordered them to make a bridge with it across an old ditch. Thus the rood-tree remained until the Queen of Sheba, on her visit to Solomon, advised him not to allow the tree to rest in its place, for a man should die thereon who should destroy the Mosaic Law; so Solomon had it removed and buried. Above, there came a well the water whereof had strange healing powers; when Christ came upon earth the beam floated; and the Jews, wanting a 'tree' whereon to hang our Lord, took the floating beam and made a cross. See, also, GAYLEY, ch. xviii, pp. 246–259. The words *rod* and *rood* are, according to SKEAT, identical and formed directly from the Anglo-Saxon rodé = rod.—ED.

86. **I hold my Life as deare as yours**] STEEVENS: The Quartos (profoundly ignorant of Shakespeare's elliptical mode of expressing himself, and in contempt of metre) have: 'as dear as *you* do yours.'—MALONE: The printer of the original

And neuer in my dayes, I doe proteſt,
Was it ſo precious to me, as 'tis now:
Thinke you, but that I know our ſtate ſecure,
I would be ſo triumphant as I am?
Sta. The Lords at Promfret, whē they rode from London,
Were iocund, and ſuppos'd their ſtates were ſure,
And they indeed had no cauſe to miſtruſt:
But yet you ſee, how ſoone the Day o're-caſt.
This ſudden ſtab of Rancour I miſdoubt:

87. *dayes*] *life* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
88. *ſo...as*] *more...then* Qq. *more... than* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
'tis] *it is* Qq.
89. *our ſtate*] *the ſtate* F_3F_4, Rowe i. *our states* Vaughan (iii, 81).
92. *ſtates were*] *ſtates was* Qq. *state was* Cam.+. *states as* Vaughan (iii, 81).
93. *they*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
94. *o're-caſt*] *ouercaſt* Q_1Q_2.
95. *This*] *The* Rowe i.
ſtab] *ſcab* Qq. *scape* Vaughan (iii, 81).

copy in Quarto, it is perfectly true, knew nothing of these elliptical expressions, and merely contented himself with exhibiting what he found in the manuscript before him. [The line as in the Quarto] is, like many others, an alexandrine. But in the Folio the line was curtailed to the standard measure, with an entire disregard to the author's sense; for the plain and direct meaning of the words there found is: 'My Lord, I hold my life as dear as your life; I estimate them both at the same rate'; which is very different from what Hastings means to say, 'I hold my own life as dear as you do your life.' This latter is the assertion which the argument of Hastings requires, and no critical chymistry can extract such a meaning out of the words found in the Folio. Calling it an elliptical expression will certainly not serve the purpose.

87. **dayes**] KNIGHT: This is one of the very numerous instances of the minute accuracy with which the text of the Folio had been revised. 'Days' is evidently substituted for *life*, to avoid the repetition of that word, which occurs in the preceding line.

91, 92. **The Lords ... Were iocund**] The idea which runs through this whole scene, the 'lightening before death,' is thus alluded to by Ray (p. 55): 'This is generally observed of sick persons, that a little before they die their pains leave them, and their understanding and memory return to them; as a candle just before it goes out gives a great blaze.' NARES refers to the 'superstitious notion of an ominous and preternatural mirth, supposed to come on at the period of death without any ostensible reason,' and quotes: 'How oft when men are at the point of death Have they been merry? which their keepers call A lightning before death.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, V, iii, 88–90.—ED.

91. **London**] THOMPSON: Shakespeare must have meant to write *Ludlow*. The lords in question were at Ludlow with the prince, when Edward IV. died; and it was on the road from Ludlow to London that the sudden overcasting of their happiness took place. Compare the Folio at II, ii, 150, 162, where the error is more conspicuous.

95. **misdoubt**] That is, *mistrust, suspect*.

Pray God (I ſay) I proue a needleſſe Coward.
What, ſhall we toward the Tower? the day is ſpent.
Haſt. Come, come, haue with you:
Wot you what, my Lord,
To day the Lords you talke of, are beheaded.
Sta. They, for their truth, might better wear their Heads,

96. *I ſay*] Om. Q_4.
97. *What...toward*] *But come my L: ſhall we to* Qq, Sta.
the day is ſpent] Om. Qq, Sta. *the date is spent* Bailey (ii, 289).
98, 99. One line, Pope et seq.
Come...my Lord] *I go: but ſtay, heare you not the newes?* Qq, Sta.
98. *you*] *ye* Rowe i, Pope, Theob. Han. Johns. Var. '73. *he* Rowe ii. *yet* Warb. (misprint?)
100. *To...Lords*] *This day thoſe men* Qq, Sta.
talke] *talkt* Q_1Q_2.

97. **What, ſhall we ... the day is ſpent**] CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* xii): The reading of the Folios is not satisfactory, and looks like an attempt of the editors to amend the defective metre of the Quartos. The scene opens at four in the morning, and yet Stanley is made to say: 'the day is spent.'—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 21): True: but I do not understand him to mean that it is evening: only that it is getting late—which it might be at any time of the day.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 92): It is obvious that the alteration [of this line and the next in the Folio] was made with the object of improving the metre. The question, then, is, has the design been carried out in such a manner that we can fairly attribute it to Shakespeare? Surely not. In my judgement 'the day is spent' has a most painfully obtrusive air of 'padding.' Besides, how can it mean 'only that it is getting late'? Surely, in that case, we should, at all events, require 'the day is spending.'—MARSHALL: Compare: '"The night is spent." "Why what of that?" quoth she. "I am," quoth he, "expected of my friends: And now 'tis dark, and going I shall fall." '—*Ven. & Ad.*, 717-719. It is evident that in this passage 'night is spent' does not mean night is ended, or even that it is ending, because, from the context, it was still dark.

98. **haue with you**] JOHNSON: A familiar phrase in parting, as much as, 'take something along with you,' or 'I have something to say to you.'—M. MASON: This phrase so frequently occurs in Shakespeare that I wonder Johnson should, in his fourteenth volume, mistake its meaning. It signifies merely, 'I will go along with you'; and is an expression in use at this day. [MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* have. 20) quotes, as the intransitive or absolute use of *have*, this phrase in *As You Like It*, I, ii, 268.]

101. **They, for their truth**] JOHNSON: That is, with respect to their honesty.

101, 102. **better wear their Heads, Then some ... weare their Hats**] BARNARD suggests that 'wear their hats' may be equivalent to, possess their freedom, alluding to the 'headcovering as a sign of the free-man; slaves went bareheaded.' [This interpretation is, possibly, correct; at the same time it is, I think, well to bear in mind that Stanley was a trimmer, and his remark is doubtless meant as a sneer at both parties. Thus, he implies, that as far as truth and honour are concerned, the heads of the accused contain quite as much thereof as do the hats of the accusers: that is, none at all. For a use of 'heads' and 'hats' in somewhat the

Then ſome that haue accus'd them, weare their Hats.
But come, my Lord, let's away.

Enter a Purſuiuant.

Haſt. Goe on before, Ile talke with this good fellow.

Exit Lord Stanley, and Catesby.

How now, Sirrha? how goes the World with thee?

Purſ. The better, that your Lordſhip pleaſe to aske.

Haſt. I tell thee man, 'tis better with me now,
Then when thou met'ſt me laſt, where now we meet:
Then was I going Priſoner to the Tower,

102. *Hats*] *hat* Q_{2-5}.

103. *my Lord*] Om. Cap.

let's] *let vs* Qq, Cap. Var. '73, Cam.+. Om. Pope,+.

104. Enter a Purſuiuant.] Enter Haſtin a Purſuant. Q_1. Enter Haſt. a Purſiuant. Q_2. Enter Haſtings a Purſiuant (after l. 105) Q_{3-8}.

105–107. *Goe...Sirrha?*] Two lines, ending: *before, ...Sirrha?* Cap.

105. *on...fellow*] *you before, Ile follow preſently* Qq, Sta.

106. Exit...Catesby] Om. Q_1Q_2. Exit L. Standley & Cat. (after l. 103) Q_{3-8}.

107. *How...Sirrha?*] *Well met Haſtings* Qq. *Sirrah, how now?* Pope,+, Varr. Ran.

108. *your Lordſhip pleaſe*] *it pleaſe your Lo:* Q_1Q_2. *it pleaſe your good Lordſhip* Q_{3-8}.

109. *man*] *fellow* Qq.

110. *thou met'ſt me*] *I met thee* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

---

same sense, compare the following from Churchyarde's *Farewell from the Courte, the Seconde Yere of the Queenes Majesties Raigne*, in Churchyarde's *Charge*, Collier reprint, p. 28: 'Me thinke you chuse your shopp not well In court your follies for to sell: That shopp stands full within the winde, Or els so muche in peoples minde That if one fault be in your ware Tenne thousand eyes thereon doe stare; And when thei finde a counterfeite, Or see fine merchaunts use deseite, Thei crie a loude, Wee smell a ratte. Some have more witte within their hatte Then in their hedde; that sells such stuffe.' In other words, they have no wit at all, which is, I think, the sense in which Stanley here wishes his remark to be understood. Churchyarde's *Charge* was published in 1580; though the *Farewell* was written about twenty years earlier; it is made up of a number of short sentences or aphorisms, which may have been original with Churchyarde, or simply well-known saws of the period changed by him into metrical form.—ED.

104. **Pursuiuant**] WRIGHT: According to More, the Pursuivant's name also was Hastings [see *Text. Notes*]. A 'pursuivant' was a messenger, or attendant upon a herald. Cotgrave has: '*Poursuivant d'armes*. A Herauld extraordinarie, or yong Herauld, a Batcheler in the art of Herauldrie; one thats like to be chosen when a place falls.'

105. **Goe on before,** etc.] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 330): What passes between Hastings, the Pursuivant, the Priest, and Buckingham, is erased [by the MS], perhaps as needless to the very protracted performance of this play. When Hastings alludes to it in Sc. iv, 98–102, on his way to execution, the five lines are also struck through with a pen, as well as the Scrivener's observations, in Sc. vi, on the indictment of Hastings.

By the ſuggeſtion of the Queenes Allyes.
But now I tell thee (keepe it to thy ſelfe)
This day thoſe Enemies are put to death,
And I in better ſtate then ere I was.

Purſ. God hold it, to your Honors good content.

Haſt. Gramercie fellow : there, drinke that for me.
Throwes him his Purſe.

Purſ. I thanke your Honor. *Exit Purſuiuant.*

Enter a Prieſt.

Prieſt. Well met, my Lord, I am glad to ſee your Honor.

Haſt. I thanke thee, good Sir *Iohn*, with all my heart.
I am in your debt, for your laſt Exerciſe :
Come the next Sabboth, and I will content you.

Prieſt. Ile wait vpon your Lordſhip.

115. *ere*] *euer* Qq.
117. *fellow...me*] *Haſtings, hold ſpend thou that* Qq.
118. Throwes] He giues Qq.
119. *I...Honor*] *God ſaue your Lordſhip* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Exit Purſuiuant] Om. Q_1Q_2. Exit Pur. Q_{3-8}.
121–123. Prieſt. *Well...heart*] Haſt. *What ſir Iohn you are well met* Qq.
124. *I am*] *I'm* Pope, +.
124. *in your debt*] *beholding to you* Qq. *beholden to you* Sta.
Exerciſe] *dayes exerciſe* Qq. (*execiſe* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$).
125. *Sabboth*] F_2, Cap. *Sabaoth* Q_2 Q_8. *Sabbath* F_3F_4 et cet.
you.] *you.* [He whiſpers in his eare. Qq, Pope, +, Cam.+.
126. Prieſt. *Ile...Lordſhip*] Om. Qq, Cam.+.

112. **ſuggeſtion**] That is, *prompting*, or *urging;* used in a bad sense. SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) furnishes numerous examples of this use.

119. **I thanke your Honor**] WRIGHT: This reading of the Folio, having regard to ll. 116 and 121, cannot be considered as an instance of the scrupulous care which the editor of the Folio exercised in correcting the Quartos.

123. **Sir Iohn**] NARES (*s. v. Sir*): A title formerly applied to priests and curates in general; for this reason: *dominus*, the academical title of a bachelor of arts, was usually rendered by *sir* in English, at the Universities; so that a bachelor, who in the books stood *Dominus* Brown, was in conversation called *Sir* Brown. This was in use in some colleges even in my memory. Therefore as most clerical persons had taken that first degree, it became usual to style them 'sir.' . . . It is to be observed that in nearly all instances 'sir' is prefixed to the Christian name, which, so far, differs from the University custom. Sirnames were little used when the practice began. [For a further explanation of this use of 'Sir,' see note on 'Sir Oliver Martext' in the *Dram. Person.* of *As You Like It*, this edition.—ED.]

124. **Exercise**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 10. c.): An act of public worship, or prophesying; a discourse. [The present line quoted.]

126. **Ile wait vpon your Lordship**] DYCE: The same words with which,

Enter Buckingham. 127

Buc. What, talking with a Prieſt, Lord Chamberlaine?
Your friends at Pomfret, they doe need the Prieſt,
Your Honor hath no ſhriuing worke in hand. 130
Haſt. Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talke of, came into my minde.
What, goe you toward the Tower?
Buc. I doe, my Lord, but long I cannot ſtay there:
I ſhall returne before your Lordſhip, thence. 135
Haſt. Nay like enough, for I ſtay Dinner there.
Buc. And Supper too, although thou know'ſt it not.
Come, will you goe?
Haſt. Ile wait vpon your Lordſhip. *Exeunt.* 139

128. *What, ...Chamberlaine?*] *How now Lord Chamberlaine, what talking with a Prieſt* Qq (*Lo:* Q_2Q_3).
130. *ſhriuing*] *ſtriuing* Q_2Q_3.
132. *The*] *Thoſe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
133–138. *What...goe?*] Five lines, ending: *Lord,...returne...enough,...too, ...goe?* Anon. Cap. am.
133. *toward*] *to* Qq, Sta.
Tower?] *tower my Lord?* Qq, Sta.
134. *my Lord, but long*] *but long* Qq. *but long, my lord,* Sta.
cannot ſtay there] *ſhall not ſtay* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Ran. Sta. Cam.+.
136. *Nay*] *Tis* Qq, Cam.+.
137. [Aside. Rowe et seq.
know'ſt] *knoweſt* Q_2Q_3.
138, 139. One line, Steev. et seq.
will... Lordſhip.] *ſhall we go along?* Qq, Sta.

---

according to the Folio, Hastings soon after addresses Buckingham. The Quartos have them in neither place; and to me it is plain that they were inserted in the Folio twice by mistake. [Thus, also, HUDSON.]—MARSHALL: We have rendered the Quarto stage-direction: '*They conſer privately in whispers.*' It is evident from the first line Buckingham speaks that some such private conference must have been going on when he entered.

127. **Buckingham**] MALONE: From the *Continuation of Harding's Chronicle*, 1543, where the account, given originally by More, is transcribed with some additions, it appears that the person who held this conversation with Hastings was Sir Thomas Howard, who is introduced in Act V. as Earl of Surrey.

130. **shriuing**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v. Shrove-tide*): The particular sense of the verb, *to shrive*, is due to the legal use of the word; signifying (1) to draw up a law [from Latin *scribere*], (2) to impose a legal obligation or penalty, (3) to impose or *prescribe* a sentence.

131. **and when I met**] ABBOTT quotes (§ 98) the present line as an example of 'and' used for emphasis 'after statements implied by ejaculations, such as "faith," "alas," etc.'

137, 138. **thou . . . you**] ABBOTT calls attention (§ 233) to the contempt implied in the use of 'thou' in this *aside* remark by Buckingham.

Scena Tertia.

Enter Sir Richard Ratcliffe, with Halberds, carrying the Nobles to death at Pomfret.

Riuers. Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, let me tell thee this,
To day ſhalt thou behold a Subiect die,
For Truth, for Dutie, and for Loyaltie.
Grey. God bleſſe the Prince from all the Pack of you,
A Knot you are, of damned Blood-ſuckers.

1. Scena Tertia.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE IV. Pope. Han. Warb. Johns. Pomfret Castle. Theob. et seq. (subs.)
2, 3. Ratcliffe, with Halberds...Pomfret.] Ratcliffe with the Lord Riuers, Gray, and Vaughan priſoners. Qq.
4. Riuers. *Sir*] Ratl. *Come bring forth the priſoners.* Riu. *Sir* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+.
7. *bleſſe*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. Coll. Wh. i, Dyce, Hal. Ktly. *keepe* Qq et cet.
8. *Blood-ſuckers*] *bloudſuckers* Q_1Q_2.

2, 3. **Ratcliffe . . . carrying the Nobles to death]** LINGARD (iv, 227, *Foot-note*): More asserts repeatedly that these murders occurred on the same day as that of Lord Hastings [June 3]. This may be true of the others, but is not correct as to Lord Rivers, who was indeed put to death at Pontefract, but a few days later, and by command of the Earl of Northumberland (Rouse, 214). We have his will dated at Sheriff Hutton on the 23d of June; a long and elaborate instrument, composed probably under the apprehension, but without any certain knowledge, of the fate which awaited him.—COURTENAY (ii, 89): A contest for power between the Queen's relations and those of the late king was a matter of course. Whether the measures adopted or contemplated by the former so far exceeded the bounds of political contention as to justify the brothers and friends of Edward in treating them as traitors is a question upon which no sufficient evidence exists. Shakespeare's version, which refers the executions to the tyranny and ambition of Richard, has certainly a sufficient foundation for a dramatist; but it must not be received as authentic history.

7. **Grey]** WALPOLE (*Cata. of Noble Authors*, i, 73, *foot-note*): Queen Elizabeth Grey is deservedly pitied for losing her two sons; but the royalty of their birth has so engrossed historians that they never reckon among her misfortunes the loss of this her second son, Lord Grey. It is as remarkable how slightly the death of our Earl Rivers is always mentioned, though a man invested with such high offices of trust and dignity; and how much we dwell on the execution of the Lord Chamberlain Hastings, a Man in every light his inferior. In truth the generality draw their ideas of English history from the tragic rather than the historic authors.

7. **God blesse the Prince from all . . . of you]** MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Bless* v.[1] † 3): To protect or guard, save, keep *from* (evil): said of God, supernatural influence, a charm or prayer; also loosely of other things. [The present line quoted. See *Lear*, III, iv, 57: 'Bless thee from whirlwinds, star blasting, and taking.]

Vaugh. You liue, that ſhall cry woe for this heere-
after.
Rat. Diſpatch, the limit of your Liues is out.
Riuers. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody Priſon!
Fatall and ominous to Noble Peeres:
Within the guiltie Cloſure of thy Walls,
Richard the Second here was hackt to death:
And for more ſlander to thy diſmall Seat,
Wee giue to thee our guiltleſſe blood to drinke.
Grey. Now *Margarets* Curſe is falne vpon our Heads,
When ſhee exclaim'd on *Hastings*, you, and I,

9–11. Vaugh. *You...out*] Om. Qq, Pope, Han.
13. *ominous*] *dominions* Q_2Q_3. *ominious* Q_4Q_5.
13, 14. *Peeres:... Walls,*] *peers...walls.* Vaughan (iii, 83).
16. *Seat*] *ſoule* Qq. *soil* Cap. conj. *jail* Vaughan (iii, 83).
17. *to thee*] *thee vp* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Huds. *blood*] *blouds* Qq (subs.), Cap. Var.'73.
18. Margarets...*is*] *Margarts...if* Q_6.
19. *When...and I,*] Om. Qq, Pope, Han. Cam.+. *When...and me* Coll. ii, iii (MS).

9–11. **You liue . . . is out**] THEOBALD: These two lines Pope has thought fit to suppress in his edition, for what reason I can't pretend to say; tho' they have the authority both of the old Folios, and are likewise in Rowe, whom he seems generally to follow. Without them, I would observe that Vaughan is introduced, and led off to dye, without a single syllable spoken by him. [This note, coupled with the fact that these lines are in the Quarto Text, casts an uncomfortable doubt not on Theobald's honesty, but—on his assertion that he had carefully collated the ancient copies.—ED.]

9. **liue**] VAUGHAN (iii, 82): May not the right line be: 'You *laugh* that shall cry woe,' etc. [In the next scene] Lord Hastings says in the same spirit: 'They smile at me who shortly shall be dead.' Supposing the line to have been written from recitation, the mistake of 'live' for *laugh* was not unnatural. . . . My amendment is most strongly confirmed by the fact that one of those specially referred to in this line must be Hastings, who, on receiving intelligence of this execution, is made to exclaim in triumph: 'I shall laugh at this a twelvemonth hence,' and yet after receiving his own unexpected sentence of death, breaks out: 'Woe, woe for England.' Thus as to him, Vaughan's prophecy was literally fulfilled if we read *laugh* for 'live.'

11. **limit**] See SCHMIDT (*Lex.* 2).

14. **Within the . . . Closure**] MARSHALL: Compare: 'Within the gentle closure of my breast.'—*Sonn.* 48. 'Into the quiet closure of my breast.'—*Ven. & Ad.*, l. 782. These are the only two other passages in which Shakespeare uses the word in this sense.

15. **Richard the Second . . . hackt to death**] See *Rich. II:* V, v.

18, 19. **Margarets Curse . . . you, and I**] DANIEL (*Introd.*, xviii): This is, of course, a direct reference to Margaret's curse in I, iii, 220–224; but Margaret

For ſtanding by, when *Richard* ſtab'd her Sonne.
Riuers. Then curs'd ſhee *Richard*,
Then curs'd ſhee *Buckingham*,
Then curs'd ſhee *Hastings*. Oh remember God,
To heare her prayer for them, as now for vs:
And for my Siſter, and her Princely Sonnes,
Be ſatisfy'd, deare God, with our true blood,
Which, as thou know'ſt, vniuſtly muſt be ſpilt.
Rat. Make haſte, the houre of death is expiate.

21, 22. *Then* ... Buckingham,] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
21–23. Richard...Haſtings] *Haſtings ...Richard* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+. *Richard too...Hastings* Marshall.
22. *Then curs'd ſhee*] *curs'd she* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Ran. *then she curs'd* or *then curs'd* or *and then curs'd she* Taylor MS ap. Cam.
23. *curs'd*] *cus'd* F_2.
24. *prayer*] *prayers* Qq, Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.
25. *And*] *As* F_4,+, Varr. Ran. *Sonnes*] *ſonne* Qq. *ſons* F_3F_4.
26. *blood*] *blouds* Qq. *bloods* Q_4, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Ktly.
27. *know'ſt*] *knoweſt* Qq.
28. *Make...expiate*] *Come, come, diſpatch the limit of your liues is out* Qq, Sta. (*lines* Q_1Q_2).
expiate] *now expir'd* Ff, Rowe, Pope,+, Varr. Ran. *expirate* Steev. conj. Sing. Wh. i, Huds.

---

had not there 'exclaimed on' *Grey*, but on Rivers, *Dorset*, and Hastings. [The omission of the Qq] was, perhaps, due to some bungled attempt to conceal the discrepancy; if so, the reviser overlooked a second misstatement in l. 22: 'Then curs'd she Buckingham.' Margaret did not then curse Buckingham.—WRIGHT: It is only when Buckingham rejects her solemn warning that she includes him in a general malediction with the rest.

19. **When shee . . . you, and I**] THEOBALD here again remarks upon Pope's omission of a line, without, as he considers, apparent reason; see note on ll. 9–11, *supra*.—ED.

19. **you, and I**] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 174) gives several other examples of 'I' used for the object; and thereto Lettsom, his editor, adds the following in a footnote: '"When a pronoun in an oblique case is emphatical, it is given in its nominative shape instead of its objective case."—*Dissertation* prefixed to Barnes's *Poems in the Dorset Dialect*. The same rule seems followed by our old authors, with other pronouns as well as *I*.' In the *Grammar* appended to Dr JOSEPH WRIGHT'S invaluable *English Dialect Dictionary* it is observed in § 402 that 'in all the dialects of the south-midland, eastern, southern, and south-western counties the nominative of the personal pronoun is used as the emphatic form of the objective case.'—ED.

28. **expiate**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*) quotes the present line as the only example, under 'participial adjective: Of an appointed time: Fully come'; and at *v.* 7 he adds: 'To extinguish (a person's rage) by suffering it to the full; to end (one's sorrows, a suffering life) by death,' quoting from *Sonn.* 22: 'Then look I death my days should expiate.'—MARSHALL: Perhaps 'expiate' should have somewhat of an active sense, and may intentionally be used, with a sneer, by Ratcliff in

Riuers. Come *Grey*, come *Vaughan*, let vs here embrace.
Farewell, vntill we meet againe in Heauen.
Exeunt.

Scæna Quarta.

Enter Buckingham, Darby, Hastings, Biſhop of Ely, Norfolke, Ratcliffe, Louell, with others, at a Table.

Haſt. Now Noble Peeres, the cauſe why we are met,
Is to determine of the Coronation:
In Gods Name ſpeake, when is the Royall day?
Buck. Is all things ready for the Royall time?

29. *here*] *all* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +.
30. *Farewell...againe*] *And take our leaue vntill we meete* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
1. Scæna Quarta.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE V. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns. The Tower. Theob.
2–4. Buckingham...Table.] the Lords to counſell. Qq. Stanley, Hastings, Buckingham, Bishop of Ely, and Others, discover'd sitting at a Table: Officers of the Council attending. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
5. *Now...Peeres*] *My Lords at once* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
Peeres] *Peere* F_2. *Peers* F_3F_4 et seq.
7. *ſpeake...the*] *ſay...this* Qq, Sta.
8. *Is*] Ff, Marshall. *Are* Qq et cet.
ready] *fitting* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
the] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. Hal. *that* Qq et cet.

reference to l. 26: 'Be *satisfied*, dear God, with our true blood.' This seems the most probable explanation if we accept the reading of F_1.

2. **Bishop of Ely**] See *Dram. Person.*

8. **Is all things ready**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 63): The alteration in the Folio [I consider] as one which cannot have been designed by Shakespeare. While 'things' remained in the plural I do not think 'are' would have been deliberately changed to 'is' either by the poet himself or by his nameless corrector. But I am not sure that *all thing* may not have been at one time a candidate for admission into the language in the sense of *everything:* and if this is possible, I should conjecture that the corrector meant to change 'things' to *thing* at the same time that he changed *are* to 'is.'—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 93): Spedding . . . attributes the change of 'is' for *are* to the printer's mistake. On the contrary, is it not pretty clear that the word was deliberately changed in order to make it tally with 'it is' in the next line [footnote]. Compare: 'Is all things well, According as I gave directions? 'Tis, my good lord.'—*2 Hen. VI:* III, ii, 11. [In corroboration of Spedding's conjecture, *all-thing*, compare: 'It had been as a gap in our great feast And all-thing unbecoming,' *Macbeth*, III, i, 13. MURRAY (*N. E. D.*) gives numerous examples of *all-thing* used in the sense of *everything*. 'All things' in the line from *2 Hen. VI.*, quoted by Pickersgill, was perhaps influenced by the passage in *The First Part of the Contention*, etc., from which it was taken. Thus: 'Then see the cloathes laid smooth about him still, That when the King comes, he may perceiue No other, but that he dide of

Darb. It is, and wants but nomination.
Ely. To morrow then I iudge a happie day.
Buck. Who knowes the Lord Protector mind herein?
Who is moſt inward with the Noble Duke?
Ely. Your Grace, we thinke, ſhould ſooneſt know his minde.
Buck. We know each others Faces: for our Hearts,
He knowes no more of mine, then I of yours,
Or I of his, my Lord, then you of mine:
Lord *Haſtings*, you and he are neere in loue.
Haſt. I thanke his Grace, I know he loues me well:
But for his purpoſe in the Coronation,
I haue not ſounded him, nor he deliuer'd
His gracious pleaſure any way therein:
But you, my Honorable Lords, may name the time,
And in the Dukes behalfe Ile giue my Voice,

9. *It is*] Q_1Q_2,Ff, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly. *They are* Rowe et cet.
wants] *let* Q_3Q_5. *lack* Q_4. *yet in* Q_8. *want* Rowe, +, Mal. Coll.
10. Ely] Ryu. Q_1. Riu. Q_2. Biſh. Q_{3-8}.
iudge] *geſſe* Qq.
day] *time* Qq, Sta.
13. *Your...thinke,*] *Why you my L. me thinks you* Qq.
15. Buck. *We*] Buc. *Who I my Lord? We* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
15–17. *We...mine:*] Lines end, *faces: ...mine, ...mine:* Qq, Sta. Lines end, *faces:...mine, ...yours, ...mine:* Cam. +.
15. *for*] *But for* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
17. *Or I*] Ff, Rowe. *nor I no more* Qq. *Nor I* Pope et cet.
my Lord] Om. Qq, Sta.
22. *gracious*] *Graces* Qq.
23. *Honorable Lords*] *Noble Lo:* Q_1 Q_2. *my L.* Q_{3-8}. *Honorable Lord* Ff, Rowe. *noble Lord* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. *noble Lords* Sing. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.

---

his owne accord. 2. [*Murderer*] All things is hansome now my Lord.'—III, ii, 3–5 (ed. Cambridge, vol. ix).—ED.]

9. **wants but nomination**] STEEVENS: That is, the only thing wanting is appointment of a particular day for the ceremony.

12. **inward**] WRIGHT: That is, intimate, familiar. Compare: 'A Servant, or a Favorite, if hee be inward, and no other apparant Cause of Esteeme, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close Corruption,' Bacon, *Essay* xi, p. 42 (ed. Wright).

24. **in the Dukes behalfe Ile giue my Voice**] DOWDEN (p. 185): Hastings making sundry small assignations for future days and weeks, goes, a murdered man, to the conference at the Tower. Richard, whose startling figure emerges from the background throughout the play with small regard for versimilitude and always at the most effective moment, is suddenly on the spot, just as Hastings is about to give his voice in the conference as though he were the representative of the absent Duke. Richard is prepared, when the opportune instant has arrived, to spring a mine under Hastings' feet. But meanwhile a matter of equal

Which I preſume hee'le take in gentle part.

Enter Glouceſter.

Ely. In happie time, here comes the Duke himſelfe.

Rich. My Noble Lords, and Couſins all, good morrow:
I haue beene long a ſleeper: but I truſt,
My abſence doth neglect no great deſigne,
Which by my preſence might haue beene concluded.

Buck. Had you not come vpon your Q my Lord,
William, Lord *Haſtings*, had pronounc'd your part;
I meane your Voice, for Crowning of the King.

25. *hee'le*] *he will* Qq.
gentle] *good* Q_{6-8}.
26. Enter Glouceſter.] After l. 27, Qq.
27. *In happie*] *Now in good* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
29. *a ſleeper*] *a ſleepe* Q_{6-8}.
I truſt] *I hope* Q_1, Cam.+. *now I hope* Q_{2-8}.
30. *deſigne*] *deſignes* Qq, Cam.+.
32. *you not*] *not you* Qq, Cam.+.
Q] Ff. *kew* Qq. *cue* Rowe et seq.
33. *had pronounc'd*] *had now pronounſt* Qq.
your] *you* Q_6.
33, 34. *part;...Voice,*] *part:...voice* Qq. *part,—...voice,—* Cap. et seq. (subs.)

importance concerns him—my Lord of Ely's strawberries: the flavour of Holborn strawberries is exquisite, and the fruit must be sent for. Richard's desire to appear disengaged from sinister thought is less important to note than Richard's need of indulging a cynical contempt of human life. The explosion takes place; Hastings is seized; and the delicacies are reserved until the head of Richard's enemy is off. There is a wantonness of *diablerie* in this incident.

29. **I haue beene long a sleeper**] CHURCHILL (p. 508): Compare 'They say I haue bin a long sleeper to-day,' *True Tragedy*, etc. [See *Appendix*, p. 524.] For this More has 'bene a slepe that day.' Grafton, Hall and Holinshed have: 'been a sleeper.' Field compares the council scene in *The True Tragedy* with Shakespeare's. For myself I see no resemblances for which the common source will not account.—WEBB: Richard, by inferring that he has overslept himself upon such a momentous occasion, wishes it to be thought he has no personal interest in the coronation.

32. **vpon your Q**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Cue*): Origin uncertain. It has been taken as equivalent to French *queue*, tail, on the ground that it is the 'tail' or 'ending' of the preceding speech; but no such use of *queue* has ever obtained in French (where the 'cue' is called *replique*), and no literal sense of *queue* or 'cue' leading up to this appears in sixteenth century English. On the other hand, in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century it is found written *Q*, *q*, *q.*, or *qu*, and it was explained by seventeenth century writers as a contraction for some Latin word (sc. *qualis*, *quando*), said to have been used to mark, in actors' copies of plays, the points at which they were to begin. But no evidence confirming this has been found.—WRIGHT: For this use of 'upon,' compare: 'You come most carefully upon your hour.'—*Hamlet*, I, i, 6.

34. **for Crowning of the King**] Compare: 'What threat you me with telling of the king.'—I, iii, 119.

Rich. Then my Lord *Haſtings*, no man might be bolder,
His Lordſhip knowes me well, and loues me well.
My Lord of Ely, when I was laſt in Holborne,
I ſaw good Strawberries in your Garden there,

36. *well.*] *well.* Haſt. *I thanke your Grace.* Qq, Cam.+. 37. *Ely, when*] *Elie.* Biſh. *My Lord.* Glo. *When...* Qq, Cam.+.

37, 38. **My Lord of Ely . . . I saw good Strawberries**] MRS GRIFFITHS (ii, 71): Could any writer but Shakespeare have ever thought of such a circumstance, in the midst of a deep tragedy, as the sending an old grave Bishop on an errand for a *leaf of strawberries?* and this, in the most formal scene of the Play too, where the lords are met in council, to settle about the day for the coronation? But could any writer but himself have attempted such a whim, without setting the audience a-laughing at the ridiculousness and absurdity of such an incident? And yet he contrives, somehow or other, to hold us in awe, all the while; though he must be a very ingenious critic, indeed, who can supply any sort of reason for the introduction of such a familiar and comic stroke, upon so serious an occasion. And what renders the solution of this passage still more difficult is that the request is made by a person, too, whose mind was deeply intent on murder and usurpation, at the very time. None of the editors have taken the least notice of this article; and the first notion that occurred to me upon it, was that perhaps Richard wanted to get rid of old Ely, after any manner, however indecent or abrupt, in order to be at liberty to plot with Buckingham in private; for the moment the Bishop goes out on his errand he says: 'Cousin of Buckingham a word with you.' But as he did not send the rest of the Council-Board a-packing after him, and adjourn them from the *bed of justice* to the *strawberry-bed*, but retires immediately himself with his complotter Buckingham, we cannot suppose this idea to have been the purpose intended by so extraordinary a motion. There is, then, no other way left us to resolve this text than to impute it solely to the peculiar character that Shakespeare has given us all along of this extraordinary personage; whom he has represented throughout as preserving a facetious humour, and exerting a sort of careless ease, in the midst of all his crimes. I am sorry not to be able to give a better account of this particular than what I have here offered; because, if it is to rest upon such a comment, our author must, in this instance, be thought to have betrayed a manifest ignorance in human nature, or the nature of guilt at least; as no vicious person, . . . or determined villain, was ever cheerful, yet, or could possibly be able to assume even the semblance of carelessness or ease, upon any occasion whatsoever.—STEEVENS: The reason why the bishop was despatched on this errand is not clearer in Holinshed, from whom Shakespeare adopted the circumstance, than in the present scene. It may, however, have been mentioned by the historians merely to show the unusual affability and good humour which the dissembling Gloucester affected at the very time when he had determined on the death of Hastings. The complaisance of the reverend cultivator of 'these strawberries' is likewise recorded by the author of the Latin play, *Ricardus Tertius*. [Mrs Griffiths is, I think, satisfactorily answered by Steevens. An examination of the sources of Shakespeare's knowledge of this period would have shown her that the incident was not his own invention, or Holinshed's either: it appears for the first time in More's *Life of Richard*.—ED.]

38. **your Garden**] WRIGHT: Ely Place still remains as evidence that the palace

I doe beſeech you, ſend for ſome of them.

Ely. Mary and will, my Lord, with all my heart.

Exit Biſhop.

Rich. Couſin of Buckingham, a word with you.
Catesby hath founded *Haſtings* in our buſineſſe,
And findes the teſtie Gentleman ſo hot,
That he will loſe his Head, ere giue conſent
His Maſters Child, as worſhipfully he tearmes it,
Shall loſe the Royaltie of Englands Throne.

Buck. Withdraw your ſelfe a while, Ile goe with you.

Exeunt.

Darb. We haue not yet ſet downe this day of Triumph:
To morrow, in my iudgement, is too ſudden,
For I my ſelfe am not ſo well prouided,
As elſe I would be, were the day prolong'd.

Enter the Biſhop of Ely.

Ely. Where is my Lord, the Duke of Gloſter?

39. *doe*] *now* Q_4.
40. *Mary...heart*] *I go, my Lord* Qq.
41. Exit Biſhop.] Om. Qq.
42. *of*] Om. Qq.
44. *teſtie*] *reſty* Q_4.
45. *That*] *As* Qq, Cam. +.
ere] *eare* Q_1. *are* Q_5.
46. *Maſters*] Q_2. *maiſters* Qq. *Maſter's* F_4.
Child, as worſhipfully] *Sonne, as worſhipfull* Qq, Cam. + (subs.) *ſon, as worshipfully* Pope, +, Sta.
48. *your...you*] *you hence my L. Ile follow you* Qq, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
a while] *awhile* Cap. (corrected in Errata.)
49, Exeunt.] Ex. Glo. Qq. Exe. Glo. and Buck. Pope et seq. (subs.)
50. Darb.] Stanley Theob. et seq. (throughout).
51. *my iudgement*] *mine opinion* Qq, Cam. +.
ſudden] *ſodaine* Q_1. *ſoone* Q_{2-8}.
54. the Biſhop] B. Q_1Q_2.
55, 56. *Where...Strawberries*] One line, Qq. As prose, Cam. +, Ktly.
Where...ſent] One line, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing.
55. *Lord, the...Gloſter*] *Lord Protector* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam. +.

---

of the Bishops of Ely occupied its site. Sir Christoper Hatton lived and died there, and from him what was formerly the garden of the palace acquired the name of Hatton Garden.

40. **Mary and will**] Compare: 'O, kill me too. Marry and shall.'—*3 Hen. VI:* V, v, 41, 42; or see ABBOTT, § 400.

51. **my iudgement**] MARSHALL: It is really impossible to say why any editor should retain [the reading of the Qq, *mine opinion*], considering that it renders the line horribly unrhythmical, and possesses no force or merit of any kind whatever.

55. **Gloster**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 236) gives several passages wherein this name is evidently considered as a trisyllable for the sake of the metre.

I haue ſent for theſe Strawberries.
Ha. His Grace looks chearfully & ſmooth this morning,
There's ſome conceit or other likes him well,
When that he bids good morrow with ſuch ſpirit.
I thinke there's neuer a man in Chriſtendome
Can leſſer hide his loue, or hate, then hee,
For by his Face ſtraight ſhall you know his Heart.
Darb. What of his Heart perceiue you in his Face,
By any liuelyhood he ſhew'd to day?
Haſt. Mary, that with no man here he is offended:

56. *I haue...Strawberries*] *I've sent far them* Taylor MS ap. Cam.
ſent] *sent straitway* Han. *sent someone* Marshall conj.
theſe] *these same* Cap.
57. *this morning*] *to day* Qq, Cam.+.
59. *that he bids*] *he doth bid* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
59. *ſpirit*] *a ſpirit* Qq, Cam.+.
60. *there's neuer*] *there is neuer* Qq. *there's ne'er* Pope,+.
61. *Can leſſer*] *That can leſſer* Qq. *That can leſſe* Q_8, Sta. Cam.+ (subs.)
64. *liuelyhood*] *likelihood* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+.

---

57. **chearfully & smooth**] Compare I, i, 27: '—lamely and unfashionable,' or see ABBOTT, § 397.

58. **conceit**] That is, *thought, idea, fancy.*

58. **likes him well**] That is, *pleases him;* compare 'This likes me well. These foils have all a length?'—*Hamlet*, V, ii, 276.

60, 61. **I thinke there's neuer a man . . . then hee**] THEOBALD: The character here given of Richard (tho' very falsely) exactly tallies with a fragment from one of Ennius's tragedies, quoted by Nonius Marcellus: 'Eô Ego ingeniô—Natus sum, Amicitiam atq; Inimicitiam in frontem promptam gero.'

64. **liuelyhood**] KNIGHT: The meaning is perfectly clear, the word being used in the same sense as in *All's Well*, I, i, 58: 'The tyranny of her sorrows takes all livelihood from her cheeks.' Stanley asks how they interpret Gloucester's 'livelihood,' *liveliness, cheerfulness.* And yet some modern editors prefer [see *Text. Notes*] the tame reading of the Qq, *likelihood*, which they interpret as *appearance*, and thus perpetuate what was no doubt a typographical error.—HUDSON: It seems to me that the passage from *All's Well*, and the present one, are by no means parallel. The sense of *appearance* or *sign* is plainly required in the text; and *likelihood* may very well bear that sense. [BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* livelihood[2]) quotes many examples wherein this word is used for *liveliness.*]

65. **Mary**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 187) quotes the present line, among others, where 'marry' is to be pronounced metri gratia, as a monosyllable.

65. **with no man here he is offended**] HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, 153): One of the finest strokes in the play, and which serves to show as much as anything the deep, plausible manners of Richard, is the unsuspecting security of Hastings, at the very time when the former is plotting his death, and when that very appearance of cordiality and good humour on which Hastings builds his confidence arises from

For were he, he had ſhewne it in his Lookes.
**Dar.* I pray God he be not I ſay.*

Enter Richard, and Buckingham.

Rich. I pray you all, tell me what they deſerue,
That doe conſpire my death with diuelliſh Plots
Of damned Witchcraft, and that haue preuail'd
Vpon my Body with their Helliſh Charmes.
Haſt. The tender loue I beare your Grace, my Lord,
Makes me moſt forward, in this Princely preſence,
To doome th'Offendors, whoſoe're they be:
I ſay, my Lord, they haue deſerued death.
Rich. Then be your eyes the witneſſe of their euill.
Looke how I am bewitch'd: behold, mine Arme
Is like a blaſted Sapling, wither'd vp:
And this is *Edwards* Wife, that monſtrous Witch,
Conſorted with that Harlot, Strumpet *Shore*,
That by their Witchcraft thus haue marked me.
Haſt. If they haue done this deed, my Noble Lord.

66. *were he, he had*] *if he were he would haue* Qq, Sta.
ſhewne] *ſhewde* Q_7Q_8.
Lookes] *face* Q_{2-8}.
*Dar. *I pray... I ſay**] Q_{2-8}, Sta. Cam.+. Om. F_1,Ff et cet.
*Dar.] Der. Staunton, Cam.+.
I pray] *Ay, pray* Sta.

67. Richard, and Buckingham] Gloceſter Q_1. Glo. Q_2. Gloſter. Qq. ...haſtily; Lovel and Ratcliffe, with them; a guard behind. Cap.

68. *tell me what*] *what do they* Qq.
deſerue] *deserve.* [advancing sternly towards his seat. Cap.

73. *Princely*] *noble* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.

74. *th'*] *the* Qq.
Offendors, whoſoe're...be:] *offenders. Whosoe'er...be,* Johns. Var.'73.
whoſoe're]*whatſoeuer* Qq, Cam.+.

76. *their euill*] *this ill* Qq, Cam.+.

77. *Looke*] *See* Qq, Cam.+.
Arme] *arm.* [stripping and laying it bare. Cap.

78. *wither'd*] *withered* Qq, Cam.+.

79. *And this is*] *This is that* Qq, Sta.

80. *Harlot, Strumpet*] *harlot strumpet* Qq, Cam.+. *harlot-strumpet* Dyce ii, iii. *harlot-woman* Huds.

81. *Witchcraft*] *witchcrafts* Q_{2-6}.

82. *deed, my Noble*] *thing my gracious* Qq, Cam.+.
Lord.] *lord,*— Rowe et seq.

Richard's consciousness of having betrayed him to his ruin. This, with the whole character of Hastings, is omitted [in Cibber's version].

69. **conspire my death**] For other examples of 'the omission of a preposition after some verbs which may be regarded as transitive,' see ABBOTT, § 200.

79. **And this is Edwards Wife**] VAUGHAN (iii, 86): The reading of the Quarto —'this is that Edward's wife'—I believe to be right. 'That' has the Latin signification of *iste*, according to its frequent usage in our day, and it refers not to Edward but to 'Edward's wife.'

Rich. If? thou Protector of this damned Strumpet,
Talk'ſt thou to me of Ifs : thou art a Traytor,
Off with his Head; now by Saint *Paul* I ſweare,
I will not dine, vntill I ſee the ſame.
Loucll and *Ratcliffe*, looke that it be done: *Exeunt.*

83, 84. *If?...Ifs:*] *If, ...iffes?* Qq. *If?...Ifts* F_2. *If?...Iffs;* F_3F_4. *If?...Iffs?* Rowe, +, Knt. *If!...ifs?* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Cam. +.

84. *Talk'ſt thou to me*] *Telſt thou me* Qq. *Tellest thou me* Cam. +.
Ifs] '*ifs*,' Cam. +.

85, 86. *I ſweare...dine*] *I will not dine to day I ſweare* Qq (as one line).

86, 87. *vntill...done:*] One line, reading: *Vntil I ſee the ſame ſome ſee it done:* Qq, Sta.

87. Ratcliffe] *Catesby* Theob. +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Hal.
Exeunt.] After l. 88, Qq.

85. **Off with his Head**] WALPOLE (p. 47, *foot-note*): The death of Hastings is the fact of which we are most sure, without knowing the immediate motives: we must conclude it was determined on his opposing Richard's claim: farther we do not know, nor whether that opposition was made in a legal or hostile manner. It is impossible to believe that, an hour before his death, he should have exulted in the deaths of their common enemies, and vaunted, as Sir Thomas More asserts, his connection with Richard, if he was then actually at variance with him; nor that Richard should, without provocation, have massacred so excellent an accomplice. This story, therefore, must be left in the dark, as we find it.

85. **by Saint Paul**] WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s Knowledge*, etc., p. 84): Why this oath should have been assigned no less than five times to Richard, but to no one else in this play, and yet should not be found so much as once in any other, I am unable to explain; nor am I aware that the fact has been noticed by any of the critics. ['The protectour bade speede him and shrive him apace, for by S. Paul, quoth he, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off.'—*More*, p. 73.—See I, i, 149. —ED.]

87. **Louell and Ratcliffe**] THEOBALD: The scene is here in the Tower; and Lord Hastings was cut off on that very day, when Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan suffered at Pomfret. How then could Ratcliffe be both in Yorkshire and the Tower? In sc. iii we find him conducting those gentlemen to the block. In the Quarto we have: *Exeunt: Manet Catesby with Hastings.* And in the next scene, before the Tower walls, we find Lovel and Catesby come back from the execution, bringing the head of Hastings.—TYRWHITT: In the Quarto Lovel does not appear in the next scene; but only Catesby, bringing the head of Hastings. The confusion seems to have arisen, when it was thought necessary that Catesby should be employed *to fetch* the Mayor, who, in the Quarto is made to come without having been sent for. As some other person was then wanted to bring the head of Hastings, the poet, or the players, appointed Lovel and Ratcliffe to that office, without reflecting that the latter was engaged in another service on the same day at Pomfret.—KNIGHT: We must either, it appears to us, take the text of the Quarto altogether, in which neither Ratcliff nor Lovel appears, or adopt the apparent absurdity of the Folio. But in truth this is one of those positions in which Shakespeare has trusted to the imagination of his audience, rather than to their topographical knowledge. And by a bold anticipation of a rate of travel, which is now a reality, Ratcliff is, without offence, at Pomfret and

The reſt that loue me, riſe, and follow me. 88

Manet Loucll and Ratcliffe, with the Lord Haſtings. 90

Haſt. Woe, woe for England, not a whit for me,

88. *riſe*] *come* Qq.

89, 90. Manet...Haſtings.] manet Cat. with Ha. Q,Q_2. manet Ca. with Haſt. Qq, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. (subs.) Manent...Haſtings F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope. Exit Council with Richard and Buckingham. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. Council rise in Confusion; and exeunt, with Ric. and Buc. Capell. Exeunt all, except Hastings, Catesby, and Lovel. Staunton.

at London on the same day. We have little doubt that Lovel and Ratcliff are thus brought upon the scene together, in the Folio, in association with the rhyme by Collingbourne: 'The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our dog Rule all England under a Hog.' The audience were familiar with this story; and it was natural that Shakespeare should show Catesby (the Cat), Ratcliff (the Rat), and Lovel (the Dog), the three most confidential ministers of his usurpation. [See I, iii, 237.]—HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 89): It would have been a not improper subject for a note that there was here a slight variation from the truth of history, much slighter, however, than many others in these *Histories*. But then, when something else is substituted which the Poet did not write, care should be taken that the substituted word is consistent with the other part of the play, which in this instance is not the case. That consistency requires that Catesby should enter in the fifth scene with Lovel, bringing the head of Hastings, whereas he is sent to fetch the Lord Mayor. . . . In fact, it is hazardous to begin to tamper with the text of any great writer. —CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* xv): We have followed the Folios, for the difficulties could not be removed entirely without applying more violence to the text than an editor is justified in using.—WRIGHT: The stage-direction of the Quartos at l. 89: '*Exeunt. manet Cat. with Ha.*,' justifies Theobald's alteration. But in the next scene Ratcliff and Lovel are made to appear with Hastings's head, while Catesby overlooks the walls of the Tower. If we imagine that Catesby left the stage for this purpose, although there is no *exit* marked in the old copies, we may explain the confusion by supposing that the same player took the parts both of Ratcliff and Catesby.—MARSHALL: [The suggestion] that one of the players may have doubled Catesby and Ratcliff is hardly possible, as, in IV, iv, we have Ratcliff and Catesby on the stage at the same time, and speaking to Richard. The fact is that this is one of those slips on the part of the author which can be easily remedied on the stage, but not where the text is printed entire.—DANIEL (*Introd.*, xviii): The substitution [in this scene and the next], in the Quartos, of Catesby for the Lovell and Ratcliff of the Folio, is a clear case of 'revision,' and may be taken as a measure of the generally careless manner in which that revision was done. The economy of the stage no doubt recommended the abolition of Lovell as a separate part; but Catesby here leading Hastings to execution is in almost as incongruous a position as Dorset, in II, iv, as the Messenger. In sc. v, however, his displacement of Lovel and Ratcliff brings in a world of confusion: while actually on the stage with Richard, his double enters bearing the head of Hastings! Yet that this office originally devolved, as in the Folio, on Ratcliff and Lovell, is shown in the Quarto itself in certain tell-tale words in sc. v, l. 59, where Richard refers to the haste with which 'these our friends' have executed their commission.

For I, too fond, might haue preuented this:
Stanley did dreame, the Bore did rowſe our Helmes,
And I did ſcorne it, and diſdaine to flye:
Three times to day my Foot-Cloth-Horſe did ſtumble,
And ſtarted, when he look'd vpon the Tower,
As loth to beare me to the ſlaughter-houſe.
O now I need the Prieſt, that ſpake to me:
I now repent I told the Purſuiuant,
As too triumphing, how mine Enemies
To day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,

93. *rowſe our Helmes*] F_2. *race his helme* Qq. *rowze our Helmes* F_3F_4. *raſe our helms* Rowe,+. *raze his helm* Cap. Cam.+. *raſe his helm* Var.'73 et cet.

94. *And...ſcorne it...diſdaine*] *But I diſdaind it...did ſcorne* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

it] Om. Q_4.

diſdaine] *disdain'd* Knt, Coll. Sing. Ktly.

95. *Foot-Cloth-Horſe*] *footecloth horſe* Qq. *foot-cloth horse* Rowe et seq.

96. *ſtarted*] *ſtartled* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Ktly.

98. *need*] *want* Qq, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Ktly. (*warrant* Q_7Q_8.)

100. *too...how*] *twere...at* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

101. *To day*] *How they* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

---

93. **the Bore did rowse our Helmes**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 22): Another misprint, I presume, as far as 'rowse' is concerned; for it cannot have been meant for a correction by anybody: 'our helms,' for *his helm*, may perhaps have been intended. For though Stanley's message was that he had dreamed that 'the boar had rased off *his* helm,' it was a dream in which he supposed Hastings to have an equal interest; and as it had not come true in his own case, it was only as applying to them both that it was in point. The change in the wording of the message, as recalled under the present circumstances, is legitimate and natural. And according to the authority which Shakespeare was following, it was, in fact, the more correct. [Although Shakespeare does not make use of the incident, the prophecy had been fulfilled also as regards Stanley. More says, p. 73, 'And a nother let flee at the Lorde Stanley which shronke at the stroke and fel vnder the table, or els his hed had been clefte to the tethe: for as shortely as he shranke, yet ranne the blood aboute hys eares.'—ED.]

95. **Foot-Cloth**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): A large, richly ornamented cloth laid over the back of a horse, and hanging down to the ground on each side. It was considered as a mark of dignity and state.—WRIGHT: One of Cade's charges against Lord Say was that he rode in a 'foot-cloth': '*Say.* What of that? *Cade.* Marry thou oughtest not let thy horse wear a cloak, when honester men than thou go in their hose and doublets.'—*2 Hen. VI:* IV, vii, 54.

95. **Horse did stumble**] According to More, the stumbling of a rider's horse 'hath bene of an old rite and custome, obserued as a token often times notably foregoing some great misfortune,' p. 76.—ED.

99-101. **I now repent . . . were butcher'd**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 63): The alteration [of the Quarto reading in these lines], though slight,

And I my ſelfe ſecure, in grace and fauour.
Oh *Margaret, Margaret,* now thy heauie Curſe
Is lighted on poore *Hastings* wretched Head.
Ra. Come, come, diſpatch, the Duke would be at dinner:
Make a ſhort Shrift, he longs to ſee your Head.
Haſt. O momentarie grace of mortall men,
Which we more hunt for, then the grace of God!
Who builds his hope in ayre of your good Lookes,

104. *lighted*] *lightened* Q_6Q_7. *lightned* Q_8.
105. Ra.] Cat. Qq, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta.
Come...diſpatch] *Diſpatch, my Lo:* Qq (*Lord* Q_5), Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
107. *grace*] *ſtate* Qq.
mortall] *worldly* Qq.
108. *then the*] Q_1Q_2. *then for the* Q_{3-8}.
God /] *heauen :* Qq.
109. *hope*] *hopes* Qq, Cam.+.
ayre] F_2. *aire* $Q_{1-3}Q_5Q_6F_3$. *aier* Q_4. *the aire* Q_7. *the ayre* Q_8. *th' air* Han. *air* F_4 et cet.
good] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *faire* Qq et cet.
Lookes] *looke* Q_4.

is noticeable as an example of the gradual change which was taking place in Shakespeare's management of his blank verse. The monotony of the regularly recurring accent and pause was beginning to be wearisome, and a variation of their place in the line was the first device by which he endeavoured to avoid it; an art, the practice and cultivation of which gave him a great deal of work before he assumed the larger liberties which characterised the versification of his later plays, and remain to show (as used in them) the noblest effects of which the metre has yet been found capable. These lines, as they stand in the Quarto, are a good specimen of the earlier style, and by no means remarkable for monotony: and yet I see no difficulty in understanding why Shakespeare—indeed, the difficulty is less if it were he than if it were a nameless transcriber writing before 1623—altered them to the form [in which they appear in the Folio].

101. **To day**] MARSHALL: The alteration of Q_1, *How they*, was evidently made with a view of getting rid of the difficulty about Ratcliff in l. 87; but if we refer to sc. ii, l. 114, we shall see that Q_1 retains *This day* in Hastings's speech.

105. **Come, come, dispatch**] WEBB: These curt, rough words do not suit Catesby [see *Text. Notes*] but seem an echo of the Ratcliff of scene iii.

105, 106. **the Duke . . . at dinner: Make a short Shrift**] '—he toke a priest at aduenture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to dyner.'—*More*, p. 73.—ED.

109. **in ayre of your good Lookes**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. air*, III, 13): Outward appearance, apparent character, manner, look, style. *Especially* in phrases like 'an air of absurdity'; less commonly of a thing tangible, as the 'air of a mansion.'—*Wint. Tale*, IV, iv, 755: 'Seest thou not the air of the court in these enfoldings.' [JOHNSON quotes as a parallel figure 'Nescius auræ fallacis,' Horace, *Odes* [I, v, 11], whereon VAUGHAN (iii, 87) remarks that '*aura* is a *breeze*,' and that it 'suggests a nautical idea, such as was not in the poet's mind.' Is it not somewhat temerarious to assert what was or was not in Shakespeare's mind?

Liues like a drunken Sayler on a Maſt,
Readie with euery Nod to tumble downe,
Into the fatall Bowels of the Deepe.
Lou. Come, come, diſpatch, 'tis bootleſſe to exclaime.
Haſt. O bloody *Richard:* miſerable England,
I prophecie the fearefull'ſt time to thee,
That euer wretched Age hath look'd vpon.
Come, lead me to the Block, beare him my Head,
They ſmile at me, who ſhortly ſhall be dead.
Exeunt.

[*Scene V.*]

Enter Richard, and Buckingham, in rotten Armour, marucllous ill-fauourcd.

113–116. Lou. *Come...vpon.*] Om. Qq.
116. *hath*] *hate* Var. '21 (misprint).
118. *who*] *that* Qq, Cam.+.
[SCENE V.] Cap. Scene continued, Ff, Rowe. SCENE VI. Pope,+. The Tower Walls. Theob.
1, 2. Richard...ill-fauoured.] Duke of Gloſter and Buckingham in armour. Qq. (Gloceſter Q_2).
1. rotten] Ff, Knt, Sing. Cam.+. rusty Rowe et cet.

Particularly as, in the present case, the very next line, in carrying on the simile, refers to 'a sailor on a mast.' Vaughan suggests that the metaphor of building 'in air of fair looks' is best appreciated by the passage in *Macbeth:* '—no jutty, frieze, Buttress nor coign of vantage but this bird hath made His pendent bed and procreant cradle, where they Most breed and haunt I have observed the air is delicate,' I, vi, 6–10. If, as Vaughan asserts, there was no nautical idea in Shakespeare's mind, are we to interpret that mind as occupied, in the present passage, with thoughts of birds' nests and masonry?—ED.]

110. **a drunken Sayler on a Mast**] CARTER (p. 139): Compare: 'And thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the mids of the sea, and as he that sleepeth in the top of the mast.'—*Proverbs*, xxiii, 34 [Genevan Vers.]. The text does not say the sleeper is drunken, but a note on the verse in the Genevan Version says: 'Though drunkenesse maketh them more insensible than beasts, yet can they not refraine.' [It is well to remember that the author of the *Proverbs* is here speaking of those who 'look upon the wine when it is red.'—ED.]

1, 2. **Enter Richard . . . ill-fauoured**] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 331): It is not very easy to understand how this scene was acted of old: modern editors say that it took place on 'the Tower walls'; but to the old stage-direction (besides altering 'rotten' to *rusty*) the corrector has added these words, *all in haste, in the Tower*, as if Richard and Buckingham were in some confusion not on the Tower walls, but in some part of the edifice near the draw-bridge, which Richard mentions. When Lovell and Ratcliff enter, just afterwards, with the head of Hastings, we are informed in manuscript that it was exhibited *on a spear*.

1. **in rotten Armour**] '—the protector immediatelye after diner, entending to

Richard. Come Couſin,
Canſt thou quake, and change thy colour,
Murther thy breath in middle of a word,
And then againe begin, and ſtop againe,
As if thou were diſtraught, and mad with terror?
Buck. Tut, I can counterfeit the deepe Tragedian,
Speake, and looke backe, and prie on euery ſide,
Tremble and ſtart at wagging of a Straw:

3, 4. *Come...colour*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
5. *Murther*] *Smother* Steev. Reprint (footnote).
middle] *the middle* Rowe.
6. *againe begin*] *begin againe* Qq, Cam.+.
7. *were*] Ff, Rowe. *wert* Qq et cet.
diſtraught] *deſtract* Q_8.
8. *Tut,*] *Tut feare not me* Qq (as one line). *Tut, fear not me, my lord of Gloucester* Anon. ap. Cam.
10. *Tremble...Straw*] Om. Qq.
at wagging] *at 'wagging* ed. conj.

---

set some colour vpon the matter, sent in al the hast for many substauncial men out of the city into the Tower. And at their comming, himself with the Duke of Buckingham, stode harnesed in old il faring briganders, such as no man shold wene that thei wold vouchsafe to haue put vpon their backes except that some sodaine necessitie had constrained them.'—*More*, p. 78.—BARNARD: Not *rusty*, as usually explained, for the metal of the brigandines would not show, since it was sewn or riveted inside the material (velvet, leather, or quilted linen) of which the brigandine was made.

8. **I can counterfeit the deepe Tragedian**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 468): Such a boast as this made to Richard—that master in the art of dissembling! The effect is almost ludicrous of the man's blindness of self-conceit. Accordingly, Richard, with his humour of shrewd policy, does not fail to take inward-laughing advantage of it, and uses the vaunter as a convenient tool. Buckingham is a weak man, morally and mentally; and, like many weak men, he instinctively clings for support to a powerful intellect like that of Richard, while flattering himself that he assists and guides it by his own aid and counsel. Buckingham is lavish in protestation—always the resource of the weak, conscious of their own lack of strength in earnest meaning. [See III, i, 221; note by RICHARDSON.]—WRIGHT: Buckingham appears to have had a gift for what is now called melodrama.—MARSHALL: This speech of Buckingham . . . gives us some idea of the conventional tragic actor of the time, whose simple tricks were preserved by tradition down to the time when the Richardsonian booth was a common adjunct to every country fair. . . . The difference between Richard and Buckingham was precisely that between the really great actor and the ranting tragedian of the fair-booth. Buckingham's acting could deceive no one but himself; but Richard's powers of simulation deceived even his most intimate associates.

10. **Tremble and start . . . a Straw**] CAPELL: The position of [this line] may be very reasonably questioned: The first member of l. 11 should, in natural order, follow l. 9; l. 10 interrupts it, and is a line superadded; whether the printer has placed it rightly, and what other place suits it, are matters to be considered.

Intending deepe ſuſpition, gaſtly Lookes
Are at my ſeruice, like enforced Smiles;
And both are readie in their Offices,
At any time to grace my Stratagemes.
But what, is *Catesby* gone?

Rich. He is, and ſee he brings the Maior along.

Enter the Maior, and Catesby.

Buck. Lord Maior.

Rich. Looke to the Draw-Bridge there.

Buck. Hearke, a Drumme.

Rich. *Catesby*, o're-looke the Walls.

11. *deepe*] *deere* Q_4.
14. *At any time*] Om. Qq, Sta.
15–18. *But what...Lord Maior*] Glo. *Here comes the Maior.* Buck. *Let me alone to entertaine him. L. Maior* Qq, Theob.+, Sta. *But what...gone?* Rich. *He is...along.* Buck. *Let me alone to entertain him.—Lord Mayor!* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
17. Enter...Catesby.] Enter Maior. Qq (after l. 14). Enter the Lord Mayor attended. Theob.+.
18–20. As one line, Sing. Ktly.
18. *Maior.*] *Mayor,*— Rowe et seq.
19, 20. As one line, Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Sta.
19–24. Rich. *Looke...guard vs*] Glo. *Looke...there.* Buc. *The reaſon we haue ſent for you.* Glo. *Catesby ouerlooke the walls.* Buc. *Hearke I heare a drumme.* Glo. *Looke backe defend thee here are enemies. God...defend vs.* Qq, Sta.
20. *Hearke*] *Hark, Hark,* Cap. Steev. Varr.
21. Catesby] *Some one* Han.

11. **Intending**] For other examples of *intend* meaning to *pretend*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex.*, 6). Compare III, vii, 46.

16. **the Maior**] WRIGHT: The Lord Mayor of London on this occasion was, according to Hall, Edmund Shaa or Shaw, the brother of Dr Ralph Shaw, who is mentioned at l. 110, and was chaplain and confessor to Edward IV. [Is not More the authority for this name? Hall is here copying More's *Life*, etc., almost verbatim.—ED.]

20–24. **Buck. Hearke, a Drumme . . . defend, and guard vs**] MARSHALL: The words: [*Let me alone to entertain him*, in the Quarto], seem unnecessary, and may, not improbably, have been added by one of the actors. The object of the dramatist, in this passage, seems to be to represent as much hurry and confusion as is possible. Richard is anxious to convey the impression to the Lord Mayor that he is under a strong sense of personal danger; and I would suggest that the words, 'Hark a drum,' should be given to Gloucester and not to Buckingham. . . .The *innocence* of Buckingham and Gloucester would not be a very reliable defence against any danger.

21. **Catesby, o'er-looke the Walls**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 72): [This line and the stage-direction in the Quartos at l. 25: *Enter Catesby with Hasting's head*], cannot have been intended. The puzzle is to understand how it came about. For Ratcliffe was ready, and Catesby was wanted to go and bring

Buck. Lord Maior, the reaſon we haue ſent.
Rich. Looke back, defend thee, here are Enemies.
Buck. God and our Innocencie defend, and guard vs.

Enter Louell and Ratcliffe, with Haſtings Head.
Rich. Be patient, they are friends: *Ratcliffe*, and *Louell.*

22. *ſent.*] Ff. *ſent for you.* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii. *sent*— Rowe et cet.
23. *thee*] *three* F_2. *there* F_3F_4.
24. *Innocencie*] *innocence* Q_2.
and guard] Om. Qq.
vs.] *us.* Glo. *O, O, be quiet it is Catesby.* Qq.
25. Louell and Ratcliffe,] Catesby Qq. Lovel and Catesby, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. After l. 26, Cam. +. Lovel and another. Taylor MS ap. Cam.
25. Haſtings] Haſt. Q_1Q_2.
26. Rich. *Be patient*...Louell.] Om. Qq. Rich. *Be patient, Buckingham, they are friends; 'tis Lovel* Taylor MS ap. Cam.
Ratcliffe] *Catesby* Theob. Han. Warb. Johns.

---

the Lord Mayor; and therefore it cannot be accounted for as an alteration made for the convenience of the actors. There is, however, one reason for thinking that it was not Shakespeare's original intention to assign that office to Catesby. Up to that morning Hastings had considered Catesby as his own confidential friend acting altogether in his interest. I cannot think that Shakespeare would have made this same Catesby carry Hastings to the block the same afternoon, without some notice being taken on one side or the other of this peculiar relation. And yet Hastings is made to treat him like an ordinary official to whom he has nothing to say, and all that Catesby is made to say to him is: 'Dispatch, my Lord, the Duke would be at dinner.' With Ratcliffe, on the contrary, a man not known to Hastings for anything that appears, such language was natural, and in accordance with his traditional character. . . . The substitution, therefore, of Lovell and Ratcliffe, for Catesby, [in the stage-direction] removes all difficulties. When Catesby is told to 'o'er-look the walls' he has just arrived within them, bringing the Lord Mayor with him: and the enemies, whom Richard pretends to be on his guard against, turn out friends. An objection has been taken to the employment of Ratcliffe in this office, on the ground that he had been employed just before in leading Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey to execution at Pomfret. [See III, iv, 87, and notes.] . . . But this is to cramp the legitimate liberty of the theatre. There is nothing in the previous scene to bring before the spectators' imagination the distance of Pomfret from London: and all physical impossibilities are allowable in a play, which do not shock the imagination.

24. Innocencie] CAPELL: Terror is better painted by the stammering word innocency' than in a modern perversion of it.—WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 47): The same error, if I mistake not, has taken place in *1 Hen. IV:* IV, iii, 63: 'With tears of innocency and terms of zeal'; where the Folio writes it *innocencie*. . . . It seems possible, indeed, that 'innocency' may have been pronounced as a trisyllable, in the same manner as *innocent* is frequently a dissyllable; though in *Rich. II:* I, iii, 84, it appears as a quadrisyllable, 'Mine innocency and St George to thrive' (where, on the other hand, the Folio has *innocence*.—DYCE (ed. ii): Is it not strange that the Cambridge Editors, who inform us that here Q_1 reads *innocence*, should yet adopt the later lection *'innocency'?*

Louell. Here is the Head of that ignoble Traytor,
The dangerous and vnſuſpected *Haſtings.*
Rich. So deare I lou'd the man, that I muſt weepe:
I tooke him for the plaineſt harmeleſſe Creature,
That breath'd vpon the Earth, a Chriſtian.
Made him my Booke, wherein my Soule recorded
The Hiſtorie of all her ſecret thoughts.
So ſmooth he dawb'd his Vice with ſhew of Vertue,
That his apparant open Guilt omitted,
I meane, his Conuerſation with *Shores* Wife,
He liu'd from all attainder of ſuſpects.

27. Louell.] Cat. Qq.
30. *harmeleſſe*] *harmleſs't* Steev. Var. '03, '13.
Creature] *man* Qq, Sta.
31. *the*] *this* Q_{1-3},Q_{5-8}, Sta. Cam.+.
That...Chriſtian.] *That...Chriſtian, Looke ye my Lord Maior:* two lines, ending: *Chriſtian...Maior:* Qq.
32. *Made*] *I made* Q_{5-8}.
35. *apparant open*] *apparent-open* Walker (Crit. i, 33).
36. *Conuerſation*] *conerſation* Q_2. Shores] *Shore's* F_4.
37. *liu'd*] *laid* Qq.
ſuſpects] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i. *ſuſpect* Qq et cet.

---

30. **plainest harmelesse**] STEEVENS: Grammar requires *harmless't, i. e., harmlessest*, a common contraction, as I am assured, both in Leicestershire and Warwickshire. Compare 'couertst,' l. 38. [J. WRIGHT (*Dialect Dict.*) gives no example of the use of the superlative *harmlessest*, or its contraction *harmlesst*.—ED.]—ABBOTT (§ 398): Though the meaning here may be: *the plainest, the most harmless creature*, it is more likely a compound word, 'plainest-harmless'; see § 2.

31. **That breath'd . . . a Christian**] MARSHALL: The Quarto insertion after this line seems out of place here. Gloucester's speech is evidently spoken, not to the Lord Mayor, but to Ratcliff, Lovell, and Buckingham. [See *Text. Notes*, ll. 39–41.]

32. **Made him my Booke**] WRIGHT: Compare 'I have been The book of his good acts.'—*Coriol.*, V, ii, 14. [Also, perhaps, 'Kind gentlemen, your pains Are register'd where every day I turn The leaf to read them.'—*Macbeth*, I, iii, 149. —ED.]

34. **dawb'd**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. daub*), † 7: To cover with a specious exterior; to whitewash, cloak, gloss. [The present line quoted.]

36. **Conuersation**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 3. Criminal conversation. [The present line quoted.]

37. **attainder**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): The action or process of attainting. . . from *attain* to catch or detect in an offence; in later usage, the legal consequences of judgement of death, or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz., forfeiture of estate, real and personal, corruption of blood, so that the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit by descent, and, generally, extinction of all civil rights and capacities. [By erroneous association with French *taindre*, to dye, stain], the second of these was looked upon as the essence of attainder, which is defined by the lawyers as: 'The stain or corruption of blood of a criminal capitally condemned, the

Buck. Well, well, he was the couertſt ſheltred Traytor
That euer liu'd.
Would you imagine, or almoſt beleeue,
Wert not, that by great preſeruation
We liue to tell it, that the ſubtill Traytor
This day had plotted, in the Councell-Houſe,
To murther me, and my good Lord of Gloſter.
Maior. Had he done ſo?
Rich. What? thinke you we are Turkes, or Infidels?
Or that we would, againſt the forme of Law,
Proceed thus raſhly in the Villaines death,
But that the extreme perill of the caſe,
The Peace of England, and our Perſons ſafetie,

38, 39. As two lines, ending, *was... liu'd* Ktly.
38. *couertſt ſheltred*] *covert'st-sheltered* Abbott.
39. Om. Pope,+ (−Var.'73).
39–41. *That...preſeruation*] Two lines, ending, *imagined...preſeruation* Qq.
39. *liu'd*] *liv'd.—Look you my lord mayor*, Cap. Var.'78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Marshall. *liv'd. Look you, my good Lord Mayor* Taylor MS ap. Cam.
40. *imagine*] *haue imagined* Qq.
41. *Wert*] (*Wert* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Dyce i. *Wer't* F_3F_4 et cet. (subs.)
that] Om. Qq.
42. *it,*] *it you?* Qq. *it you*) Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Dyce i. *it you*, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii.
43. *This day had*] *Had this day* Qq.
45. *Had he done ſo?*] *What, had he ſo?* Qq. *What? had he so?* Pope,+ (subs.), Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *Ay, had he so?* Cap. conj.
46. *What? thinke...Infidels?*] *What thinke...Infidels*, Qq.
you] Q_1Q_2. *ye* Qq.
47. *would*] *ſhould* Q_7Q_8.
forme] *courſe* Q_{3-8}.
48. *in*] *to* Qq, Theob.+, Cam.+.
49. *the extreme*] *the very extreame* Q_4.

immediate inseparable consequence . . . of the sentence of death.' [*s. v. Ibid.* 2. b. *Stain of dishonor*, MURRAY quotes the present line. See III, vi, 10.]

39. **That euer liu'd**] CAPELL: The words ['Look you, my Lord Mayor,' inserted after this line] came from Qq; but in them they follow 'christian,' l. 31, in form of an hemistich: replace them, and read the passage deliberately, the error of that position will then appear to you plainly; and in weighing this as considerately, 't will be visible (as it is to the editor) the present place was intended for them. Without them the sense of Buckingham's line is imperfect; and his second address'd without prefacing, to one you must study for: and study may, indeed, help you; but not reconcile you to such curtailings, or to a passage so little easy.

40. **almost beleeue**] WRIGHT: That is, *even*. Compare 'Or do you almost think, although you see, That you do see?' *King John*, IV, iii, 48.—ABBOTT (§ 29): That is, Would you suppose without evidence, or (I may *almost* say) believe upon evidence?

49. **extreme**] WRIGHT: 'Extreme' has here the accent on the first syllable, as it always has in Shakespeare, except *Sonnet* cxxix, 4, 10. See IV, iv, 197.

Enforc'd vs to this Execution.
Maior. Now faire befall you, he deſeru'd his death,
And your good Graces both haue well proceeded,
To warne falſe Traytors from the like Attempts.
Buck. I neuer look'd for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with Miſtreſſe *Shore:*
Yet had we not determin'd he ſhould dye,
Vntill your Lordſhip came to ſee his end,
Which now the louing haſte of theſe our friends,
Something againſt our meanings, haue preuented;
Becauſe, my Lord, I would haue had you heard

51. *Enforc'd*] *Inforſt* Qq.
this] *that* Q_4.
Execution.] Q_1Ff. *execution?* Q_2 et cet.
53. *your good Graces*] *you my good Lords* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
55. Buck.] Om. Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
57. *Yet...*] Dat. *Yet...* Q_1Q_2. Clo. *Yet.* Q_3Q_5. Glo. *Yet...* $Q_4Q_6Q_7Q_8$, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
we not] *not we* Qq, Cam.+.
58. *end*] *death* Qq, Cam.+.
59. *louing*] *longing* Qq.
60. *Something*] *Somewhat* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
meanings] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Rlfe. *meaning* Qq et cet.
haue] QqFf, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Sing. Cam.+. *hath* Pope et cet.
61. *I*] *we* Qq, Theob.+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Cam.+, Ktly.
haue had you] *that you had* Lettsom ap. Dyce ii.

---

52. **faire befall you**] ABBOTT (§ 297): If 'befall' be treated as impersonal, 'fair,' in that case, is an adverb. This supposition is confirmed by: 'Well be (it) with you, gentlemen.'—*Hamlet*, II, ii, 398.

55, 56. **Buck. I neuer . . . Mistresse Shore**] MARSHALL: We have followed the Folio in giving these two lines to Buckingham. They seem entirely out of place as spoken by the Lord Mayor [see *Text. Notes*], who ventures, throughout this scene, on no particular condemnation of Hastings. The next ten lines: 'Yet had we not determin'd,' etc., should, it seems to us, be given to Gloucester without any hesitation. Buckingham would hardly have dared to talk as if he were, in any respect, the source of supreme authority. The Lord Mayor's reply, ll. 67–71, seems certainly addressed to Gloucester, and not to Buckingham.

61. **I would haue had you heard**] Both LETTSOM and KEIGHTLEY propose 'have had you *hear*,' whereon the COWDEN-CLARKES remark: 'We take "heard" to be a somewhat similar license of grammatical expression as in, "—that monstrous rebel Cade Who since I heard to be discomfited."—*2 Hen. VI:* V, i, 62. The speaker, mentioning a conditional period, uses the past tense, as giving additional effect of that which is irretrievably done and gone by.' ABBOTT (§ 411) thinks that 'more probably the full construction is: We would have had you (to have) heard, and *to have* is omitted through dislike of repetition.' He compares: 'He would have had me gone into the steeple-house.'—Fox, *Journal*, ed. 1765, p. 57.—ED.

The Traytor ſpeake, and timorouſly confeſſe
The manner and the purpoſe of his Treaſons:
That you might well haue ſignify'd the ſame
Vnto the Citizens, who haply may
Miſconſter vs in him, and wayle his death.
Ma. But, my good Lord, your Graces words ſhal ſerue,
As well as I had ſeene, and heard him ſpeake:
And doe not doubt, right Noble Princes both,
But Ile acquaint our dutious Citizens
With all your iuſt proceedings in this caſe.
Rich. And to that end we wiſh'd your Lordſhip here,
T'auoid the Cenſures of the carping World.
Buck. Which ſince you come too late of our intent,
Yet witneſſe what you heare we did intend:
And ſo, my good Lord Maior, we bid farwell.
Exit Maior.

62. *timorouſly*] *timeously* Hutchesson MS ap. Cam.
63. *Treaſons*] *treaſon* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
65. *haply*] *happily* Qq.
66. *Miſconſter*] Q_{1-5},F_2F_3, Wh. i. *Miſconſture* Q_7Q_8. *Miſconſtrue* Q_6 et cet.
67. *But*] Om. Q_{3-8}. *Tut!* Han.
Graces] *gracious* Q_7Q_8.
words] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Ktly. *word* Qq et cet.
68. *as I*] *as if I* Q_8.
and] *or* Qq.
69. *doe not doubt*] *doubt you not* Qq, Cam.+.
70. *our*] *your* Qq.
71. *caſe*] *cauſe* Qq, Cam.+.
73. *T'auoid... World*] *To auoide the carping ſenſures of the world.* Qq, Cam.+.
World.] *word.* Q_3.
74. *Which*] Ff, Rowe. *But* Qq et cet.
come] *came* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt.
of] *for* Cap.
intent] *intents* Qq, Cam.+.
75, 76. *you heare...farwell.*] *We did intend, and ſo my Lord adue.* Qq.
76. *farwell*] *farewel* F_4.

70. **dutious**] Compare II, i, 39.

71. **caſe**] WRIGHT: In Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Bk, ii, 23, § 5, p. 220, there is a similar instance of the interchange of these words ['case' and *cause*, see *Text. Notes*]: 'So as there is a wisdom of counsel and advice even in private causes, arising out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world; which is used indeed upon particular cases propounded, but is gathered by general observation of cases of like nature.' In the first edition (1605) 'cases' is the reading where the word first occurs, while the other editions read *causes;* while on the second occasion of its occurrence all the early editions read *causes.*

74. **Which**] See ABBOTT, § 272, or *As You Like It*, II, i, 10; *Lear*, V, iii, 149, this edition.

74. **late of our intent**] STEEVENS: We still say: to come short *of* a thing, and why not come 'late *of* an intent'? [ABBOTT (§ 166) quotes only the present line as an example of 'of' 'used with verbs and adjectives implying *motion from.*'—ED.]

Rich. Goe after, after, Couſin *Buckingham.*
The Maior towards Guild-Hall hyes him in all poſte:
There, at your meeteſt vantage of the time,
Inferre the Baſtardie of *Edwards* Children:
Tell them, how *Edward* put to death a Citizen,
Onely for ſaying, he would make his Sonne
Heire to the Crowne, meaning indeed his Houſe,
Which, by the Signe thereof, was tearmed ſo.
Moreouer, vrge his hatefull Luxurie,

78. *Goe after*] *After* Qq. *Go, after* Cap. et seq.

79. *Guild-Hall...in all poſte*] *the Guild-hall...post* Wordsworth.

80. *meeteſt vantage*] *meeſt advantage* Q_{1-5}, Sta. Cam.+ (subs.). (*meeteſt advantage* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$). *meerest vantage* Rowe ii.

---

78. **Goe after, after]** The COWDEN-CLARKES: How well the vicious eagerness of Richard is pictured in these two words, 'after, after.' Not only their repetition but their elliptical conciseness, indicates his breathless excitement. Compare the triple iteration of Hubert's name in *King John*, III, iii, 59, where the impression of murderous eagerness and urgency is thus horribly conveyed.

79. **in all poste]** WRIGHT: That is, in all haste, like a post or messenger. Compare 'From the besieged Ardea all in post.'—*Lucrece*, 1.

82. **put to death a Citizen]** GREY: This person was one Walker, a substantial citizen and grocer at the Crown in Cheapside.—DAVIS (p. 204): The incident here mentioned is often cited in discussing the history of the law of treason, in which these words were construed as sufficient to constitute the crime (4 *Black. Comm. marg.*, p. 79). [Hall gives the name of this unfortunate citizen as Burdet; but Grey is, I think, right in calling him Walker. Stow, in his *Annals*, quoted by Churchill (p. 224), says: 'In the first year of Edward's reign, "the 12th of March, Walter Walker, a Grocer that dwelt in Cheape of London, for words spoken touching King Edward, was suddenly apprehended, condemned, and beheaded in Smithfield. This grocer is he whom master Hall mistaketh to be Burdet,"' (p. 680). The confusion in the names, possibly, is due to the fact that Burdet suffered for a remark almost as innocent as that which caused Walker's death. King Edward shot a white buck belonging to Burdet. 'And therefore when he vnderstood thereof, he wished the buckes head in his bellie that moued the king to kill it. Which tale being told to the king, Burdet was apprehended and accused of treason, for wishing the buckes heade (hornes and all) in the kings bellie: he was condemned and . . . beheaded.'—*Holinshed*, iii, 703, quoted by BOSWELL-STONE, p. 375, foot-note. The reference to the Walker incident, by Hall, and its omission by Holinshed, WRIGHT considers an indication that, here at least, Shakespeare consulted the older Chronicler.—See CHURCHILL and WRIGHT in *Appendix, Source of Plot.*—ED.]

86-90. **Moreouer . . . a prey]** BLAKEWAY: All these topics . . . are dilated upon in that most extraordinary invective against his person and government contained in the petition presented to Richard before his accession, and afterwards turned into an act of parliament.—See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. ii, p. 396.

And beaſtiall appetite in change of Luſt,
Which ſtretcht vnto their Seruants, Daughters, Wiues,
Euen where his raging eye, or ſauage heart,
Without controll, luſted to make a prey.
Nay, for a need, thus farre come neere my Perſon:
Tell them, when that my Mother went with Child
Of that inſatiate *Edward*; Noble *Yorke*,
My Princely Father, then had Warres in France,
And by true computation of the time,
Found, that the Iſſue was not his begot:
Which well appeared in his Lineaments,
Being nothing like the Noble Duke, my Father:
Yet touch this ſparingly, as 'twere farre off,

87. *beaſtiall*] F_2. *beaſtly* Q_6. *beſtial* Q_1 et cet.
88. *ſtretcht vnto*] *ſtretched to* Qq, Cam.+.
Daughters] *Daughter* F_2.
89. *raging*] *luſtfull* Qq, Mal.Var.'21, Sta.Cam.+. *ranging* Pope,+,Varr. Ran.
90. *luſted*] *liſted* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
a] *his* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Cam.+.
93. *inſatiate*] *vnſatiate* Qq, Cam.+.
94. *Warres*] *wares* Q_6.
95. *true*] *iuſt* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.
97. *appeared*] *appear'd* F_4.
99. *Yet*] *But* Qq, Cap. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
'twere] *it were* Qq.
farre] *a farre* Q_4.

92. **Tell them, etc.**] WALPOLE (p. 38, *foot-note*): Clarence is the first who is said to have propagated this slander, and it was much more consonant to his levity and indigested politics, than to the good sense of Richard. Who can believe that Richard renewed this story, especially as he must have altered the dates of his mother's amours, and made them continue to her conception of him, as Clarence had made them stop in his own favour? [p. 39] But Richard had better pretensions, and had no occasion to start doubts even on his own legitimacy, which was too much connected with that of his brothers to be tossed and bandied about before the multitude. Clarence had been solemnly attainted by act of parliament, and his children were out of the question. The doubts on the validity of Edward's marriage were better grounds for Richard's proceedings than aspersion of his mother's honor.—WRIGHT: According to Holinshed, Edward was born 29 April, 1442, at Rouen, 'his father being the King's lieutenant in Normandie,' p. 623, col. 1.—WESSELS (p. 22): It has been said that Dr Shaw, at the bidding of Richard, accused the Duchess of York of faithlessness. It is only possible to explain this fact by Dr Shaw's acting without Richard's authorisation, but it is more likely still that the whole tale is a myth invented by Richard's enemies, as all contemporary writers are silent about it. More clears Richard of all share in the matter, and lays it to the charge of Dr Shaw. Polydore Vergil, who distinctly says that the whole sermon was on this subject, and not on the illegitimacy of the children, deserves little faith because he was no contemporary, and wrote at the court of Henry VII., where the tale may have been told only to harm Richard's memory.

Becauſe, my Lord, you know my Mother liues.
Buck. Doubt not, my Lord, Ile play the Orator,
As if the Golden Fee, for which I plead,
Were for my ſelfe : and ſo, my Lord, adue.
Rich. If you thriue wel, bring them to Baynards Caſtle,
Where you ſhall finde me well accompanied
With reuerend Fathers, and well-learned Biſhops.
Buck. I goe, and towards three or foure a Clocke
Looke for the Newes that the Guild-Hall affoords.
Exit Buckingham.
Rich. Goe *Louell* with all ſpeed to Doctor *Shaw*,
Goe thou to Fryer *Peuker*, bid them both
Meet me within this houre at Baynards Caſtle. *Exit.*

100. *my Lord, you know*] *you know my Lord* Qq, Cam.+.
my Mother] *my brother* Q_5. *me brother* Q_6.
101. *Doubt*] *Feare* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
103. *and...adue*] Om. Qq, Sta.
107, 108. *I goe...affoords.*] *About three or foure a clocke looke to heare What newes Guild hall affordeth, and ſo my Lord farewell.* Qq.
109. Exit Buckingham.] Exe. Buck. and Catesby severally. Pope, Han.
110–112. *Goe* Louell...*Caſtle.* Exit.] Om. Qq, Pope.
111. *Goe thou*] *Go thou* [To Cat.] Cap. et seq,
Peuker] Reuker F_2. *Beuker* F_3 F_4, Rowe. *Penker* Cap. et seq.
112. Exit.] Exeunt Lov. and Cates. severally. Theob. Warb. Johns.

104. **Baynards Castle**] STOW says (p. 88) that this castle was so called 'of Baynard a nobleman, that came in with the Conqueror, and then built it, and deceased in the reign of William Rufus.' It then passed into the hands of the Fitzwalters. Stow adds: 'How this honour of Baynard's Castle, with the appurtenances, fell from the possession of the Fitzwalters, I have not read; only I find that in the year 1428, the 7th of Henry VI., a great fire was at Baynard's Castle, and that Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, built it of new. By his death and attainder, in the year 1446, it came to the hands of Henry VI., and from him to Richard, Duke of York, of whom we read that in the year 1457 he lodged there, as in his own house.' The Castle was situate on the north bank of Thames, between Paul's Wharf and Blackfriars.

107. **towards**] Here pronounced with the accent on the first syllable; compare IV, iv, 19, and for other examples of a similar change in accent in certain words see Abbott, § 492.

110–112. **Goe Louell . . . at Baynards Castle**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 136): By the omission of these three lines the anonymous corrector of the Quarto has left the reader in ignorance as to who were the two clergymen, between whom Gloucester appears in scene vii. Worse than this, the reader will not notice that Gloucester himself, without waiting for any advice from Buckingham, had already planned this piece of hypocrisy.

110, 111. **Doctor Shaw . . . Fryer Peuker**] 'Among these [spiritual men] had thei John Shaa clerke brother to the Maier, and freer Penker prouincial of the

Now will I goe to take ſome priuie order,
To draw the Brats of *Clarence* out of ſight,
And to giue order, that no manner perſon
Haue any time recourſe vnto the Princes. *Exeunt.*

[*Scene VI.*]

Enter a Scriuener.

Scr. Here is the Indictment of the good Lord *Haſtings,*

113. *goe*] *in* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
115. *order*] *notice* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *manner*] *manner of* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$,F_4, Rowe, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Hal. Sta. Cam.+. *sort of* Pope,+. *man, or* Steev. conj.
116. *Haue any time*] *At any time haue* Qq, Cam.+. *Any time have* Vaughan (iii, 89).
[SCENE VI.] Cap. et seq. The Same. A Street, Cap.
1. Scriuener.] Scriuener with a paper in his hand. Qq, Cam.+.
2. *Here*] *This* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

Augustine freers both doctors of diuinite, both gret prechars, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then lerning.'—*More*, p. 88.

113. **take . . . order**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* III, 14): Disposition of measures for the accomplishment of a purpose; suitable action in view of some particular end; to take measures or steps, to make arrangements. [See I, iv, 281, *Text. Notes;* IV, ii, 60; and IV, iv, 577.]

114. **Brats of Clarence**] MALONE: Edward Earl of Warwick, executed on Tower Hill, 21st November, 1499. And Margaret, afterwards married to Sir Richard Pole, the last Princess of the house of Lancaster, who was put to death by Henry VIII. in 1540, in her seventieth year.

115. **no manner person**] BLAKEWAY, in a note on this passage, furnishes several examples of this use of 'manner'; BRADLEY also (*N. E. D. s. v.* 9. d) gives others, thus showing that the sentence is here no misprint, but a regular idiom. MALONE, remarking on the note by Blakeway, says: '—as the reading of the original Quarto of 1597 is *no manner of person*, and is perfectly unobjectionable, I think it ought to be adhered to.' KNIGHT, on the other hand, prefers the Folio, since '"no manner person" is probably the more ancient form, and these minute archaisms should be preserved in Shakespeare wherever we have authority for them.'—ED.

1. **Enter a Scriuener**] COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Char.*, p. 470): This slight passing scene appears to me accurately suggestive of the smothered feeling of indignation that boils in men's minds under a tyrannical dynasty; and, indeed, so well is this under-current of opinion depicted in the subordinate characters in Shakespeare's historical plays, that they ought in nowise to be omitted in the representation, since they form part of the perfect whole designed by the great master. He, no doubt, intended that the minds of the audience, while dazzled by the glare of romance and pre-eminence which surrounded the chief actors in life's drama, should at the same time be presented with the counterbalancing reflection of the ill effects produced upon the mass of the people during the transit of such fiery meteors.

2. **Here is the Indictment**, etc.] The substance of this speech is contained

Which in a ſet Hand fairely is engroſs'd,
That it may be to day read o're in *Paules.*
And marke how well the ſequell hangs together:
Eleuen houres I haue ſpent to write it ouer,
For yeſter-night by *Catesby* was it ſent me,
The Precedent was full as long a doing,
And yet within theſe fiue houres *Haſtings* liu'd,
Vntainted, vnexamin'd, free, at libertie.
Here's a good World the while.
Who is ſo groſſe, that cannot ſee this palpable deuice?
Yet who ſo bold, but ſayes he ſees it not?
Bad is the World, and all will come to nought,

4. *to day*] *this day* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *o're*] *ouer* Qq.
6. *I haue*] *I* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *I've* Pope,+.
7. *ſent*] *brought* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
8. *Precedent*] *president* Qq.
9. Haſtings *liu'd*] *liued Lord Haſtings* Qq, Cam.+.
10. *free,*] *free* Q_4.
11, 12. *Here's...groſſe*] Ff. One line, reading, *Why who's so groſſe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. One line, Rowe et cet.
12. *cannot ſee*] *ſees not* Qq. *seeth not* Cam.+. *palpable*] *palpaple* Q_3. *palpapale* Q_4.
13. *who*] *whoes* Q_1. *whoſe* Q_2. *who's* Q_3, Cam.+. *bold*] *blinde* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *but*] *that* Q_3. *ſayes*] *ſay* F_4.
14. *nought*] *naught* Q_1Q_2.

in Holinshed and in Hall, who copied the passage from More. The remark in ll. 5–10 in reference to the shortness of the time and the length of the matter is there attributed to 'one that was scole master of Poules.' See *Appendix, Source of Plot.* —ED.

4. **read o're in Paules**] ORDISH (p. 65): The scrivener perceives the villainy at work, and in the succeeding lines demonstrates it as grossly apparent. Yet the city has connived, and the indictment is about to be read in public, presumably by the city's recorder. The situation suggested is interesting, historically, turning as it does upon the co-existence of the sovereign power with that of the city in the Tower of London, and furnishing an instance of the use occasionally made of the Cathedral Church for political purposes.

10. **Vntainted**] See note on 'attainder,' III, v, 37.

11. **the while**] Compare III, iii, 15: 'God help the while.'

12. **grosse**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): III, 13. Lacking in delicacy of perception; dull, stupid.

13. **who so bold**] WRIGHT, who follows the Quarto reading *blind*, interprets thus: who's so blind to the danger of observing it. MARSHALL remarks: 'the reading of F_1 seems to us much preferable; the meaning being: who has courage enough to admit that he does see it.' [The antithesis of *blind*, between 'see' and 'sees,' is certainly alluring.—ED.]

14. **nought**] HUDSON: I am not certain whether this word should be 'nought' or *naught*. With the latter, the sense is about the same as in our phrase 'going to the *bad*.'

When ſuch ill dealing muſt be ſeene in thought. *Exit.* 15

[*Scene VII.*]

Enter Richard and Buckingham at ſeuerall Doores.

Rich. How now, how now, what ſay the Citizens?

Buck. Now by the holy Mother of our Lord, 3

15. *ill*] *bad* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.
dealing] *dealings* Q_4.
ſeene in] *seen, or* Coll. MS.
[SCENE VII.] Pope et seq. Scene continued, QqFf, Rowe. Act iv, scene i, Booth.
Baynards Castle. Theob. The Same. Court of Baynard's Castle. Cap.
1. Richard ... Doores.] Gloceſter at one doore, Buckingham at another. Qq (Gloſter Q_2).
2. *How now, how now,*] *How now my Lord* Qq, Cam.+.
ſay] *ſayes* Q_7Q_8.

---

15. **seene in thought**] JOHNSON: That is, seen in silence, without notice or detection.—VAUGHAN (iii, 90): Probably 'thought' means more than has been yet perceived, and 'seen in thought' signifies, seen in *silent distress of mind.* Compare: 'she pined in thought.'—*Twelfth Night*, II, v, 115; also: 'heart sick with thought.'—*Two Gent.*, I, i, 69. [Also: 'Take no thought of the morrow.']

Scene vii] OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, etc., p. 159): This scene by rights should be played in the courtyard of Baynard's Castle and Richard should appear on a balcony between two bishops. [See *Text. Notes*, stage-direction by Capell.] This arrangement, which corresponds with that of the Elizabethan stage, hampers Richard in his movements, compels the two bishops to stand immoveable, like two pagodas, on each side, makes difficult Buckingham's acting, and, above all, renders the whole scene stiff and ineffective. For this reason Dingelstedt discards this arrangement and lays the action of this scene in a hall, with two large folding doors in the background; this doorway is the entrance to a chapel, and at the altar Richard, between the two bishops, is seen, when the doors are opened by Catesby. I am in favor of a similar arrangement with the exception of the chapel and altar, so that Richard may be seen, after a curtain is drawn aside, in conversation with the two clergymen on a raised platform (perhaps in front of a row of columns). When Buckingham addresses him, Richard steps into the doorway with the two bishops; when he comes down to the deputation the two bishops, on a whispered word from Richard, retire to the background; after the Mayor's departure and Richard and Buckingham have expressed gratification at their success, they draw the curtain.

2. **how now, what say the Citizens**] ORDISH (p. 64): These are words which former owners of the Castle must often have used. . . The phrase, 'your citizens' [spoken by the Mayor to Richard], was reserved exclusively for the sovereign of the realm, and Richard has not yet accepted sovereignty. Addressed to him, however, as head and representative of the House of York, in Baynard's Castle, the form of address was, perhaps, not inappropriate. It is probable that in Shakespeare's time this scene, as given on the stage, became charged with satirical meaning by the actors, in revenge upon the city's persistent persecution of the theatres.

The Citizens are mum, ſay not a word.
Rich. Toucht you the Baſtardie of *Edwards* Children? 5
Buck I did, with his Contract with Lady *Lucy*,

4. *ſay not a word*] *and ſpeake not a word* Qq, Cam.+. *and speak not word* Vaughan (iii, 89).
6, 7. *his Contract... France*] Om. Qq.

4. **mum**] WRIGHT: This word is elsewhere used in Shakespeare as an interjection, enjoining silence.

6. **his Contract with Lady Lucy**] RITSON: The king had been familiar with this lady before his marriage, to obstruct which his mother alleged a pre-contract between them: 'Whereupon,' says the historian, 'dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng his mother, and many other, put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solempnly sworne to saye ye truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit she sayd his grace spake suche loving wordes to her, that she verily hoped he would have married her.'—Hall, *Edward V*, fol. 18.—MALONE: Philip de Commines, a contemporary historian, says that Edward, previous to his marriage with Lady Grey, was married to an English lady by [Stillington] the Bishop of Bath, who revealed the secret; and according to the *Chronicle* of Croyland this Lady was Lady Eleanor Butler, widow of Lord Butler of Sudley, and daughter of the great earl of Shrewsbury.—LINGARD (iv, 235, *foot-note*): Was there ever any such person as Dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury? We know so little about her, that her existence has been called in question. There is, however, in the possession of Lord Shrewsbury, an illuminated pedigree by Glover in 1580, in which she is named as the first born of the second marriage of the first earl, . . . and as wife of Sir Thomas Butler, Lord Sudeley. If this be correct, there must have been the disparity of at least fifteen years . . . between her age and that of Edward.—COURTENAY (ii, 92, *footnote*): Comines says (bk. v, ch. 18) that the Bishop of Bath told Richard that he married Edward privately to a lady unnamed; but he says afterwards, if I understand him (bk. vi, ch. 9), that there was no marriage.—GAIRDNER (p. 117): When Henry VII. became king, and married the daughter of Edward IV. and Elizabeth Woodville, any allusion to the pre-contract was treated as disloyal. The petition to Richard to assume the crown was declared to be so scandalous that every copy of it was ordered by parliament to be destroyed. The allegations contained in it were misrepresented; the pre-contract was said to have been with Elizabeth Lucy, one of Edward's mistresses, instead of with Lady Eleanor Butler, and the name of the latter lady was omitted from the story. Thus, in More's History, a courtesan of obscure birth is made to take the place of an earl's daughter as the person to whom Edward was first betrothed; and such is the version of the story that has been current nearly ever since. It was only after the lapse of a century and a quarter that Sir George Buck discovered the true tenor of the parliamentary petition in the MS history of Croyland; and again, after another like period had passed away, the truth received ample confirmation by the discovery of the very Roll of Parliament on which the petition was engrossed. [p. 113.] The ecclesiastical theory of pre-contracts which prevailed before the reformation was the source of great abuses. Marriages that had been publicly acknowledged, and treated for a long time as valid, were often declared null on the ground of some previous contract entered into by one

And his Contract by Deputie in France, 7
Th'vnſatiate greedineſſe of his deſire,
And his enforcement of the Citie Wiues, 9

8. *Th'vnſatiate*] *the inſatiate* Qq, Cam.+. 8. *deſire*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i. *deſires* Qq et cet.
9. *And... Wiues*] Om. Qq.

or other of the parties. In this way Henry VIII., before putting Anne Boleyn to death, caused his marriage with her to be pronounced invalid by reason of a previous contract on her part with Percy, Earl of Northumberland.—LEGGE (i, 266): Several circumstances lend probability to Bishop Stillington's story. Prompted by jealousy and apprehension, the King, with his vacillating temper, alternately bribed and persecuted the custodian of his dangerous secret. The brother of the Earl of Warwick was put out of the Chancellorship that it might be conferred on Stillington. Subsequently he was imprisoned, and the arbitrary sentence of the King was only commuted on payment of a heavy fine. And again, in the reign of Henry VII., it was proposed to summon him to the bar of Parliament, to give evidence upon an inquiry into all the circumstances of the alleged marriage; but he obtained a 'pardon' and the inquiry was abandoned. It is difficult to believe that the secret was confined to himself and the Protector after the death of Clarence. It was almost certainly known to the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, and the suggestion that the Duke of Clarence's participation in it was a ground of Edward's consent to his death is so far probable that it constituted him heir apparent to the throne. That the Duchess of York was aware of the marriage or contract is evident, for she urges it as one of several grounds of objection to her son's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville: 'It must needs stick as a foul disparagement of the sacred majestie of a Prince . . . to be defiled with bigamy in his first marriage.'—*Buck*, p. 120.—MARSHALL: As to Edward's being contracted 'by deputy' to the Lady Bona, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, there seems to have been more truth in this allegation [than in Stillington's]. All the chroniclers state that, at the time Edward was secretly married to Elizabeth, Warwick had already succeeded in obtaining Louis's consent to the marriage of the Lady Bona; and that the King-maker was justly offended at finding that his royal master had made a fool of him in that matter. [See *3 Hen. VI:* III, iii, where the dramatist has made use of this episode. The foregoing question of the pre-contract, purely historical, has given rise to much discussion. What is here repeated is a condensation, which it has been deemed necessary to give, lest an oversight might be imputed to the editor, who is fully aware that, dramatically considered, the question is quite superfluous.]

9. **And his . . . the Citie Wiues**] MARSHALL: The omissions [in the Quarto] in this speech are peculiar, and one is inclined to suspect that they were made out of deference to the feelings of Elizabeth. The allegations made against Edward were very similar to those made with more truth against Henry VIII. He had pronounced, *ex cathedra*, his own marriage with Anne Boleyn to be null and void . . . and had thus bastardized Elizabeth, so that Shakespeare would be here treading upon very delicate ground. [MARSHALL is, possibly, correct in his conjecture concerning the censorship of certain lines in this speech; but why did this corrector, so solicitous for the feelings of the queen, pause here? Buckingham,

His Tyrannie for Trifles, his owne Baſtardie,
As being got, your Father then in France,
And his reſemblance, being not like the Duke.
Withall, I did inferre your Lineaments,
Being the right *Idea* of your Father,
Both in your forme, and Nobleneſſe of Minde:

12. *And...Duke.*] Om. Qq.
his reſemblance] *in his semblance* Bailey (ii, 290).
13. *Lineaments*] Q_1. *lienaments* Q_{2-6}.
14. *of*] *or* Q_2.
15. *your*] *one* Q_{3-6}. Om. Q_7Q_8.

in another speech in this scene, alludes to the wife of Edward, also a queen Elizabeth, be it remembered, as 'beauty-waning' and 'in the afternoon of her best days,' ll. 194, 195; an innuendo which might cause resentment on the part of many of the courtiers, to say nothing of the Queen herself, far more than an allusion to a case somewhat parallel with that of the Queen's father.—ED.]

12. **his resemblance**] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 331): Buckingham was to enforce not Edward's likeness, but his want of likeness to his father, not 'his resemblance,' but *dis-resemblance;* and precisely in this form the corrector of the Folio has put it. However unusual the word *dis-resemblance*, it exactly suits the meaning, and *dis* may easily have been read 'his.' At a later date, *dissemblance* seems to have been employed to express want of similarity.—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 172): There is no authority for such a word as *dis-resemblance*, and *dissemblance* is not, that I am aware of, ever used for 'want of similarity,' but for *feigning*. Shakespeare uses 'resemblance' here for *semblance, i. e., appearance*, which is his usual word. Thus, in a former scene, the Duchess of York says: '—two mirrors of his princely semblance Are cracked in pieces by malignant death.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. dissemblance.* 1) gives, among others, the following examples of the use of this word in the sense of want of resemblance; unlikeness; difference; dissimilarity. 1580. North, *Plutarch* (1676), 980: 'As touching other agreements and dissemblances which may be noted. . . in their life and behaviour.' 1658. Osborne, *Adv. Son:* 'Nor can there be a greater dissemblance between one wise man and another.'—ED.

14, 15. **the right Idea of your Father, Both in your forme**] SEYMOUR (i, 383): I do not recollect any mention, either historical or poetical, of the Duke of York's being deformed, as Gloucester is represented to be. [Was not the comparison prompted more by a desire to exalt Richard than to speak of the Duke of York in a derogatory manner?—ED.]

14. **the right Idea**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 90): Such slight changes as this are perhaps unavoidable when writings two hundred and fifty years old come to be delivered from a modern press; but surely something must be allowed to be lost when we see how the line stands in the original copies. [If I understand Hunter, he is here referring not to any omission in the text, but to a possible loss in poetic meaning or emphasis, by printing the word 'idea' without its capital and Italics as in the Folio. He adds: 'The word "idea" appears to have been not fully naturalized. It is here equivalent to *image*.' The word was evidently no stranger to Drayton, a contemporary of Shakespeare; he entitles a series of sonnets '*Ideas*.'—ED.]—WRIGHT: Compare 'The idea of her life shall sweetly creep Into his study of imagination.'—*Much Ado*, IV, i, 226.

Layd open all your Victories in Scotland,
Your Diſcipline in Warre, Wiſdome in Peace,
Your Bountie, Vertue, faire Humilitie:
Indeed, left nothing fitting for your purpoſe,
Vntoucht, or ſleightly handled in diſcourſe.
And when my Oratorie drew toward end,
I bid them that did loue their Countries good,
Cry, God ſaue *Richard*, Englands Royall King.
Rich. And did they ſo?
Buck. No, ſo God helpe me, they ſpake not a word,
But like dumbe Statues, or breathing Stones,

16. *open*] *vpon* Q_{6-8}.
Victories] *victorie* Q_4.
19. *your*] *the* Qq, Pope, +, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
21. *my*] *mine* Qq, Cam. +.
drew toward] *grew to an* $Q_1Q_2Q_4$, Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam. +. *grew to* Q_3Q_5. *grew toward* F_4, Rowe, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Knt, Sing. Ktly. *grew tow'rd* Pope, +.
22. *bid*] Q_{1-4}, Ff, +, Dyce i, Cam. +. *bad* Q_{5-8}, Cap. *bade* Var. '78 et cet.
22. *did loue*] *loues* Q_{3-8}.
24. *And*] *A, and* Qq (*A and* Q_1). *Ah! and* Cam. +.
25. *they...word*] Om. Qq.
26. *Statues*] *statuas* Steev. Varr. Knt, Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam. i, +, Huds. *statuës* Ktly, Cam. ii.
or breathing] *or breathleſſe* Q_{3-8}, Steev. Var. '03, '13. *or unbreathing* Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. *unbreathing* Lettsom.

---

16. **your Victories in Scotland**] Richard commanded the army which invaded Scotland in 1482, the result of which invasion was the capture of the town and fortress of Berwick. Richard's services were recognised by parliament. —ED.

18. **faire Humilitie**] In the presence of Buckingham Richard, in II, i, thanks God for his 'humility'; of this, Buckingham is perhaps mindful.' Faire' appears to be here used in the sense given by BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* IV, 17): 'Open to view, plainly to be seen, clear, distinct. Now chiefly dialectic.' [See II, i, 80.] —ED.

24. **And**] The interpretation of the Quarto reading *A and* as *Ah! and* by the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS, with the suggestion of a sudden indrawing of the breath, is certainly noteworthy.—ED.

26. **Statues**] NARES (*s. v. Statua*): This word was long used in English as a trisyllable, though 'statue' was also employed. Lord Bacon has it more than once in his forty-fifth *Essay;* and also in other places: 'It is not possible to have the true pictures or statuæs of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar.'—*Advancement of Learning*, Bk. I, 8, § 6. He speaks afterwards of the *statua* of Polyphemus. . . . One reason for this might be that the English word *statue* was often applied to a picture. Thus in *The City Madam*, V, iii: 'Your nieces . . . crave humbly . . . they may take leave Of their late suitor's statues.' Presently the pictures are turned into realities, though Sir John Frugal says: 'Here's nothing but A superficies; colours and no substance.' But the lovers were concealed behind them. Gifford

Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale:
Which when I ſaw, I reprehended them,
And ask'd the Maior, what meant this wilfull ſilence?
His anſwer was, the people were not vſed
To be ſpoke to, but by the Recorder.
Then he was vrg'd to tell my Tale againe:
Thus ſayth the Duke, thus hath the Duke inferr'd,
But nothing ſpoke, in warrant from himſelfe.
When he had done, ſome followers of mine owne,
At lower end of the Hall, hurld vp their Caps,
And ſome tenne voyces cry'd, God ſaue King *Richard:*
And thus I tooke the vantage of thoſe few.
Thankes gentle Citizens, and friends, quoth I,
This generall applauſe, and chearefull ſhowt,

27. *Star'd*] *Gazde* Qq. *Gaz'd* Sta. Cam.+.
each on] *on each* Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
29. *meant*] *meanes* Q_{6-8}.
ſilence?] *silence:* Cap. et seq. (subs.)
30. *vſed*] *wont* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
30, 31. *vſed...Recorder*] *Wont...recorder* as one line, Vaughan (iii, 90).
31. *ſpoke to*] *ſpoke too* Q_{3-5}. *spoken unto* Ktly.
but] *except* Pope,+ (−Var. '73). *but only* Ktly conj.
31. *the*] *their own* Cap.
Recorder] *récorder* Dyce, Huds.
34. *ſpoke*] *ſpake* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. (*ſpeake* Q_6).
36. *At*] *At'* Ed. conj.
lower] *the lower* Qq, Cam.+.
of the] *o' th'* Pope,+. *the* Cap. *o' the* Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Ktly.
hurld] *hurled* Q_{3-8}. *hurl'd* F_4 et seq.
38. *And...few*] Om. Qq.
39. *gentle*] *louing* Q_{1-6}. *noble* Q_7Q_8.
40. *chearefull*] *louing* Qq, Cam.+.

---

properly observes that 'Massinger, like all his contemporaries, confounds *statue* with picture.' Hence *statua* was called in to make a distinction.—MALONE: I adhere to the old copies. They had *breath* and therefore could have spoken; but were as silent as if they had been stones. [See, also, WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 295.]

26. **breathing Stones**] Shakespeare possibly here got this phrase from More, who, in his account of Dr Shaw's sermon, says: 'But the people wer so farre fro crying king Richard, that thei stode as thei had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shamefull sermon' (p. 103).

31. **Recorder**] For other examples of 'Récorder' and *récord*, as substantives, see WALKER, *Vers.*, 133.—MARSHALL: The pronunciation, 'récorder,' . . . would involve placing an accent on the last syllable of that word, which is very awkward. The *comma* in the old copies indicates a pause, by means of which it will be seen that the verse can be spoken rhythmically, preserving at the same time the usual pronunciation of the word . . . The person fulfilling this office at the time was Thomas Fitzwilliam. The office of recorder is now that of a judge; and he must be barrister of at least five years' standing.

Argues your wiſdome, and your loue to *Richard:*
And euen here brake off, and came away.
Rich. What tongue-leſſe Blockes were they,
Would they not ſpeake?
**Buc.* No by my troth my Lord.
*Glo.** Will not the Maior then, and his Brethren, come?
Buck. The Maior is here at hand: intend ſome feare,
Be not you ſpoke with, but by mightie ſuit:
And looke you get a Prayer-Booke in your hand,
And ſtand betweene two Church-men, good my Lord,
For on that ground Ile make a holy Deſcant:

41. *wiſdome*] *wiſedomes* Q_1Q_2. *wiſedome* Q_{3-7}. *wiſdom* F_4. *wisdoms* Cam.+. *loue*] *loues* Q_{3-6}.
42. *euen here*] *ſo* Qq.
43, 44. *What...ſpeake?*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
44. *Would they*] *they would* Han. *Buc. *No by my troth my Lord.* Glo.*] Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Om. F_1, Ff et cet.
46. Buck.] Glo. Q_1Q_2.
46. *at hand*] Om. Q_{3-8}. *intend*] *and intend* Qq. *pretend* Pope.
ſome] *ſomes* Q_8.
47. *you ſpoke with*] *ſpoken withall* Qq. *by*] *with* Qq.
48. *looke you*] *look you*, Delius (Jahrbuch, vii, 137).
49. *betweene*] *betwixt* Qq, Cam.+.
50. *make*] *build* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.

41. **Argues**] For examples of 'argue' in the sense of *to prove, to show*, see SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.* 2).

46. **intend some feare**] MARSHALL: The way in which Buckingham assumes the lead here is rather amusing. He is delighted with the success of his powers of acting, of which he was so proud. We can imagine Gloucester looking at him with a sly, sarcastic smile, amused at his attempting to play the leading spirit, and knowing well that neither Buckingham, nor any one else, could give *him* lessons in hypocrisy. At the same time it is quite possible that Gloucester seriously resented Buckingham's want of tact, at this point, in pretending to order him about, and in making it appear as though *he* were the commanding spirit and not Gloucester.

46. **intend**] See III, v, 11.

48. **looke you get a Prayer-Booke in your hand**] BIRCH (p. 204): Shakespeare must have thought the Puritans and religious people of his day thus easily won over by the appearance of piety, and the whole scene must have been intended to ridicule them. It is exaggerated, and the actors are made barefaced hypocrites. Still it is true to the nature of the Puritans, and turned out almost prophetical when the really religious leader of a religious party, who, raised to the Lord Protectorship, went through this very scene in word and deed, in order to exchange that title for King. It was not attended by the same result, as Cromwell saw it would not be politic to take a crown which his followers were not quite such dupes as to be willing to give him. This would be quite a specimen of what Shakespeare in *2 Henry IV.* makes out prophecy to be, the knowledge of future from preceding events.

50. **Descant**] See I, i, 32, and notes.

And be not eaſily wonne to our requeſts,
Play the Maids part, ſtill anſwer nay, and take it.
Rich. I goe: and if you plead as well for them,
As I can ſay nay to thee for my ſelfe,
No doubt we bring it to a happie iſſue.
Buck. Go, go vp to the Leads, the Lord Maior knocks.

Enter the Maior, and Citizens.

Welcome, my Lord, I dance attendance here,

51. *And*] Om. Qq.
eaſily] *eaſie* Q_{2-8}.
51. *requeſts*] *requeſt* Qq, Cam.+.
52. *ſtill anſwer nay, and*] *ſay no, but* Qq. *say no, and no, but* Anon. ap. Cam.
53. *I goe...you*] *Feare not me, if thou canst* Qq.
54. *ſelfe,*] *ſelfe?* Q_1.
55. *we*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. *weele* Qq. *we'll* Pope et cet.
56. *Go...knocks*] *You ſhal ſee what I can do, get you vp to the leades* Qq.
56. *go vp*] Ff, Rowe,+, Cam.+. *go, up* Cap. et cet.
[Exit or Ex. Qq.
57. Om. Qq. Enter Lord Mayor... Citizens F_3F_4,+. Enter the Lord Mayor; with certain Aldermen, and others. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
58. *Welcome, my Lord*] *Now my Lord Maior* Qq.
I] *you* Q_7Q_8.

52. **Play the Maids part**] WRIGHT: The maid who 'whispering "I will ne'er consent" consented' [Byron, *Don Juan*, st. 117]. Compare: 'Have you not heard it said full oft, A woman's nay doth stand for nought.'—*Pass. Pilg.*, 340. ['Tis true 'tis pity, and pity 'tis 'tis true, that examples of this ungallant sentiment are to be found not only in Shakespeare, but in other writers.—ED.]

53. **if you plead as well for them**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: Here 'them' refers to 'requests.' . . . The manner in which the word 'it' is used at the close of this speech and the previous one affords two examples of Shakespeare's manner of employing a pronoun in reference to an implied particular. In l. 52 'it' refers not to the immediate antecedent 'part,' but to that which is offered the maid; and in l. 55 'it' refers to the plan or scheme which is being concerted.

53, 54. **you . . . thee**] For this apparent inconsistent use of personal pronouns see ABBOTT (§ 234), who gives as another example from the present play the lines: 'Come thou on my side, and entreat for me As you would beg, were you in my distress.'—I, iv. But as this order of these two lines is not Shakespeare's, but is due to a rearrangement of the passage by Tyrwhitt, followed by the majority of editors, it seems hardly fair to quote it as an example of Shakespearean usage.—ED.

54. **As I can say nay to thee**] JOHNSON: I think it must be read: 'As I *must* say, nay to *them*,' etc.—STEEVENS: Perhaps the change is not necessary. Buckingham is to plead for the citizens; and 'if (says Richard) you speak for them as plausibly as I in my own person, or for my own purposes, shall seem to deny your suit, there is no doubt but we shall bring all to a happy issue.'

58. **I dance attendance**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. dance*, 5): To wait (upon a person) with assiduous attention and ready obsequiousness; originally, to stand waiting or 'kicking one's heels' in an antechamber. 1522, SKELTON, *Why not to*

I thinke the Duke will not be ſpoke withall.

Enter Catesby.

Buck. Now *Catesby*, what ſayes your Lord to my requeſt?

Catesby. He doth entreat your Grace, my Noble Lord,
To viſit him to morrow, or next day:
He is within, with two right reuerend Fathers,
Diuinely bent to Meditation,
And in no Worldly ſuites would he be mou'd,
To draw him from his holy Exerciſe.

Buck. Returne, good *Catesby*, to the gracious Duke,
Tell him, my ſelfe, the Maior and Aldermen,
In deepe deſignes, in matter of great moment,

59. *ſpoke*] *ſpoken* Q_{3-8}.
60. Enter Catesby.] Enter, from the Castle, Catesby. Mal.
61, 62. Buck. *Now...requeſt*] *Here comes his ſeruant: how now Catesby what ſaies he?* Qq, (ending line at *Catesby*) Cam.+.
61. *Now*] Om. Pope,+ (−Var. '73).
63. *He... Lord*] *My Lord he doth entreat your Grace* Qq, Cam.+.
65. *with*] *and* Q_7Q_8, Steev. reprint (foot-note). *but with* Han.
65. *right*] Om. Q_{3-8}, Han.
67. *ſuites*] Ff,+, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Rlfe. *ſute* Qq. *suit* Cap. et cet.
69. *the gracious Duke*] *thy Lord againe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
70. *Aldermen*] *Cittizens* Q_1Q_2. *Citizens* Q_{3-8}, Sta. Cam.+.
71. *in matter*] *and matters* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *in matters* Coll. iii.

Court, 626: 'And Syr ye must daunce attendance . . . For my Lords Grace, Hath now no time or space, To speke with you as yet.' [Compare also *2 Hen. VI:* I, iii, 174; *Hen. VIII:* V, ii, 31.]

61, 62. **Now Catesby . . . to my request**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 23): The Folio correction of the Quarto reading ['Here comes his servant. How now Catesby, what says he?'] is one which I cannot think that Shakespeare would have authorised, although those who accept the first Folio as representing him most faithfully can hardly say so. I think he meant to strike out 'Now' as well as *how*.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 93): Spedding supposes that the 'printer alone is responsible for inserting "now" in the Folio. This mistake, however, does not appear to me likely to have occurred; because the corrector, whoever he was, having to make so much alteration in the line of his copy, would no doubt erase it all, and write the new line above or in the margin. Besides, "Catesby what says, etc.," would be very abrupt and harsh.' [The Cambridge Editors record Spedding's proposed omission in the Quarto line, not the Folio. The reading which Pickersgill characterises as 'harsh and abrupt' is due to Pope [see *Text. Notes*]. The interpretation of Spedding's note by the above-mentioned Editors is that also of the present ED.]

68. **holy Exercise**] See III, ii, 124.

No leſſe importing then our generall good,
Are come to haue ſome conference with his Grace.
Catesby. Ile ſignifie ſo much vnto him ſtraight. *Exit.*
Buck. Ah ha, my Lord, this Prince is not an *Edward*,
He is not lulling on a lewd Loue-Bed,
But on his Knees, at Meditation:
Not dallying with a Brace of Curtizans,
But meditating with two deepe Diuines:
Not ſleeping, to engroſſe his idle Body,
But praying, to enrich his watchfull Soule.
Happie were England, would this vertuous Prince
Take on his Grace the Soueraigntie thereof.
But ſure I feare we ſhall not winne him to it.
Maior. Marry God defend his Grace ſhould ſay vs nay.

74. *Ile..ſtraight*] *Ile tell him what you ſay my Lord* Qq, Cam.+. (Q_6 omits *tell*).
76. *lulling*] QqFf, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, ii, Sing. Ktly. *lolling* Pope et cet.
Loue-Bed] *day bed* Qq,Cap.Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds. (subs.)
78. *Curtizans*] *courtezans* Cap. et seq.
82. *vertuous*] *gracious* Qq, Cam.+.
83. *his Grace*] *himſelfe* Qq, Cam.+.
thereof] *thereon* Qq.
84. *ſure*] *ſore* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Sing. ii, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
not] *neuer* Qq. *ne'er* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Ktly.
85. *defend*] *forbid* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. *shield* Pope,+ (−Var.'73).

---

76. **lulling**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v. Loll*, v[1] 4): To lean idly; to recline or rest in a relaxed attitude, supporting oneself against something. [The present line quoted.]

76. **Loue-Bed**] DYCE: I prefer the Quarto reading [*day-bed, i. e.*, a lounge] because I feel convinced that the Folio alteration was not made by the Poet.

80, 81. **Not sleeping, to engrosse . . . But praying, to enrich**] For other examples of this use of 'similarity of rhythm' to bring out the points of contrast, see GUEST, p. 166.

80. **engrosse**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* III): 9, †a. To make (the body) gross or fat; to fatten. [The present line quoted.]

84. **sure I feare**] COLLIER (*Notes*, etc., p. 331): 'Sure' is here a mere expletive; but the MS Corrector instructs us how to raise it into importance, by reading the line as nobody has hitherto thought of reading it: 'But sore I fear.' Buckingham pretended to be much afraid that Richard would not be brought to consent. This is one of the smaller emendations that may be thought to need no advocacy.

85. **Maior**] See III, v, 16.

85. **God defend**] WRIGHT: Pope substituted *God shield* on account of the metre, forgetting that 'Marry' is frequently counted as a monosyllable. [See III, iv, 65.]

Buck. I feare he will: here *Catesby* comes againe.

Enter Catesby.

Now *Catesby*, what ſayes his Grace?

Catesby. He wonders to what end you haue aſſembled
Such troopes of Citizens, to come to him,
His Grace not being warn'd thereof before:
He feares, my Lord, you meane no good to him.

Buck. Sorry I am, my Noble Couſin ſhould
Suſpect me, that I meane no good to him:
By Heauen, we come to him in perfit loue,
And ſo once more returne, and tell his Grace. *Exit.*
When holy and deuout Religious men
Are at their Beades, 'tis much to draw them thence,
So ſweet is zealous Contemplation.

Enter Richard aloft, betweene two Biſhops.

87–90. *I*...Catesby. *He wonders*] *I ...how now Catesby, What ſayes your Lord?* Cat. *My lord, he wonders* (as two lines, ending: *Catesby...Lord?*) Qq. *I...how now, Catesby, what says your lord?* Cates. *My Lord, He wonders* (as two lines, ending, *will... My Lord,*) Cam.+. *I...Now Catesby what says his grace to our request?* Cat. *My lord, he wonders* Taylor MS ap. Cam.

89. *Now*] Om. Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran.

Catesby] Om. Cap.

his Grace] *your lord* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.

91. *come to*] *ſpeake with* Qq, Cam.+.

91, 92. *him, ...before:*] *him:...before,* Coll.

93. *He...Lord*] *My lord, he feares* Qq, Cam.+.

96. *we...to him in perfit loue*] *I...in perfect loue to him* Qq, Cam.+.

perfit] *perfect* Q_5. *perfect* QqF$_3$ F$_4$ et seq.

97. Exit.] Om. Q_7Q_8.

98. *holy*] *hollie* Q_1.

99. *their*] *there* Q_4.

much] *hard* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.

thence] *hence* $Q_{5\text{-}8}$.

101. SCENE VIII. Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns.

aloft...Biſhops.] and two Biſhops aloft. Qq (subs.). above...Bishops. Pope. above...Bishops. Catesby returns. Theob. et seq. (subs.)

---

99. **Beades**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): The name [bead] was transferred from 'prayer' [Anglo-Saxon, *bēd*] to the small globular bodies used for 'telling beads,' *i. e.*, counting prayers said, from which the other senses naturally followed.

101. **Richard . . . betweene two Bishops**] 'At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary ouer them with a bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneth might se him and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant.'—*Hall*, p. 372.—MALONE: The words 'with a bishop on euery hand of him' are an interpolation by Hall, or rather by Grafton (see his *Continuation of Harding's Chronicle*, 1543, fol. 75, and quarto 1812, p. 513), not being found in More's *History*, from which

Maior. See where his Grace ſtands, tweene two Clergie men.

Buck. Two Props of Vertue, for a Chriſtian Prince,
To ſtay him from the fall of Vanitie:
And ſee a Booke of Prayer in his hand,
True Ornaments to know a holy man.

102. *his Grace*] *he* Qq, Cam.+. *tweene*] Ff. *between* Qq, Cam.+. *'tween* Rowe et cet.
102, 103. *Clergie men*] *Clergimen* Q_5. *Clergymen* F_4.
106, 107. *And...man*] Om. Qq.
106. *Prayer*] *prayers* Anon. ap. Cam.
107. *Ornaments*] *ornament* Dyce, Hal. Huds. Coll. iii, Rlfe.

the rest of the sentence is transcribed.—DELIUS identifies the two bishops as Dr Shaw and Friar Penker; but, as WRIGHT points out, neither of these was a bishop. BOSWELL-STONE (p. 383, *footnote*) calls attention to the omission, in the Quarto, of the passage relating to Richard's request to Lovell to summon Shaw and Penker; and since the stage-direction in regard to the two bishops is substantially the same in both Quarto and Folio, either of these remarks seems to destroy the identification by Delius. From the fact that the words 'with a bishop on euery hand of him' occur in Hall's account alone, OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 97, *footnote*) concludes that for this particular scene Shakespeare consulted Hall: he adds that 'with this exception there is no indication that Shakespeare used any other than Holinshed for the source of his drama.'—See III, v, 82; also CHURCHILL and WRIGHT in *Appendix: Source of Plot.* —ED.—BROOKE (p. 113): The scenes wherein Richard is induced to accept the crown, as it were by force, and where he apparently persuades Elizabeth to give him her daughter, are weakened by their great length, and almost trench on farce. Richard between the two bishops, with the prayer-book in his hand, is ridiculous; and the scene drags on without Shakespeare's crispness, clearness, or concentration of thought. It is a worse blot on the play than the scenes between Richard and Lady Anne, between Richard and Elizabeth. Richard's dissimulation, in spite of the variety of the dramatic talk, seems in these scenes to pass the bounds of nature. Yet it is difficult to find just fault with Shakespeare. It may be that he desired to mark, by their strained unnaturalness, that weakness in the intellect which arises from the absence of love in his character. Intellectual power, without love, grows abnormal, unbalanced, and weak through pride of itself. Nay, more, Shakespeare felt that it would not only lose its power, but finally itself. It would be sure to make mistakes in dealing with mankind and with the movements of the world; to overdo its cunning; to end, like the plotting of Mephistopheles, in folly and failure. The common sense of mankind has decided that long ago. In all folklore stories the Devil—intellect without love—is invariably made a hare of in the end.

107. **Ornaments**] DYCE: ['Ornaments' is] a most palpable error for *ornament*. In l. 257 of this scene the Folio makes Richard call Buckingham '*Cousins*.'—WRIGHT: The plural 'ornaments' includes the attendant bishops.—TAWNEY: It seems impossible to make the plural include the attendant bishops, as Wright suggests. If the plural is retained, it must, it seems, be explained as a common colloquialism, like, 'I am not friends with him.' There is present in the mind of the poet the idea that prayerbooks are, as a rule, 'true ornaments to know a holy man,' and a confused construction is the result.

Famous *Plantagenet*, moſt gracious Prince,
Lend fauourable eare to our requeſts,
And pardon vs the interruption
Of thy Deuotion, and right Chriſtian Zeale.
Rich. My Lord, there needes no ſuch Apologie:
I doe beſeech your Grace to pardon me,
Who earneſt in the ſeruice of my God,
Deferr'd the viſitation of my friends.
But leauing this, what is your Graces pleaſure?
Buck. Euen that (I hope) which pleaſeth God aboue,
And all good men, of this vngouern'd Ile.
Rich. I doe ſuſpect I haue done ſome offence,
That ſeemes diſgracious in the Cities eye,
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.
Buck. You haue, my Lord:
Would it might pleaſe your Grace,
On our entreaties, to amend your fault.
Rich. Elſe wherefore breathe I in a Chriſtian Land.
Buck. Know then, it is your fault, that you reſigne
The Supreme Seat, the Throne Maieſticall,
The Sceptred Office of your Anceſtors,
Your State of Fortune, and your Deaw of Birth,
The Lineall Glory of your Royall Houſe,
To the corruption of a blemiſht Stock;
Whiles in the mildneſſe of your ſleepie thoughts,
Which here we waken to our Countries good,

109. *eare*] *eares* Qq, Cam.+.
our] *my* Q_{2-8}.
requeſts] *requeſt* Qq, Cam.+.
111. *right Chriſtian*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Cap. Knt, Dyce, Sta. Cam.+. *right-christian* Theob. et cet.
113. *I...to*] *I rather do beſeech you* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Coll. iii.
114. *of my God*] *of God* F_2. *of th' high God* F_3F_4, Rowe.
115. *Deferr'd*] *Neglect* Qq, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
120. *ſeemes*] *ſeeme* Q_{5-8}.
eye] *eyes* Qq, Cam.+.
122, 123. *You...Grace*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
123. *might*] Om. Qq, Hal.
124. *On...your*] *At...that* Qq, Cam.+.
125. *breathe*] *breath* Qq.
126. *Know then*] *Then know* Qq, Cam.+.
128. *Sceptred*] *scepter* Q_7Q_8.
129. *your...Birth*] Om. Qq.
Deaw] *Due* F_3F_4.
132. *Whiles*] *Whilſt* Q_1, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *Whileſt* Q_{2-8}. *While* Pope,+.
your] *you* Q_2.
133. *our*] *your* Q_{5-8}.

The Noble Ile doth want his proper Limmes:
His Face defac'd with skarres of Infamie,
His Royall Stock grafft with ignoble Plants,
And almoſt ſhouldred in the ſwallowing Gulfe

134. *The*] *This* Qq, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Cam.+, Ktly, Huds.
134, 135. *his...His*] Q_{3-8}, Ff, Rowe. *her...Her* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
135. *skarres*] F_2F_3. *ſtars* Q_{2-4}. *skars* F_4. *ſcars* Q_1 et cet.
136. *His...Plants*] Om. Qq.
His] *Her* Pope et seq.
137. *ſhouldred*] *foundered* Anon. ap. Cam.
in the] *in this* Q_{3-8}. *into th'* Han.

136. **Royall Stock grafft with ignoble Plants**] MALONE: Shakespeare seems to have recollected the text on which Dr Shaw preached his remarkable sermon at St Paul's Cross: 'Bastard slips shall never take deep root.' [Shakespeare doubtless remembered Shaw's sermon; he read diligently the chronicles in which it is mentioned, but beyond a certain agricultural allusion, common both to the present line and Shaw's text, there is but little evidence of any such remembrance. The text is from the Apocrypha, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, iv, 3: 'And with bastard slips they shall not strike deep root'; it is slightly misquoted by More, who was therein followed by Hall.—ED.]

136. **grafft**] WRIGHT: The modern verb *to graft* has been formed from the participle of the verb 'to graff,' as *hoist* from *hoise*.

137. **shouldred in the swallowing Gulfe**] JOHNSON: What it is to be '*shoulder'd in a gulf*,' Hanmer is the only editor who seems not to have known; for the rest, let it pass without observation. He reads: 'into th'.' I believe we should read: '*smouldered* in the swallowing gulf.' That is, almost *smother'd*, covered and lost.—STEEVENS: I suppose the old reading to be the true one. 'In' is used for *into*. 'Shoulder'd' has the same meaning as *rudely thrust into*. So, in a curious ancient paper quoted by Lysons, *Environs of London:* '—lyke tyraunts and lyke madde men helpynge to shulderynge other of the sayd banner-men ynto the dyche,' iii, 80, note 1.—MALONE: 'Shoulder'd' is, I believe, the true reading: not, thrust in by the shoulders, but immersed *up to the shoulders*. So, in *Othello:* 'Steep'd me in poverty to the very lips.' . . . This is quoted not to support the word 'shoulder'd,' but to show that the same *idea* had been elsewhere introduced by Shakespeare; that, as in *Othello*, he had spoken of being plunged in *poverty* to the *lips*, so here he might have intended to describe the royal stock as immerged up to the shoulders in oblivion. Compare: 'Like as ye see the wrathful sea from farre, . . . Eftsoones of thousand billows shoulder'd narre, Against a rock to break with dreadful poyse.'—Spenser, *Ruins of Rome*, st. xvi. However the word may have been employed in the foregoing passage, its existence in our author's time is ascertained by it.—DYCE (ed. ii): Johnson's conjecture *smoulder'd, i. e.*, smothered, is a word which nowhere occurs in Shakespeare.—WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 243) and WORDSWORTH (*Hist. Plays*, iii, 332) both approve of Johnson's conjecture, *smouldered*. Wordsworth, in answer to Dyce's objection, that this word is not used by Shakespeare, says: 'But it is used, and in the sense of *smothered*, by Holinshed. On the other hand, "shoulder" as a verb has also no *genuine* authority in Shakespeare, besides this doubtful place, being found only in ["This shouldering of each other in the court"] *1 Hen. VI:* IV, i, 189, and there not in a figurative

Of darke Forgetfulneſſe, and deepe Obliuion.
Which to recure, we heartily ſolicite
Your gracious ſelfe to take on you the charge
And Kingly Gouernment of this your Land:
Not as Protector, Steward, Subſtitute,
Or lowly Factor, for anothers gaine; —
But as ſucceſſiuely, from Blood to Blood,
Your Right of Birth, your Empyrie, your owne.
For this, comforted with the Citizens,
Your very Worſhipfull and louing friends,
And by their vehement inſtigation,
In this iuſt Cauſe come I to moue your Grace.
Rich. I cannot tell, if to depart in ſilence,

138. *darke...deepe*] *blind...darke* Qq, Cam.+.
139. *recure*] *recouer* Q_{6-8}.
140. *you*] *yon* Q_2.
charge] *ſoueraignтie thereof* Qq.
141. *And...Land*] Om. Qq.
142. *Steward*] *Stewward* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
143. *Or*] *Nor* Q_{3-8}.
gaine;] *gaine?* Q_{3-8}.
145. *Empyrie*] *Empyry* F_2. *Emperie* Q_{1-7}. *Empiry* F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope. *Empery* Q_8 et cet.
147. *very Worſhipfull...louing*] *worſhipfull...very louing* Q_{3-8}.
149. *Cauſe*] *ſute* Qq. *suit* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Coll. iii.
150. *I...if*] *I know not whether* Q_{1-4} Cam.+. *I know not whither* Q_{5-8}.

signification.' [A satisfactory example wherein *smoulder* is used in the sense of *smother* I have found in Rastell's *Pastime of People*, 1529, as follows: 'Of the maner of the dethe of this yonge kynge [Edward V.], and of his brother, there were dyuers opinyons; but the most cõmyn opinyon was, that they were smolderyd betwene two fetherbeddes, and that, in the doynge, the yonger brother escaped from vnder the fetherbeddes, and crept vnder the bedstede, and there lay naked awhyle, tyll that they had smolderyd the yonge kyng.'—ed. 1811, pp. 292–293 (see CHURCHILL, p. 161). Johnson says (*Dict.*, ed. ii, *s. v. Smouldering*): 'This word seems a participle; but I know not whether the verb *smoulder* be in use: Saxon, to smother.' This doubt was apparently dispelled when, ten years later, Johnson published his Shakespeare.—ED.]

138. **darke Forgetfulnesse, and deepe Obliuion**] WRIGHT: If Shakespeare authorised this alteration from the Quarto line [*blind forgetfulness and dark oblivion*] it can hardly be said that his second thoughts were best. ['Deep' as an adjective is, however, used by Shakespeare with many varieties of shades of meaning; it is a thoroughly characteristic word. BARTLETT (*Concordance*) gives over eighty examples of its use.—ED.]

139. **recure**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* v.): b. To bring back to a normal state or condition; to restore after loss, damage, exhaustion.

150. **I cannot tell, if to depart**] WRIGHT: This alteration [from the Quarto reading] fits more closely with 'If not to answer,' in l. 153. When these lines were struck out for the purpose of shortening the play, the present line was perhaps altered as we find it in the Quartos.

Or bitterly to ſpeake in your reproofe,
Beſt fitteth my Degree, or your Condition.
If not to anſwer, you might haply thinke,
Tongue-ty'd Ambition, not replying, yeelded
To beare the Golden Yoake of Soueraigntie,
Which fondly you would here impoſe on me.
If to reproue you for this ſuit of yours,
So ſeaſon'd with your faithfull loue to me,
Then on the other ſide I check'd my friends.
Therefore to ſpeake, and to auoid the firſt,
And then in ſpeaking, not to incurre the laſt,
Definitiuely thus I anſwer you.
Your loue deſerues my thankes, but my deſert
Vnmeritable, ſhunnes your high requeſt.
Firſt, if all Obſtacles were cut away,
And that my Path were euen to the Crowne,
As the ripe Reuenue, and due of Birth:

152. *fitteth*] *fitteſt* Q_7. *fits* Q_8.
153–162. *If not...anſwer you*] Om. Qq.
153. *If*] *For* Ff, +, Cap. Varr. Ran. *If*, Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Sing. Dyce i, Hal. Sta.
161. *not to*] *not* Pope, +, Cap.
164. *ſhunnes*] *ſhames* Walker (*Crit.* iii, 174).
167. *the ripe*] *my ripe* Q_1, Cam. +. *my right* Q_{2-8}, Ran.
of] *by* Qq, Ran. Cam. +.

153–162. **If not to answer . . . thus I answer you**] See *Appendix*—Pickersgill on the *Text*.—MARSHALL: These lines, omitted in the Quartos, are certainly necessary. They explain the opening sentences of the speech, and give a finish to Gloucester's hypocrisy. They are lines which scarcely any actor would wish to omit. [Nevertheless, Irving not only wished to omit, but actually did omit, these lines, on the showing of Marshall himself—he marks them as omitted by Irving in his edition from which the foregoing note is quoted.—ED.]

158. **season'd with your faithfull loue**] That is, rendered suitable or palatable by your love.

164. **Vnmeritable**] That is, undeserving, void of merit. (See WALKER, *Crit.*, i, 183.)

167. **ripe Reuenue**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: Shakespeare uses 'ripe' with various shades of meaning. Here we take the 'ripe revenue' to be used to express that which comes to me in right of greater maturity in age and judgement; Gloucester thus comparing his own claims to the crown with those of the young prince, his nephew, to whom he afterwards alludes in the words 'royal fruit,' and so continuing the same figure of speech.—WRIGHT: That is, the possession ready for me to inherit.—TAWNEY: Perhaps Richard means dexterously to insinuate an argument in favour of his own succession, and, if so, Cowden-Clarke's interpretation is to be preferred.

Yet ſo much is my pouertie of ſpirit,
So mightie, and ſo manie my defects,
That I would rather hide me from my Greatneſſe,
Being a Barke to brooke no mightie Sea;
Then in my Greatneſſe couet to be hid,
And in the vapour of my Glory ſmother'd.
But God be thank'd, there is no need of me,
And much I need to helpe you, were there need:
The Royall Tree hath left vs Royall Fruit,
Which mellow'd by the ſtealing howres of time,
Will well become the Seat of Maieſtie,
And make (no doubt) vs happy by his Reigne.
On him I lay ſhat, you would lay on me,
The Right and Fortune of his happie Starres,
Which God defend that I ſhould wring from him.
Buck. My Lord, this argues Conſcience in your Grace,
But the reſpects thereof are nice, and triuiall,
All circumſtances well conſidered.
You ſay, that *Edward* is your Brothers Sonne,
So ſay we too, but not by *Edwards* Wife:
For firſt was he contract to Lady *Lucie*,

170. *That I would*] *As I had* Qq, Cam.+.
173. *ſmother'd*] *ſmothered* Q_{3-8}.
174. *thank'd, there is*] *thanked theres* Qq. *thanked, there's* Cam.+.
of] *for* Q_{3-8}.
175. *were...need*] *if need were* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam. +, Ktly.
177. *mellow'd*] *mellowed* Qq.
179. (*no doubt*) *vs*] *no doubt vs* Qq. *vs* (*no doubt*) Ff. *us, no doubt*, Rowe. *us, doubtless*, Pope,+ (−Var. '73).
180. *that*] *what* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
lay] Om. Q_7Q_8.
188. *was he*] *he was* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds.
contract] *contracted* Q_{6-8}.

175. **much I need to helpe you**] JOHNSON: That is, I want *much* of the ability requisite to give you help, if help were needed.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: We think it also includes the meaning, craftily implied, And much I ought to help you if you need help.

184. **the reſpects thereof**] WRIGHT: That is, the consideration by which you support your argument. Compare: 'There's the respect That makes calamity of so long life.'—*Hamlet*, III, i, 68.—TAWNEY: I suppose that 'thereof' refers to 'this,' in l. 183, but should 'thereof' be held to refer to 'conscience,' 'the respects thereof' may be taken to mean *your conscientious scruples*.

188. **contract**] WRIGHT: This form of the participle does not occur again in Shakespeare.

Your Mother liues a Witneſſe to his Vow;
And afterward by ſubſtitute betroth'd
To *Bona*, Siſter to the King of France.
Theſe both put off, a poore Petitioner,
A Care-cras'd Mother to a many Sonnes,
A Beautie-waining, and diſtreſſed Widow,
Euen in the after-noone of her beſt dayes,
Made prize and purchaſe of his wanton Eye,
Seduc'd the pitch, and height of his degree,

189. *his*] *that* Qq, Pope, +, Cam. +.
190. *afterward*] *afterwards* Q_{6-8}.
betroth'd] *betrothed* Qq.
192. *off, a*] *by a* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
193. *to...Sonnes*] *of a many children* Q_1, Pope, + (− Var. '73), Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii. *of many children* Q_{2-8}.
194. *Beautie-waining*] *beauty-waning* Var. '78 et seq.
195. *dayes*] *day* F_4, Rowe.
196. *prize*] *prife* $Q_{1-3}Q_5Q_6$. *price* Q_7Q_8.
wanton] *luſtfull* Qq, Cam. +.
197. *Seduc'd*] *Seduce* Q_{6-8}.
his degree] *all his thoughts* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam. +.

189. **Your Mother liues a Witnesse**] BARNARD: It was to the marriage-vow between Edward IV. and the Lady Eleanor Butler that Gloucester's mother was a witness. It is, of course, the historians whom Shakespeare took as authorities that are responsible for the misstatement.

190, 191. **betroth'd To Bona**] See l. 7 above.

192. **a poore Petitioner**] For this episode, see *3 Hen. VI:* III, ii.

193. **a many**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* B. 1): On the analogy of *a few, a* has been, from the sixteenth century, prefixed to *many* when followed by a plural substantive or used absolutely in plural sense. In such collocations *many* formally admits of being interpreted as a substantive, meaning 'a great number.' This interpretation is somewhat strained when 'a many' is immediately followed by a plural substantive, because the ellipsis of *of*, which must be assumed, is abnormal; but in the other cases it presents no difficulty, and it would often be impossible to determine whether in the consciousness of the speaker the word is an adjective used absolutely in the plural, or a genuine substantive. Confusion with *Meinie*, of which there are many traces in the sixteenth century, seems to have contributed to cause the word in this use to be apprehended as a substantive.

193. **Sonnes**] WRIGHT: Lady Grey had three children only, by her first husband, a daughter and two sons. The sons appear in the present play as the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Grey; the daughter probably died young.

194. **A Beautie-waining, and distressed Widow**] MARSHALL: This personal abuse of Elizabeth, on the part of Buckingham, is essentially mean. She could not be said to be 'in the afternoon of her best days,' considering that she was only twenty-seven when she married Edward, and bore him no less than seven children.

197. **the pitch, and height**] WRIGHT: 'Pitch' was a technical word denoting the highest point in the flight of a hawk, or falcon. Compare 'Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch.'—*1 Hen. VI:* II, iv, 11.

To baſe declenſion, and loath'd Bigamie.
By her, in his vnlawfull Bed, he got
This *Edward*, whom our Manners call the Prince.
More bitterly could I expoſtulate,
Saue that for reuerence to ſome aliue,
I giue a ſparing limit to my Tongue.
Then good, my Lord, take to your Royall ſelfe
This proffer'd benefit of Dignitie:
If not to bleſſe vs and the Land withall,
Yet to draw forth your Noble Anceſtrie
From the corruption of abuſing times,
Vnto a Lineall true deriued courſe.
Maior. Do good my Lord, your Citizens entreat you.
Buck. Refuſe not, mightie Lord, this proffer'd loue.
Catesb. O make them ioyfull, grant their lawfull ſuit.
Rich. Alas, why would you heape this Care on me?
I am vnfit for State, and Maieſtie:

198. *and loath'd*] *and loathed* Q_6, Cam.+. *loathed* Q_7Q_8.
199. *his*] *this* Q_{6-8}.
200. *call*] *terme* Qq, Cam.+.
201. *I*] Om. Q_6Q_7.
202. *to ſome*] *of ſome* F_3F_4, Rowe.
204. *your*] *you* F_3.
205. *Dignitie:*] *dignitie?* Q_5.
207. *forth...Anceſtrie*] *out your royall ſtocke* Qq.
208. *abuſing times*] *abuſing time* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Dyce, Huds. Coll. iii. (*a buſie time* Q_7Q_8, subs.)
209. *true deriued*] *true, derived* Pope. *true-derived* Theob. et seq.
210. *Do good*] Qq,F_2F_3. *Do, good* F_4 et seq.
211. Buck. *Refuſe...loue*] Om. Qq.
213. *would*] *ſhould* Q_7Q_8.
this Care] *theſe cares* Q_1Q_2, Pope, Var. '78, '85, Ran. Cam.+. *thoſe cares* Q_{3-8}, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Ktly, Huds.
214. *Maieſtie*] *dignitie* Qq.

198. **loath'd Bigamie**] BLACKSTONE: 'Bigamy,' by a canon of the council of Lyons, 1274 (adopted in England by a statute in 4 Edw. I.), was made unlawful and infamous. It differed from *polygamy*, or having two wives at once; as it consisted in either marrying two virgins successively, or once marrying a widow. [I do not find it anywhere noticed that either Buckingham or the Mayor appear to have remembered that the same stigma of bigamy attached to Gloucester, who had married Anne, the widow (in the present play, at least) of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI.—ED.]

201. **expostulate**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 2 *b*. To argue or debate (a matter) as an aggrieved person. Also, in wider sense, to debate, argue out, discourse upon.

202. **reuerence to some aliue**] MALONE: The Duke here hints at a topic which he had touched upon in his address to the citizens, the pretended bastardy of Edward and Clarence. By 'some alive' is meant the Duchess of York.—WRIGHT: Buckingham remembers Richard's caution, III, v, 99, 100.

I doe beſeech you take it not amiſſe,
I cannot, nor I will not yeeld to you.
Buck. If you refuſe it, as in loue and zeale,
Loth to depoſe the Child, your Brothers Sonne,
As well we know your tenderneſſe of heart,
And gentle, kinde, effeminate remorſe,
Which we haue noted in you to your Kindred,
And egally indeede to all Eſtates:
Yet know, where you accept our ſuit, or no,
Your Brothers Sonne ſhall neuer reigne our King,
But we will plant ſome other in the Throne,
To the diſgrace and downe-fall of your Houſe:
And in this reſolution here we leaue you.
Come Citizens, we will entreat no more. *Exeunt.*

221. *Kindred*] *kin* Qq, Cam.+.
222. *egally*] *egallie* $Q_1Q_2Q_{3-6}$, Dyce, Cam.+. *equally* Ff et cet.
223. *know, where*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *whether* Qq, Var. '73, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *know whe'r* Theob. et cet.
accept] *except* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
225. *the*] *your* Var. '21, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal.
226. *downe-fall*] *downfall* Qq. (*down-full* Q_2).
227. *we*] *I* Q_7Q_8.
228. *we will*] *zounds ile* Qq. *'zounds I'll* Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
more.] *more.* Glo. *O do not ſweare my Lord of Buckingham.* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
Exeunt] Om. Qq. Exit, with Citizens. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

220. **effeminate**] TAWNEY: This seems to be the only passage in Shakespeare in which 'effeminate' is used in a good sense.

220. **remorse**] That is, *pity, compassion.*

222. **egally**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*): Equally, evenly; with even judgement or temper. [The present line quoted.]

223. **where**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 104) gives several other examples of this contracted form of *whether;* see also l. 238, below, and *Text. Notes.*

228. **we will entreat no more**] COLLIER: There can be little doubt that the Quarto reading [*Zounds, Ile entreat*] proceeded from Shakespeare's pen, on whatever account the text might be afterwards altered. [IBID., *Notes*, etc., p. 332.] It was probably expunged by the Master of the Revels before the Folio of 1623 was printed . . . The MS corrector seems to have thought it too striking and characteristic to be omitted; but he most likely resorted to some other authority than the Quartos to supply the deficiency, as the words he inserts in a vacant space are not precisely the same as are there found: possibly, he had the addition from recitation on the stage, at some date when the injunction of the Master of the Revels was not attended to. He gives Buckingham's line thus: 'Zounds! citizens we will entreat no more'; and Richard's rebuke in these words: 'O! do not swear, my cousin Buckingham.' Instead of making the Citizens retire with Buckingham, Buckingham alone goes out, an arrangement of apparent propriety, because it is quite clear that the four lines put into the mouth of Richard, while Buckingham was out of the

Catesb. Call him againe, ſweet Prince, accept their ſuit:
If you denie them, all the Land will rue it. 230
Rich. Will you enforce me to a world of Cares.
Call them againe, I am not made of Stones,
But penetrable to your kinde entreaties, 233

229. *him*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i. *them* Qq et cet.

ſweet Prince,] *my Lord, and* Qq, Cam.+.

230. *If...will*] Ano. *Do good my Lord, leaſt all the land do* Qq, Cam.+. (Another. Cam.+.)

rue it] *rue't* Walker (*Vers.* 78), Sing.

231. *Will...Cares.*] *Would...care:* Q_1 Q_2. *Would...care?* Q_{3-8}, Cam.+. *Will ...Cares?* Ff et cet.

232. *Call*] *Well, call* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Ktly.

them] *him* Coll. ii (MS).

againe,] *again;* [exit Catesby. Theob.+, Cap. (after l. 233), Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.

Stones] QqFf, Rowe, Cam. ii. *stone* Pope et cet.

233. *entreaties*] *intreates* Q_1Q_2. *intreats* Q_{3-7}. *interats* Q_4. *intents* Q_8. *entreats* Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

---

apartment, were intended to be heard by the Lord Mayor, &c. In accordance with this view 'them,' in l. 232, is changed to *him* by the MS Corrector. To whose 'kind entreaties' could Richard refer, if not to those of the Citizens, who had remained behind after Buckingham had flung away in a pretended passion at Richard's refusal?—R. G. WHITE: It is quite probable that the passage was originally written [as in the Quarto], and that the change was made by Shakespeare, because it made Gloucester overdo his hypocrisy; for 'zounds' was a common and venial expletive in Shakespeare's time. [Without breaking l. 228, and thereby making the sense unintelligible, it was found impossible to incorporate, in the Folio text, this line: 'O do not sweare,' etc.—ED.]

228. **Exeunt**] MARSHALL has the following arrangement of stage-directions, here and at l. 235: '*Exit Buckingham; the Mayor, Alderman and Citizens are following him.*' After 'Call them againe,' l. 232, the following occurs: '*Catesby stops the Citizens before they have gone off; then exit in search of Buckingham and the others. Gloucester (to those of the citizens who have not gone off)*, I am not made of stone.' In defence of this, Marshall has the following note: 'Were all the citizens to go off, and then to return with Buckingham and Catesby after l. 234, Gloucester would have no one to speak to after Catesby's exit.'

232. **Stones**] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 234): The interpolation of an *s* at the end of a word—generally, but not always, a noun substantive—is remarkably frequent in the Folio. Those who are conversant with the MSS of the Elizabethan Age may perhaps be able to explain its origin. Were it not for the different degree of frequency with which it appears in different parts of the Folio, . . . I should be inclined to think it originated in some peculiarity in Shakespeare's handwriting [see IV, i, 116].

233. **entreaties**] R. G. WHITE, in his second edition, follows the Quarto reading *entreats* and thus remarks: 'As bad English as *your kind invite* for *invitation*, which it resembles: mere recklessness.' Was this note inspired by White's Egeria, the Washer-woman? (See White's *Preface*, vol. i, p. xii, ed. ii.)—BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v. entreat*) quotes the following authorities for the use of the word:

Albeit againſt my Conſcience and my Soule.
Enter Buckingham, and the reſt.
Couſin of Buckingham, and ſage graue men,
Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
To beare her burthen, where I will or no.
I muſt haue patience to endure the Load:
But if black Scandall, or foule-fac'd Reproach,
Attend the ſequell of your Impoſition,
Your meere enforcement ſhall acquittance me
From all the impure blots and ſtaynes thereof;
For God doth know, and you may partly ſee,
How farre I am from the deſire of this.
Maior. God bleſſe your Grace, wee ſee it, and will ſay it.
Rich. In ſaying ſo, you ſhall but ſay the truth.
Buck. Then I ſalute you with this Royall Title,
Long liue King *Richard*, Englands worthie King.

235. Enter...reſt.] Om. Qq. Re-enter ... Pope et seq.
236. *ſage*] *you ſage* Qq, Cam.+. *graue*] Om. F_3F_4.
237. *you*] *your* Q_3.
238. *her*] *the* Q_{3-8}. *where*] *whether* QqFf,+, Cap. Var. '21, Cam.+. *whe'r* Var. '78 et cet.
240. *foule-fac'd*] *ſoule-fac't* Q_1Q_2. *ſo foule-fac't* Q_{3-8}. *four-fac'd* F_3.
243. *blots*] *plots* Q_8.
244. *doth know*] *he knows* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds.
245. *of this*] *thereof* Qq, Cam.+.
249. *this*] *the* Q_4. *Royall*] *kingly* Qq, Cam.+.
250, 251. *Long liue...Amen*] As one line, Vaughan (iii, 94).
250. *King* Richard] *Richard* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *great Richard* Anon. ap. Cam. *worthie*] *royall* Qq, Cam.+.

1568, T. Howell, *Arb. Amitie* (1879), 68: 'By great entreate and humble sute.' 1592 Greene, *Poems* 99: 'Use no entreats, I will relentless rest.' 1639 G. Daniel *Ecclus.* xlv, 4: 'At his entreat The wonders ceas'd.' Examples of ***invite*** for ***invitation***, bad as it is, are also to be found in the *N. E. D.*—ED.

236. **Buckingham**] For this name thus accented compare III, i, 49.

238. **where**] See l. 223, above.

241. **Imposition**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 4. The action of imposing or laying as a burden, duty, charge, or task; the action of inflicting, levying, enjoining, or enforcing.

250. **Englands worthie King**] VAUGHAN (iii, 94): The Folio editors I believe to have changed ***kingly*** [l. 249] to 'royal,' and ***royal*** to 'worthie,' in order to escape from an apparent tautology involved in the words ***royal king***. But ***royal*** has a peculiar meaning in Shakespeare which excludes tautology from its combination with ***king***. It signifies not of ***royal rank***, but of ***royal descent***. It is forcible and necessary here in declaring that Richard was not merely a ***de facto*** king, but a king royally descended, and owing his occupation of it to title and descent. [Those

All. Amen. 251
Buck. To morrow may it pleaſe you to be Crown'd.
Rich. Euen when you pleaſe, for you will haue it ſo.
Buck. To morrow then we will attend your Grace,
And ſo moſt ioyfully we take our leaue. 255
Rich. Come, let vs to our holy Worke againe.
Farewell my Couſins, farewell gentle friends. *Exeunt.* 257

Actus Quartus. Scena Prima.

Enter the Queene, Anne Ducheſſe of Glouceſter, the Ducheſſe of Yorke, and Marqueſſe Dorſet.

Duch. Yorke. Who meetes vs heere?
My Neece *Plantagenet,* 5

251. All.] Mayor Qq (subs.). May. and Cit. Cam.+.
252. *may*] *will* Qq, Cam.+.
253. *pleaſe, for*] *will, ſince* Qq. *please, since* Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds. Coll. iii.
255. *And...leaue*] Om. Qq.
[To the Clergymen. Johns.
256. *Worke*] *taſke* Qq, Cam.+.
257. *my Couſins*] *good cooſine* Q_1. *good couſen* Q_{2-8}, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds. *my cousin* Pope,+, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. Sta.
Exeunt.] Om. Q_2.
1. Actus Quartus. Scena Prima.] Om. Qq. III, viii, Johns. conj. Ran. The Tower. Pope.
2, 3. the Queene, ...Dorſet.] Queene--mother, Ducheſſe of Yorke, Marques Dorſet, at one doore, Ducheſſe of Gloſter at another doore. Qq. (Quee. ... Q_1.)
2. Glouceſter] Gloucester, leading Clarence's young daughter, Theob. Han. Warb. Cap. Gloucester, leading Lady Margaret Plantagenet Clarence's young daughter, Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
3. Marqueſſe Dorſet] Marqueſſ of *Dorſet* F_3F_4.
4, 5. *Who*...Plantagenet] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

who wish may count, in Bartlett's *Concordance*, the number of times the word 'royal' occurs,—it is well up in the hundreds,—noting at the same time the manifold variety of nouns, which, as an adjective, it qualifies. SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives examples under four separate heads of interpretation, but does not suggest Vaughan's peculiar signification *of royal descent*.—ED.]

257. **Exeunt**] JOHNSON: To this Act should, perhaps, be added the next scene, so will the coronation pass between the Acts; and there will not only be a proper interval of action, but the conclusion will be more forcible.

2. **Anne Duchesse of Gloucester**] MALONE: We have not seen this lady since the second scene of the First Act, in which she promised to meet Richard at Crosby-Place. She was married about the year 1472. [This last fact is perhaps a sufficient excuse for the lady's absence.—ED.]

5. **My Neece Plantagenet**] THEOBALD: Here is a manifest intimation that

Led in the hand of her kind Aunt of Gloſter? 6
Now, for my Life, ſhee's wandring to the Tower,
On pure hearts loue, to greet the tender Prince.
Daughter, well met.
Anne. God giue your Graces both, a happie 10
And a ioyfull time of day.
Qu. As much to you, good Siſter: whither away?
Anne. No farther then the Tower, and as I gueſſe,
Vpon the like deuotion as your ſelues, 14

6–11. *Led...day.*] Om. Qq, Sta.
8. *Prince*] *princes* Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Cam. +, Ktly, Coll. iii.
9–11. *Daughter...day*] As two lines, ending, *both...day.* Pope et seq.
12. *As ... away?*] *Siſter well met, whether away ſo faſt* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. (*whither* Q_{5-7}.)
13. Anne] Duch. Q_1Q_2 (subs.). Dut. Glo. Q_{3-8}.
farther] *further* Johns.

---

the Duchess of Gloster leads in somebody in her hand; but there is no direction marked in any of the copies, from which we can learn who it is. I have ventured to guess it must be Clarence's young daughter. The old Duchess of York calls her 'niece,' *i. e., grand-daughter;* as grand-children are frequently called *nephews.*

5. **Neece**] WRIGHT: Compare 'C. Crispinus Helarus, a gentleman of Fesulæ, came with a solemne pompe caried before him into the Capitoll, attended upon with his nine children, seuen sonnes and two daughters; with seven and twentie nephewes, the sonnes of his children: and nine and twentie nephewes more, once removed, who were his sonnes nephewes, and twelue neeces besides, that were his childrens daughters, and with all these solemnly sacrificed.'—Holland's *Pliny,* vii, 13. [SINGER calls attention to this use of the word for *grand-children,* and adds that the word *grand-child* does not occur in Shakespeare. Did not Singer overlook the following—'My wife comes foremost; then the honour'd mould wherein this trunk was framed, and in her hand the grandchild to her blood.' —*Coriol.,* V, iii, 24? This is hardly worth the noting, were it not that Hudson, possibly, misled by Singer, has repeated the statement as to the absence of the word *grandchild.*—ED.]

6. **Led in the hand**] WRIGHT: Compare, 'Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand.'—*Genesis,* xxi, 18; which does not mean that Hagar was to carry Ishmael in her arms, but to lead him by the hand.

6. **Aunt of Gloster**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch,* vii, 139): It is noteworthy that Shakespeare, according to his customary manner, does not fail to call the attention of his audience to the fact that Richard has married Anne in the interval between her two appearances.

8. **On pure hearts loue**] ABBOTT (§ 180): There is here a confusion between '*on* an errand of love' and 'out of *heart's love.*'

8. **Prince**] DYCE (ed. ii): Let no one object to [Theobald's] alteration on metrical grounds; we have had before: 'Have any time recourse unto the princes.'

12. **whither**] For examples wherein 'whither' is pronounced as a monosyllable, see WALKER, *Vers.,* 106.

To gratulate the gentle Princes there.
Qu. Kind Sifter thankes, wee'le enter all together:

Enter the Lieutenant.

And in good time, here the Lieutenant comes.
Maſter Lieutenant, pray you, by your leaue,
How doth the Prince, and my young Sonne of *Yorke*?
Lieu. Right well, deare Madame: by your patience,
I may not ſuffer you to viſit them,
The King hath ſtrictly charg'd the contrary.
Qu. The King? who's that?
Lieu. I meane, the Lord Protector.

15. *gentle*] *tender* Qq, Sta.
16. *enter*] *never enter* F_4.
17. the Lieutenant.] Lieutenant. Q_2 Q_8. the Lieutenant of the Tower. Q_{3-8}. Brackenbury. Cap. et seq. After l. 18, Dyce, Wh. i, Sta.
19. *Maſter*] *M.* Qq. *Maiſter* Q_4F_8.
20. *doth the Prince, ...*Yorke] *fares the Prince?* Qq, Sta.
21, 25, 34. Lieu.] Brack. Capell et seq.
21. *Right...patience*] *Wel, Madam, and in health, but by your leaue* Qq, Sta.
22. *them*] *him* Qq, Sta.
23. *ſtrictly*] *ſtraightlie* Qq, Sta. *straitly* Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
the] *to the* Q_7Q_8.
24. *who's*] *whie, whoſe* Q_1Q_2. *why, who's* Q_{3-7}, Cam. +. *why who is* Q_8.
25. *I meane*] *I cry you mercie, I meane* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.

15. **gratulate**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 1): To express joy at the coming, or appearance of; to welcome, hail; to greet, salute.

16. **enter**] It is difficult to imagine what could have prompted the editor of F_4 to change this to *never enter*—against both sense and metre. Needless to say he has no followers: not even Rowe, who at times seems slavishly to follow that copy.—ED.

17. **the Lieutenant**] See I, i, 47.

24, 25. **The King? who's that? I meane, the Lord Protector**] SKOTTOWE (i, 206) calls attention to the similarity between this passage and the following from *The True Tragedie of Richard III*: '*King.* What was he that walked with thee in the gardeine, me thought he had the keyes? *Forest.* My Lord, it was one that was appointed by the King to be an ayde to sir Thomas Brokenbury. *King.* Did the King, why Myles Forest, am not I King? *Forest.* I would haue said my Lord your vnckle the Protector. *King.* Nay my kingly vnckle he is now, but let him enjoye both Crowne and kingdome, so my brother and I may enjoy our liues and libertie.' (See *Appendix*, p. 530.) CHURCHILL (p. 509) remarks: 'This is a coincidence which cannot be explained away as "purely accidental"; nor is there any direct chronicle foundation for it. Hall (p. 378) has, from More: "The Prince assone as the Protectoure toke vpon him to be kynge, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof advertised and shewed that he shoulde not reigne, but his vncle should haue the crowne. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle would let me haue my life

Qu. The Lord protect him from that Kingly Title.
Hath he ſet bounds betweene their loue, and me?
I am their Mother, who ſhall barre me from them?
Duch. Yorke. I am their Fathers Mother, I will ſee them.
Anne. Their Aunt I am in law, in loue their Mother:
Then bring me to their ſights, Ile beare thy blame,
And take thy Office from thee, on my perill.
Lieu. No, Madame, no; I may not leaue it ſo:
I am bound by Oath, and therefore pardon me.
Exit Lieutenant.

Enter Stanley.

Stanley. Let me but meet you Ladies one howre hence,
And Ile ſalute your Grace of Yorke as Mother,
And reuerend looker on of two faire Queenes.
Come Madame, you muſt ſtraight to Weſtminſter,
There to be crowned *Richards* Royall Queene.

27. *he*] *be* F_2.
bounds] *bonds* Q_7Q_8.
betweene] *betwixt* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
their] *there* Q_7Q_8.
28. *ſhall barre*] *ſhould keepe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
29. Duch. Yorke.] Du. yor. Q_1. Om. Q_{2-8}. Duch. Cam.+.
their] *theirs* Q_4.
Fathers Mother,] *father, Mother,* Q_{2-8}. *father's mother;* Sta. Cam.+.
I] *and* Qq, Sta.
31. *I am*] *am I* Var.'73, '78, '85, Ran.
32. *Then...ſights*] *Then feare not thou* Qq, Sta.
34. *No, ...it ſo*] *I do beſeech your Graces all to pardon me.* Qq.
35. *I am*] *I'm* Pope,+ (– Var. '73). *and...me*] *I may not doe it* Qq.
36. Exit Lieutenant.] Om. Qq.
37. Stanley] L. Stanlie Q_1Q_2. Lord Stanley Q_{3-8}.
38. *you Ladies*] *your ladies* Q_6Q_7. *one*] *an* Q_{1-4}. *at an* Q_{5-8}.
40. *reuerend*] *reuerente* Qq (subs.) *looker on*] *looker one* Q_7Q_8. *looker--on* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal.
41. *Madame*] *Madam* [to Ann.] Capell, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal.
ſtraight] *go with me* Qq.

---

although I lese my kyngedome." In *The True Tragedie*, &c., the Prince learns of his uncle's intentions only by a slip on the part of Forest—an artistic as well as artful improvement upon the chronicle. But it is still in connection with the chronicle passage. Shakespeare, however, makes use of the stroke before Richard has become king, and the blow falls as a warning upon the Queen; it does not fall upon the Prince. The author of *The True Tragedie*, &c., was therefore clearly the inventor, and Shakespeare adopted the clever invention.'

34. I may not leaue it so] JOHNSON: That is, I may not so resign my office, which you offer to take on you at your peril.

Qu. Ah, cut my Lace aſunder,
That my pent heart may haue ſome ſcope to beat,
Or elſe I ſwoone with this dead-killing newes.
Anne. Deſpightfull tidings, O vnpleaſing newes.
Dorſ. Be of good cheare: Mother, how fares your Grace?
Qu. O *Dorſet*, ſpeake not to me, get thee gone,
Death and Deſtruction dogges thee at thy heeles,
Thy Mothers Name is ominous to Children.
If thou wilt out-ſtrip Death, goe croſſe the Seas,
And liue with *Richmond*, from the reach of Hell.
Goe hye thee, hye thee from this ſlaughter-houſe,
Leſt thou encreaſe the number of the dead,
And make me dye the thrall of *Margarets* Curſe,
Nor Mother, Wife, nor Englands counted Queene.
Stanley. Full of wiſe care, is this your counſaile, Madame:
Take all the ſwift aduantage of the howres:
You ſhall haue Letters from me to my Sonne,

43–45. *Ah...newes*] Lines end, *heart ...ſwoone, ...newes.* Qq, Cap. Cam.+.
43. *Ah*] *O* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
aſunder] *in ſunder* Qq, Cam.+.
45. *I ſwoone*] *I ſound* Qq. (*ſound* Q_2Q_4.)
dead-killing] *dead killing* Qq. *dead liking* $Q_{5\text{-}6}$. *dead-striking* Cap. conj.
46. Anne. *Deſpightfull...newes*] Om. Qq, Sta.
47. *Be...Mother*] *Madame, haue comfort*, Qq, Sta.
49. *gone*] *hence* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
50. *dogges*] F_2. *dogge* Qq. *dogs* F_3F_4, Rowe, Ktly. *dog* Pope et cet.
thy] *the* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam.+.
51. *ominous*] *ominious* Q_5.
Children] *her children* Coll. MS (monovolume).
52. *out-ſtrip*] *ouerſtrip* $Q_{6\text{-}8}$.
53. *reach*] *race* $Q_{6\text{-}8}$.
57. *Nor*] *Not* Q_8.
counted] *'counted* Coll. Wh. i, Hal.
59. *of*] *af* Q_7.
howres] *time* Qq, Pope,+, Sta.
60. *my*] *me* Q_6.

45. **swoone**] For the pronunciation of this word and its various forms of spelling see note on *sound*, V, ii, 437, *Love's Labour's Lost*, this edition.

45. **dead-killing**] WRIGHT: Compare 'Here with a cockatrice' dead-killing eye He rouseth up himself and makes a pause.'—*Lucrece*, l. 540.

52, 53. **crosse the Seas . . . with Richmond**] WRIGHT: 'Cross' may here be either a verb or a preposition, as in: 'I charge thee waft me safely cross the channel.' —*2 Hen. VI:* IV, i, 114. Richmond, after the battle of Tewkesbury, fled with his uncle, Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, and took refuge in Brittany.

56. **thrall**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): A slave. Formed from the Teutonic type *Thragila*, a runner, hence one who runs on errands; a servant.

56. **Margarets Curse**] See I, iii, 217, 218.

In your behalfe, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'ne tardie by vnwiſe delay.
Duch. Yorke. O ill diſperſing Winde of Miſerie,
O my accurſed Wombe, the Bed of Death:
A Cockatrice haſt thou hatcht to the World,
Whoſe vnauoided Eye is murtherous.
Stanley. Come, Madame, come, I in all haſte was ſent.
Anne. And I with all vnwillingneſſe will goe.
O would to God, that the incluſiue Verge
Of Golden Mettall, that muſt round my Brow,
Were red hot Steele, to ſeare me to the Braines,

61. *In your behalfe*] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
way:] *way, and welcome you* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
62. *ta'ne*] *tane* Q_1. *taken* Q_{2-8}.
delay] *delays* Cap. conj.
63. *ill diſperſing*] *all-dispersing* Vaughan (iii, 95). *ill-dispersing* Theob. et seq.
65. *haſt*] *hath* Q_7.
hatcht] *hatch* Q_1. *hatch'd* F_4.
66. *murtherous*] *murderous* Johns.
67. *Madame, ...ſent*] *Madame, I in all haste was sent for you.* Cap. conj.
Madame, come,] *Madam* Qq.
ſent] *ſent for* Q_{3-8}.
68. Anne.] Duch. Qq.
with] *in* Qq, Sta. Cam. +, Coll. iii.
69. *O*] *I* Qq, Cam. +.
incluſiue] *idcluſiue* Q_5.
71. *Braines*] Ff, Rowe. *braine* Qq et cet.

62. **ta'ne**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) gives numerous examples of the verb 'to take' in the sense of to come upon unexpectedly, to catch by surprise, to find at advantage or disadvantage. As examples of such use of 'take' in the present play compare I, ii, 258; V, iii, 262.—ED.

63. **ill dispersing Winde**] CAPELL (ii, 184): That is: thou wicked disperser, and is meant of the separations that are then about to take place. [Does 'ill' qualify 'wind,' as Capell has it? Is it not rather the object itself of *dispersing*—that is: 'Wind of misery which disperses, or dispenses, ill'?—ED.]

69. **Verge**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): In the sense of *edge*, or *brink*, 'verge' is quite a different word from *verge*, to incline (from Latin *vergere*). The sense of *edge* follows at once, from the use of 'verge' as a law-term, to mean a limit or circuit, hence a circle.

70. **round**] ABBOTT (§ 405) cites the present line as an example of an ellipsis of the verb, as in: 'I must to Coventry.'—*Rich. II:* I, ii, 56. But is not 'round' here the verb itself? as in: 'the hollow crown That rounds the mortal temples of a king.'—*Rich. II:* III, ii, 161.—ED.

71. **red hot Steele, to seare me to the Braines**] STEEVENS: She seems to allude to the ancient mode of punishing a regicide, or any other egregious criminal, viz., by placing a crown of iron, heated red hot, upon his head. In *The Tragedy of Hoffman*, 1631, this punishment is also introduced: 'Fix on thy master's head my burning crown.' [I, i, 198.]—RITSON: John the son of the Vaivode Stephen, having defeated the army of Hungarian peasants called Croisadoes, in 1514, caused their general 'called George, to be stript naked, upon whose head the executioner

Anoynted let me be with deadly Venome,
And dye ere men can ſay, God ſaue the Queene.
Qu. Goe, goe, poore ſoule, I enuie not thy glory,
To feed my humor, wiſh thy ſelfe no harme.
Anne. No: why? When he that is my Husband now,
Came to me, as I follow'd *Henries* Corſe,
When ſcarce the blood was well waſht from his hands,
Which iſſued from my other Angell Husband,
And that deare Saint, which then I weeping follow'd:
O, when I ſay I look'd on *Richards* Face,
This was my Wiſh: Be thou (quoth I) accurſt,
For making me, ſo young, ſo old a Widow:
And when thou wed'ſt, let ſorrow haunt thy Bed;
And be thy Wife, if any be ſo mad,

72. *Venome*] *poyſon* Qq, Sta.
73. *can*] Om. F_3F_4.
74. *Goe, goe,*] *Alas* Qq, Sta.
thy] *the* Q_2.
76. *No: why?*] *No* Qq. *No why?* Wh. i.
77. *as*] Om. Q_{6-8}.
follow'd] *followed* Qq.
Henries] *Henrie's* F_3. *Henry's* F_4 et seq.
Corſe] *courſe* Qq.
78. *ſcarce...well*] *the blood was ſcarſe* Q_7Q_8 (subs.)
80. *deare*] *dead* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Coll. iii.
which] *whom* Cap. conj.
81. Richards] Richard's F_4.
85. *Wife, if.../o mad,*] *wife* (*if...so mad*) Cap. et seq. (subs.). *wife* (*if...so*) *made* Ferrers, ap. Cam.
mad] *badde* Q_{3-8}.

---

set a crown of hot burning iron.'—Goulart, *Histories*, 1607. This is the fact to which Goldsmith alludes: 'Luke's iron crown, and Damien's bed of steel' [*The Traveller*, l. 436].

72. **Anoynted . . . with deadly Venome**] LINGARD (iv, 238, *foot-note*): In the contemporary account of this [Richard's and Anne's] coronation we are told that the anointing was performed in the following extraordinary manner: 'Then the kyng and the quene put of ther robes, and there (at the high altar) stode all nakyd from the medell upwards, and anone the Bushope anoynted bothe the kynge and the quyne.'—*Excerpt. Hist.*, 381. This statement, however, must not be taken literally. The king at his coronation, after he had been disrobed of his mantle and surcoat by his chamberlain, remained in a close dress of crimson satin, in which openings had been already prepared for the anointments on his back, breast, shoulders, and elbows. The queen was anointed on the forehead and the chest only, so that one opening sufficed in her dress, which was unlaced and relaced by the lady in waiting.

83. **so young, so old a Widow**] CAPELL (ii, 184): That is, old in sorrow; made old by it. [TAWNEY and BARNARD both interpret Anne's words as meaning that, in all probability, she is doomed to a long life of widowhood. That Capell's is, however, the better interpretation is the opinion of the present ED.]

More miſerable, by the Life of thee,
Then thou haſt made me, by my deare Lords death.
Loe, ere I can repeat this Curſe againe,
Within ſo ſmall a time, my Womans heart
Groſſely grew captiue to his honey words,
And prou'd the ſubiect of mine owne Soules Curſe,
Which hitherto hath held mine eyes from reſt:
For neuer yet one howre in his Bed
Did I enioy the golden deaw of ſleepe,
But with his timorous Dreames was ſtill awak'd.

86, 87. *More... Then*] *As...As* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
86. *Life*] *death* Qq, Cam. ii.
88. *ere*] *eare* Q_1. *euen* Q_{2-8}.
89. *Within...time*] *Euen in ſo ſhort a ſpace* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
90. *Groſſely*] *Croſſelie* Q_2. *Croſly* Q_{3-8}.
91. *ſubiect*] *ſubiecte* Q_1. *ſubiectes* Q_2. *ſubſects* Q_3. *ſubiects* Q_{4-7}.
mine] *my* Q_{1-6}, Cap. Cam.+.
92. *hitherto*] *euer ſince* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
92. *held*] *kept* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
mine] *my* Q_{1-5}, Cap. Cam.+.
reſt] *ſleepe* Qq (*ſteepe* Q_5.)
94. *Did I enioy*] *Haue I enioyed* Qq. *Have I enjoy'd* Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
95. *with...awak'd.*] *haue beene waked by his timerous dreames*, Qq, (reading, *timorous*) Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. (*waken'd* Vaughan iii, 97.)

86. **Life**] F. D. MATTHEW (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 77): The reason is, I think, obvious why this same correction [see *Text. Notes*] of the Quarto text has not been made in the corresponding passage in I, ii, 29, 30. In the Fourth Act, Anne has become Richard's wife, and knows that she is more miserable by his life than by his death. This appropriate change of expression is more likely to have come from the writer when his imagination was heated in composition, than to have suggested itself to his judgement in the quiet process of correction.

90. **Grossely**] See III, vi, 12.

95. **his timorous Dreames**] '. . . he toke ill reste a nightes, lay long wakyng and musing, sore weried with care and watch, rather slumbred then slept, troubled wyth feareful dreames, sodainly sommetyme sterte vp, leape out of his bed and runne about the chamber.'—*More*, p. 134.—BROOKE (p. 115): Richard is represented by Shakespeare as without a soul, being without love. But this is when he is awake, and his will at the helm of his life. When he is asleep, Shakespeare, with his belief that in the far background of an evil nature the soul lives, but unknown, unbelieved in, by its possessor, shows how it awakens at night when the will sleeps, and does its work on the unconscious man. Then, and then only, conscience stirs in Richard. Then, and then only, fear besets him. The day-result of this work of the soul at night in Richard is plainly suggested in the dialogue. He is represented at all points as in a state of nervous strain of which he does not know the cause; and this ignorance, irritating the intensity of his wrath with any obstacle, throws not only his intellect, but his management of men and events, out of gear. His intellect is no longer clear, for body is no longer sane. All his powers, even his hypocrisy, are decaying. His doom has begun.

Beſides, he hates me for my Father *Warwicke*,
And will (no doubt) ſhortly be rid of me.
Qu. Poore heart adieu, I pittie thy complaining.
Anne. No more, then with my ſoule I mourne for yours.
Dorſ. Farewell, thou wofull welcommer of glory.
Anne. Adieu, poore ſoule, that tak'ſt thy leaue of it.
Du. Y. Go thou to *Richmond*, & good fortune guide thee,
Go thou to *Richard*, and good Angels tend thee,
Go thou to Sanctuarie, and good thoughts poſſeſſe thee,
I to my Graue, where peace and reſt lye with mee.
Eightie odde yeeres of ſorrow haue I ſeene,

96. *Beſides*] *Beside* Johns. Var. '73.
97. (*no doubt*)] *no doubt* Q_1. Om. Q_{2-8}.
98. *Poore...complaining*] *Alas poore ſoule, I pittie thy complaints* Qq, Sta.
99. *with*] *from* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
101. Dorf.] Qu. Q_{2-8}, Dyce, Sta. Cam. i,+, Huds.
102. *that*] *thou* Qq.
104. *thou*] Om. F_2F_3.
Richmond,] Richmond, *to* Dorſet *to* Anne *to the* Queene F_2F_3.
104. *thee,*] *thee,* [To Dorſet. F_4 et seq.
105. *tend*] *garde* Q_1Q_2. *guard* Q_{3-8}, Cam.+.
thee,] *thee,* [To Ann. F_4 et seq.
106. *and*] Om. Qq, Pope,+ (–Var. '73).
thee,] *thee,* [To the Queen. F_4 et seq.
108. *odde*] *olde* Q_5. *old* Q_{5-8}.

101. **Dors.**] DYCE (ed. i): Possibly the player-editors, or whoever else put the prefix '*Dors.*' to the first speech, may have intended us to understand the second one as addressed to Dorset; they perhaps thought that because Dorset was about to fly from England to Richmond he might be said to be taking his leave of glory. Nor is it improbable that they were led to the alteration by finding that the immediately following speech of the Duchess of York commences with an address to Dorset.

104–106. **Du. Y. Go thou . . . poſſeſſe thee**] CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* xvii): In the second Folio there is a curious mistake here. In the margin of the first Folio, from which the second was printed, some one had inserted the stage-directions, 'to Dorset,' 'to Anne,' 'to the Queene,' which the printer mistook and gave as part of the text thus: '*Duc. Yorke.* Go to Richmond, to Dorset, to Anne, to the Queene, and good fortune guide thee,' &c. The error is repeated in the third Folio and, strange to say, corrected in the fourth, where the stage-directions are inserted in their proper places. It also inserts the word 'thou,' which had been omitted in the second and third Folios.

106. **Sanctuarie**] For 'sanctuary' pronounced as a disyllable see III, i, 54, note by WALKER.

108. **Eightie odde yeeres**] MALONE: Shakespeare has here, I believe, spoken at random. The present scene is in 1483. Richard, Duke of York, the husband of this lady, had he been then living, would have been but *seventy-three* years old, and we may reasonably suppose that his Duchess was younger than he was. Nor

And each howres ioy wrackt with a weeke of teene.
Qu. Stay, yet looke backe with me vnto the Tower.
Pitty, you ancient Stones, thoſe tender Babes,
Whom Enuie hath immur'd within your Walls,
Rough Cradle for ſuch little prettie ones,
Rude ragged Nurſe, old ſullen Play-fellow,

109. *wrackt*] QqF$_2$F$_3$. *wrack'd* F$_4$, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i, Wh. i. *wreak'd* or *rack'd* Anon. ap. Cam. *wreck'd* Theob. ii et cet.
teene] *anguish* Pope.
110–117. Qu. *Stay...farewell.* Exeunt.] Om. Qq.
110. *Stay, yet*] *Stay yet;* Cap.
111. *Pitty, you...Stones,*] *Pity your ...stones* Vaughan (iii, 98).

did she go speedily to her grave. She lived till 1495. [The Duchess of York was the mother of the late King and grandmother of the present sovereign, and if she was not quite eighty years old she should have been. Richard at the time of the present scene was but a little over thirty years old, yet who does not think of him at this period of his career as a man of almost middle age? as, indeed, he probably was, according to the duration of life in those days.—ED.]

109. **teene**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The successive senses of 'teen' are: making known, public accusation, reproach injury, vexation.

110–116. **Stay, yet . . . farewell**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 139): In rewriting this scene the poet must at once have felt that Elizabeth should not depart in silence from the door of her children's prison, entrance to which had been denied her. But by the anonymous corrector of the Quarto, to whose prosaic taste this pathetic passage perhaps did not appeal, it might very well have been discarded. The personification of the Tower as 'ragged nurse' and 'sullen play-fellow' is bold, but thoroughly Shakespearean.

111, 115. **Babes . . . Babies**] Though past the actual days of infancy the princes, to her mother-eyes, are still her 'babies.'

112. **Enuie**] That is, malice, spite, hate.

114. **Rude ragged Nurse, old sullen Play-fellow**] JOHNSON: To call the Tower 'nurse' and 'play-fellow' is very harsh: perhaps part of this speech is addressed to the Tower, and part to the Lieutenant.—M. MASON: The last line of this speech: 'So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell,' proves that the whole of it is addressed to the Tower, and apologises for the absurdity of that address by attributing it to sorrow.—MALONE: When Shakespeare described the Tower as the 'nurse' and 'play-fellow' of these children, he was only thinking of the circumstance of their being constrained to carry on their daily pastime, and to receive their daily nutriment within its walls; and hence, with his usual licentiousness of metaphor, calls the edifice itself their 'play-fellow' and 'nurse.' I may add that the poet never could intend to apologize for a practice, of which numerous examples are found in his plays, and in which, assuredly, he perceived no impropriety.—ROLFE: Neither Johnson nor Malone seem to have appreciated the maternal pathos and poetry of the passage. It is not Shakespeare who speaks, but the mother, whose heart bleeds at the thought of the rough exchange for cradle and nurse, and play-fellow that is given them in the ancient stones. How can any one read the lines and not have all the mother come into his eyes, as it did into the poet's heart and pen?

For tender Princes : vſe my Babies well; 115
So fooliſh Sorrowes bids your Stones farewell.
Exeunt. 117

Scena Secunda.

Sound a Sennet. Enter Richard in pompe, Buckingham, Catesby, Ratcliffe, Louel.

Rich. Stand all apart. Couſin of Buckingham. 4

116. *Sorrowes*] *Sorrow* Rowe et seq. *bids*] *bid* F_4.

1. Scena Secunda.] Scene continued, Qq. V, i. Booth. IV, i. Irving. The Court. Pope. The Same. A Room of State in the Palace. Cap.

2, 3. Sound...Louel.] The Trumpets ſound, Enter Richard crowned, Buckingham, Catesby, with other Nobles. Qq. Flourish of Trumpets. Enter Gloucester as King, Buckingham, Catesby, Ratcliff, and Lovel. Rowe,+ (subs. ...a Page and others. Cap.)

2. Sennet.] Sonnet Ff. Om. Rowe.

4. Rich.] King. Qq (throughout).

114. **ragged**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.*)2: Of a rough, irregular, or straggling form; having a broken jagged outline or surface; full of rough or sharp projections.

114. **sullen**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) quotes the present line under '(2) *morose, peevish, waspish*'; but does not 'sullen' here mean *sad, melancholy, dismal*, which is Schmidt's first division of interpretations?

116. **Sorrowes**] See note by WALKER on 'Stones,' III, vii, 232.

1. **Scena Secunda**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, etc., p. 158): It has been customary to represent this scene on the stage with Richard surrounded by the court and seated on his throne, as though the coronation ceremony had just been concluded. Such an arrangement, if historically correct in detail, is not only wearisome as a spectacle, but, in view of the conversations which occur, quite out of place. The interviews with Buckingham and Tyrrel, with the courtiers grouped at the back of the scene, seem utterly unnatural. For these reasons I suggest that the scene be laid not in the throne-room, or as at the conclusion of the coronation, but that Richard be represented as returning from his crowning and in his own private chamber, in royal robes, but not in the actual coronation regalia; he should be accompanied by the leading nobles of his court, whom he dismisses soon after his entrance, since the following conversations admit of no witnesses. The mounting of the Play will thus be much simplified and the illusion will not be destroyed as in the first arrangement described.

2. **Enter Richard**] COLLIER says that in the old theatre there were probably no 'discoveries,' as they are now called in theatrical slang. Whereupon WHITE remarks: 'This, however, does not justify us in giving direction for a discovery here, although under other circumstances it does. In the Qq after l. 6 there is a direction: "Here he ascendeth his throne," and in F_1 we find in the same place "Sound." Richard is plainly to enter in state, and ascend the throne amid the sounding of trumpets.'

Buck. My gracious Soueraigne.
Rich. Giue me thy hand. *Sound.*
Thus high, by thy aduice, and thy aſſiſtance,
Is King *Richard* ſeated:
But ſhall we weare theſe Glories for a day?
Or ſhall they laſt, and we reioyce in them?
Buck. Still liue they, and for euer let them laſt.
Rich. Ah *Buckingham*, now doe I play the Touch,

5, 6. Buck. *My...Soueraigne.* Rich.] Om. Qq, Sta.

6. Sound] Here he aſcendeth his throne. Qq (subs.), Cam.+. Om. Rowe. Richard ascends the throne. The trumpets sound. White i (at l. 5).

6, 7. *Giue...aduice*] As one line, Rowe et seq.

7, 8. *and...ſeated*] Ff. One line, Qq et cet.

7. *and*] *Add* Q_1.

9. *Glories*] *honours* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

10. *them?*] *them.* Q_1.

11. *for*] *for for* Q_2.
let them] *may they* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

12, 13. *Ah...indeed*] Aside. Ed. conj.

12. *Ah*] *O* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
doe I] *I do* Q_{3-8}.
play] *'ply* Warb. conj. Cap. *apply* Heath.

---

9. **shall we weare these Glories for a day]** CHURCHILL (p. 334): Until this moment Richard's course is upward, and he has no suspicion that the hand of Fate is against him. Now without warning fortune reverses her wheel. Here lies the dramatic kernel of Shakespeare's whole play. The first part of it, down to Hastings's death, he found in Polydore Vergil, adopted into all the chronicles, of the course of the struggle down to the death of Edward IV. Then in the midst of More's story Vergil's application of the same principle of Nemesis to Richard himself was preserved in a passage inserted by Hall, but not copied by Holinshed. It is to this conception, and doubtless largely to this passage, that we owe the words of Richard, when at the moment of his coronation he forebodes a change. [The passage from Hall, to which Churchill refers, is as follows: 'And from henceforth not onely all his counsailles, doynges and proceedynges, sodainely decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her whele douneward from him, in so much that he lost his only begotten sonne called Edwarde in the iij moneth after he had created hym prince of Wales.'—p. 381.]

12. **play the Touch]** WRIGHT: That is, play the part of the touchstone, which was used to test the genuineness of any metal which had the appearance of gold. In his last will Bacon left to his wife 'all tables of marble and towch.' [Compare: 'Tomorrow . . . is a day Wherein the fortune of ten thousand men Must bide the touch.'—*1 Hen. IV:* IV, iv, 10; also 'O thou [gold] touch of hearts.'—*Timon*, IV, iii, 390.]—COLLIER (*Hist. Dram. Poetry*, iii, 52, *foot-note*): Compare: 'Now is the hour come To put your love unto the touch, to try If it be current or but counterfeit.'—*A Warning for Fair Women*, printed in 1599, but certainly considerably older. . . . But the resemblance is not merely verbal: the speeches of Anne Sanders, the repentant wife, are Shakespearean in a much better sense. But for the extreme rarity of this tragedy it might ere now have been attributed to

To trie if thou be currant Gold indeed:
Young *Edward* liues, thinke now what I would ſpeake.
Buck. Say on my louing Lord.
Rich. Why *Buckingham*, I ſay I would be King.
Buck. Why ſo you are, my thrice-renowned Lord.
Rich. Ha? am I King? 'tis ſo: but *Edward* liues.
Buck True, Noble Prince.
Rich. O bitter conſequence!

14. *ſpeake*] *ſay* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
15. *louing Lord*] *gratious ſoueraigne* Qq. *gracious sovereign* Sta. *loving lord, what thou wouldst say* Vaughan (iii, 99).
17. *thrice-renowned*] Ff. *thrice renowmed* Q_{2-5}. *thrice renowmed* Q_1 et cet.
17. *Lord*] *Liege* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
18. *Ha?*] *Ha:* Qq.
King] *a king* Pope, Han.
19. *True,*] *True* Qq.

Shakespeare.—KING (p. 212): The present touchstone is a black Jasper of a somewhat coarse grain, and the best pieces come from India. The Italian goldsmiths employ it in the following ingenious manner. They have a set, strung on a ring, of twenty-four needles, little bars of gold, each of a known or marked standard from one carat up to twenty-four (or five). Taking the gold to be assayed, they rub it on the stone; by the side of the streak it leaves they rub the needle which seems to the eye the nearest in quality. Next they pour 'aqua regia' on the two streaks, and if the solvent produces the same effect on each, it proves that the gold in the piece and the needle is of the same standard. If there be a difference perceptible, they try another needle, until an exact coincidence is obtained.

15. **my louing Lord**] Following this line CIBBER interpolates: 'I tell thee, Cuz, I've lately had two Spiders Crawling upon my startled hopes: Now tho' Thy friendly hand has brush'd 'em from me, Yet still they crawl offensive to my eyes, I wou'd have some friend to tread upon 'em. I would be King, my Cousin.' When the delving editorial spade turns up material so remunerative in its weakness, may not the words of Johnson, in his immortal Preface, be echoed: 'Let us hear no more of the dull duty of an editor'?—ED.

18. **Edward liues**] TAWNEY: There is a striking similarity in this passage to *King John*, III, iii, in which John proposes to Hubert the murder of Arthur. [There is similarity, it is true, inasmuch as both passages are concerned with the murder of a prince; but Shakespeare's treatment of the two scenes is as dissimilar as are the characters of John and Richard. The timid coward John approaches Hubert with hints half-whispered, and exults at Hubert's quick comprehension. Richard, never a coward, is brutal in the open declaration of his meaning: 'I wish the bastards dead'; and is irritated at Buckingham's hesitation. He approaches Tyrrel in much the same way; but his sole satisfaction at Tyrrel's assent is in: 'Thou sing'st sweet music.' (See note on I, iii, 359-370.)—ED.

20. **bitter consequence**] CAPELL (ii, 185): That is, *bitter sequel; videlicet*, to the speaker's last words—'Edward lives'; his next line explains it, in which is to be supplied an indefinite article following 'live.'

That *Edward* ſtill ſhould liue true Noble Prince. 21
Couſin, thou waſt not wont to be ſo dull.
Shall I be plaine? I wiſh the Baſtards dead, 23

21. *liue*] QqFf, Rowe ii. *live*, Rowe i, Pope. *live*. Han. *live* / Cam. i, +. *live*— Theob. et cet.

true...Prince.] QqFf, +. *True*, ... *prince?* Han. *true!...prince* / Var. Ran. '*True*, ...*prince* /' Cam. i, +. *true* ...*prince* / Cam. ii. *true*, ...*prince* / Mal. et cet.

22. *waſt*] *wert* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.

21. **That Edward still should liue true Noble Prince]** DELIUS: Richard sneeringly repeats Buckingham's words.—WRIGHT: Here I have ventured to restore the reading of the Qq and Ff. Since the time of Theobald the line has always been printed: 'That Edward still should live! True, noble prince!' making Richard simply repeat Buckingham's words in the sense in which he used them himself, though in a mocking tone. But where then is the 'bitter consequence,' if we thus separate the last words of the line from the preceding? It was not Buckingham's unsympathetic reply, or the mere fact that Edward lived, but that he lived as the 'true noble prince' and legitimate heir to the Crown. Thus does Richard, 'like the formal vice, Iniquity,' again 'moralize two meanings in one word.' [To me Wright's interpretation, conforming as it does to both Ff and Qq, is unquestionably just.—ED.]

23. **I wish the Bastards dead]** TURNER (iii, 455): From the atrociousness of the transaction, it was necessarily so secretly planned and executed, that the precise incidents could not be publicly known; and the natural consequence of this ignorance was, that many would never credit so revolting a fact; and that few could agree upon its reported circumstances. The only writers we have, who were contemporary with the deed, were Fabian, Rous, and the author of the *Chronicle of Croyland*. The first briefly mentions that 'the common fame went' that King Richard had within the Tower 'put unto secret death the two sons of his brother.' Rous remarks: 'it was afterwards known to very few, by what death they suffered martyrdom.' The last author declares: 'It was commonly reported that the said sons of Edward were dead; but by what kind of *violent* death, it was not known.' Polydore Vergil, nearly a contemporary, intimates the same uncertainty of the mode of their destruction. The only detail we possess of the fate of these two princes is transmitted to us by Sir Thomas More, as he had heard it by such men and means, as it were hard but it should be true. He declares that he learnt the particulars which he narrates, from those who knew much, and had little cause to lie; and that Sir James Tyrrell, who undertook the foul deed, and Dighton, one of the murderers, who perpetrated it, confessed the facts as he has stated them.—GAIRDNER (p. 152): Among all the inhumanities of the late civil war, there had been nothing so unnatural as this murder. To many the tale seemed too cruel to be true. They believed that the princes must have been sent abroad to defeat the intrigues of their friends. But time passed away and they never appeared again. After many years, indeed, an impostor counterfeited the younger; but even he, to give credit to his pretensions, expressly admitted the murder of his elder brother. Nevertheless, there have been writers in modern days who have shown plausible grounds for doubting that the murder really took place . . . If it be not itself a fiction, and Dighton's confession, as has been surmised, a for-

And I would haue it ſuddenly perform'd.
What ſay'ſt thou now? ſpeake ſuddenly, be brieſe.
Buck. Your Grace may doe your pleaſure.
Rich. Tut, tut, thou art all Ice, thy kindneſſe freezes:
Say, haue I thy conſent, that they ſhall dye?
Buc. Giue me ſome litle breath, ſome pawſe, deare Lord,
Before I poſitiuely ſpeake in this:
I will reſolue you herein preſently. *Exit Buck.*

25. *ſay'ſt thou now*] *ſaiſt thou now* Q_{1-5}. *ſaieſt thou* Q_{6-8}. *sayest thou* Cam.+.
27. *freezes*] *freezeth* Qq, Cam.+.
29. *litle...pawſe*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *breath, ſome little pauſe* Qq et cet. (*ſome little pauſe* Om. Q_7Q_8.)
29. *deare*] *my* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
30. *in this*] *herein* Qq, Sta.
31. *you...preſently*] *your grace immediately* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
Exit Buck.] Exit. Q_1. Om. Q_{2-8}.

gery, we should expect the account given by Sir Thomas More to be in the main true, clear, and consistent, though Horace Walpole and others have maintained that it is not so. [The question whether or not Richard was actually guilty of the murder of his nephews is one which more nearly concerns history than Shakespeare. The Richard of history is, possibly, a much maligned monarch and may in time be acquitted. Not so the Richard who, at present, is the only Richard for us. Shakespeare represents him as guilty, and he is the court of last appeal. For those who desire to examine the question more fully from the historical side the following references may prove of value: SIR GEORGE BUCK, *Life of Richard III.*, ch. i, p. 550; SHARON TURNER, iii, pp. 454-465; LINGARD, iv, *Appendix, Note* C.; WALPOLE, pp. 64-70; GAIRDNER, pp. 152-164; MISS HALSTED, ch. xii, last half; MARKHAM, pp. 254 et seq.—ED.]

29. **Giue me some... breath**] CANNING (p. 248): Perhaps at this moment of temptation Buckingham may have suddenly recollected his oath before King Edward to be true to his children, though he had previously violated it when asserting their illegitimacy to the London citizens. Buckingham's whole behaviour in this scene, though natural for a grateful courtier in his position, is strangely inconsistent with his previous conduct, and there seems to be no historical foundation for it.

31. **presently**] Here is, perhaps, one of the rare examples wherein 'presently' is used, not, as is usual in Shakespeare, in the sense of *immediately, at once*, but in the modern sense of *shortly, soon*. SCHMIDT cites numerous passages wherein 'presently' means *immediately*, and thirteen wherein the word has the modern meaning, but does not include the present. DYCE (*Glossary*) gives not one example of 'presently' used for *soon, shortly*. SCHMIDT'S examples with this meaning are as follows: 'That like a testy babe will scratch the nurse And presently all humbled kiss the rod.'—*Two Gent.*, I, ii, 59. (In taking 'presently' to mean *shortly*, is not the force of this passage weakened? The fickleness consists in the two actions being almost simultaneous.) 'Is he at Master Ford's already think'st thou? Sure he is by this, or will be presently.'—*Merry Wives*, IV, i, 1. (SCHMIDT is here,

Catesby. The King is angry, ſee he gnawes his Lippe.
Rich. I will conuerſe with Iron-witted Fooles,
And vnreſpectiue Boyes: none are for me,
That looke into me with conſiderate eyes,
High-reaching *Buckingham* growes circumſpect.
Boy.

32. *gnawes his*] *bites the* Q_{1-7}, Cam. +. *bites his* Q_7Q_8, Sta.
[to a Stander-by. Capell, Cam. +.
33. *Iron-witted*] *iron wittie* Q_7Q_8 (subs.)
33. [Descends from his throne. Malone et seq.
36, 37. *High-reaching...circumſpect. Boy*] *Boy, high reaching...circumſpect.* Qq. (Boy. *High reaching...circumſpect.* Q_8.)

I think, right in interpreting 'presently' to mean *shortly;* it could hardly mean anything else.) The following eight examples cited by Schmidt may, for convenience, be considered together, since they are all short phrases, such as 'presently I will be with you.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, I, iii, 177. 'Meet me presently,' etc. In these 'presently' may mean *immediately* quite as well as *shortly;* in fact, Schmidt cites from the present play: 'presently repair to Crosby Place.'—I, ii, 236, as an example of the use of this word meaning *immediately.* But three then remain to be considered: 'He presently as greatness knows itself Steps me a little higher than his vow.'—*1 Hen. IV:* IV, iii, 74. (Hotspur is speaking in indignation at Bolingbroke's behaviour and, to any one who reads the whole speech, it will, I think, be apparent that Hotspur means by 'presently' to convey the idea of the *immediate* action on the part of the King.) In 'by and by a fool and presently a beast.'—*Othello*, II, iii, 315, it is possible that 'presently,' thus put in contrast with 'by and by,' means *shortly, soon.* 'Cæsar having made use of him . . . presently denied him rivality.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, III, v, 8. Here, as in the example from *Two Gent.*, the force of the sentence is destroyed if 'presently' be not taken to mean *immediately.* The rapid sequence of the two events is what Eros considers worthy of note. BARTLETT (*Concordance*) gives one hundred and forty-one passages wherein the word 'presently' occurs; SCHMIDT cites thirteen of these wherein 'presently' means *shortly, soon.* With deference I submit that in three out of these thirteen 'presently' seems to require, from the context, the meaning *immediately;* in two, from contrast with other words, it may mean *soon, shortly,* and in eight it may mean either *immediately* or *soon.* All this may be splitting a hair twixt north and northeast side, but in order to comprehend Shakespeare, is any labour useless?—ED.

32. **he gnawes his Lippe**] 'The whyle he was thinking of any matter, he dyd contynually byte his nether lyppe, as thowgh that crewell nature of his did so rage agaynst yt self in that lyttle carkase.'—*Polydore Vergil*, p. 227.

34. **vnrespectiue**] STEEVENS: That is, inattentive to consequences, inconsiderate. Compare: 'When dissolute impiety possesst Th' vnrespective mindes of prince and people.'—Daniel: *Tragedie of Cleopatra*, 1599. [Sig. G. recto, ed. 1602.]

37. **Boy**] FRENCH (p. 242): The Page is no doubt intended for John Green, probably an esquire of the body to Richard, and who for the share he had in the transactions which led to the murder of the young princes was appointed receiver

Page. My Lord.
Rich. Know'ſt thou not any, whom corrupting Gold
Will tempt vnto a cloſe exploit of Death?
Page. I know a diſcontented Gentleman,
Whoſe humble meanes match not his haughtie ſpirit:
Gold were as good as twentie Orators,
And will (no doubt) tempt him to any thing.
Rich. What is his Name?
Page. His Name, my Lord, is *Tirrell.*
Rich. I partly know the man: goe call him hither,
Boy. *Exit.*

38, 46. Page.] Boy. Qq.
38. *My Lord*] *Lord.* Q_{3-8}.
39. *Know'ſt*] *Knoweſt* Q_8.
40. *Will*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *Would* Qq et cet.
41. *I know*] *My Lord, I know* Qq, Cam.+.
42. *ſpirit*] *minde* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
43. *Gold*] *Gould* Q_1.
46. Tirrell] *Terrill* Q_6Q_7. *Terrel* Q_8. *Tyrrel* Cap. et seq.
47, 48. *I partly...hither, Boy.* Exit.] *Goe call him hither preſently* Qq, Sta. *I partly...hither.* Exit Boy. Pope,+, Cam.+ (subs.)

of the lordship of the Isle of Wight, and of the lordship and castle of Porchester. John Green had been employed to tamper with Brakenbury, 'that he should put the two children to death.'—WRIGHT: The page here addressed was not John Green, who had been sent by Richard to sound Sir Robert Brackenbury about the murder of the princes. The two are quite distinct in Hall's narrative.

40. **close**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): *A.* 4. Shut up from observation; concealed, occult, hidden, secret; secluded.

40. **exploit**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 3. An act or deed; a feat; in modern use, an achievement displaying a brilliant degree of bravery or skill. [The present line quoted.]

41. **a discontented Gentleman**] WALPOLE (p. 54): James Tirrel, a man in no secret trust with the king, and kept down by Catesby and Ratcliffe, is recommended as a proper person by a nameless page. In the first place Richard was crowned at York (after this transaction) September 8th. Edward the Fourth had not been dead four months, and Richard in possession of any power not above two months, and those very bustling and active: Tirrel must have been impatient, indeed, if the page had had time to observe his discontent at the superior confidence of Ratcliffe and Catesby. It happens unluckily, too, that great part of the time Ratcliffe was absent, Sir Thomas More telling us that Sir Richard Ratcliffe had the custody of the prisoners at Pontefract, and presided at their execution there. But a much more unlucky circumstance is, that James Tirrel, said to be knighted for this horrid service, was not only a knight before, but a great or very considerable officer of the crown; and in that situation had walked at Richard's preceding coronation.

47. **hither**] For other examples wherein *hither, whither, thither* may be pronounced as monosyllables, see WALKER, *Vers.*, 106; compare III, vii, 223, 237.

The deepe reuoluing wittie *Buckingham*,
No more ſhall be the neighbor to my counſailes.
Hath he ſo long held out with me,vntyr'd,
And ſtops he now for breath? Well, be it ſo.

Enter Stanley.

How now, Lord *Stanley*, what's the newes?
Stanley. Know my louing Lord, the Marqueſſe *Dorſet*
As I heare, is fled to *Richmond*,
In the parts where he abides.

49. *deepe reuoluing*] *deepe reſoluing* Q_7Q_8. *deep-revolving* Pope et seq.
50. *counſailes*] *counſell* Qq, Sta. Cam.+ (subs.)
52. *IWell, be it ſo*] Om. Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
53. Stanley.] Darby. Qq.
54. *Lord...newes?*] *what newes with you* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *newes*] *news with you?* Coll. MS.
57. [stands apart. Cam.+.

---

49. **wittie**] That is, *judicious, cunning, artful*.—COWDEN-CLARKE: Richard is sneering at Buckingham's pretensions to adroitness and skill in fraud.

50. **No more shall be the neighbor to my counsailes**] WHATELY (p. 63): Richard always determined, and taking his determination himself, never waits to be incited, nor ever idly accounts for his conduct; but fixed to his purpose, makes other men only his instruments, not his confidants or advisers. Even Buckingham is no more: he discards him as soon as he begins to have any judgement of his own.

54, 55. **How now . . . Know my louing Lord**] STEEVENS: Surely we should adopt Hanmer's regulation. Are the omitted words, 'know' and 'loving,' of so much value that measure must continue to be sacrificed for their preservation? [The regulation to which STEEVENS refers is due to POPE, not HANMER; see *Text. Notes*.—ED.]

54–57. **How now . . . abides**] It is impossible to make intelligible, in the *Text. Notes*, the variations between the Quartos and Folio, and the readings of later editors, in this passage; I therefore gratefully avail myself of the excellent statement of the case by the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS (*Note* xviii): 'The first Quarto reads: "*Darby*. My Lord, I heare the Marques Dorset Is fled to Richmond, in those partes beyond the seas where he abides." . . . In the seventh and eighth Quartos the second line of Darby's speech is divided— ". . . seas Where he abides." . . . Pope follows the Folios and Rowe, except that for "Know, my loving Lord," he substitutes "my Lord," ending the next line at *fled*. [Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, and Capell follow Pope.] Steevens [Var. '73] retains the reading of the Folios, but in other respects adopts Pope's arrangement, assigning it, more suo, to Sir Thomas Hanmer. Staunton follows Steevens as regards Stanley's speech, and then reads with the Quartos.' The Cambridge and subsequent editors follow the Quartos, ending the lines at *fled . . . sea . . . abides*. All others follow Steevens, Var. '73.—ED.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 24): I cannot believe that Shakespeare intended the passage to stand in either the Quarto or Folio forms. But if he wrote directions in the margin, or

Rich. Come hither *Catesby*, rumor it abroad, 58
That *Anne* my Wife is very grieuous ſicke,

58. *Come...abroad*] *Catesby.* Cat. *My Lord.* King. *Rumor it abroad* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
Catesby,] *Catesby,* [Stanley retires. Marshall.
58. *it*] *is* Q_7. *this* Q_8.
59. *is...ſicke*] *is ſicke and like to die* Qq, Pope,+ (−Var.'73), Sta. Cam.+.

between the lines, for regulating the metre, it is easy to imagine a printer misunderstanding them. . . . His first corrections [in a copy of the Quarto], may have been as follows: '*King.* How now, what news with you? *Stanley.* Know, loving Lord, The Marquis Dorset, as I hear, is fled To Richmond in the parts where he abides.' Afterwards he may have thought it better to introduce Lord Stanley's name into the dialogue, as the audience were not very familiar with him; and altered it again thus: '*King.* How now, Lord Stanley what's the news? *Stan.* My Lord, The Marquis Dorset,' etc. The printer, understanding that 'Know loving' was to be put out, and that 'my' was to be put in again, made it 'know my loving Lord'—not readable into verse anyhow. This would be one of those accidents of the press which, though not what can be called ordinary, yet will happen occasionally. An error so easily made and so easily mended cannot justify any inference as to the capacity of the corrector.—MARSHALL has the following arrangement of these mutilated lines: ' "How now! what news with you? *Stan.* My lord, I hear The Marquess Dorset's fled beyond the seas To Richmond, in those parts where he abides."' He adds: 'This is made up partly from Q_1 and F_1, and has the advantage of avoiding the two broken lines: perhaps, if anything, to make the sense a little clearer. The whole of the rest of this scene is, from a dramatic point of view, one of the most effective portions of the play. It exhibits the wonderfully versatile power of Richard's mind. Though he makes no answer to Stanley, he hears perfectly well the message he has brought; but he takes no ostensible notice of it till he repeats the substance of it to Buckingham. The course of thought he was before pursuing—namely, how to get rid of all other claimants to the throne, and to make his usurped position sure—he still continues in his mind, putting aside the question of Dorset's escape for after-consideration. In the course of the next two or three minutes he has formed his plans by which he proposes to secure his throne, as he thinks, against every possible contingency. The concentration of his mind, which enables him to come to such a rapid decision, is craftily concealed under the guise of an abstraction which the unwary might mistake for inattention or indifference.

55, 56. **Know . . . I heare**] LETTSOM (ap. DYCE, ii): 'Know' is incompatible with the hesitating 'I hear.'

56. **Richmond**] BOAS (p. 154): Here, for the first time in the play, the name of the destined avenger falls on the new king's ear, and the effect is seen in the brooding reverie over prophecies, forgotten till that moment, into which Richard falls, and which betrays to us that, like other irreligious natures, he is superstitious at bottom. [Between the mention of the name of Richmond and mention of the prophecies concerning him, Richard has been occupied with various other matters; he has given orders in regard to the Queen; he has settled with Tyrrel for the murder of the princes. Furthermore, is not his reverie assumed in order to put Buckingham from his suit?—ED.]

I will take order for her keeping cloſe.
Inquire me out ſome meane poore Gentleman,
Whom I will marry ſtraight to *Clarence* Daughter:
The Boy is fooliſh, and I feare not him.
Looke how thou dream'ſt: I ſay againe, giue out,
That *Anne*, my Queene, is ſicke, and like to dye.
About it, for it ſtands me much vpon
To ſtop all hopes, whoſe growth may dammage me.
I muſt be marryed to my Brothers Daughter,

61. *meane poore*] *meane borne* Qq. *mean-born* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *mean, poor* Knt.
64. *dream'ſt*] *dreameſt* Q_8.
65. *Queene*] *wife* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
67. *me.*] *me.* [Exit Catesby. Cap. et seq.
68, 70. *Brothers*] *brother* Q_7Q_8.
68. (To Himselfe) Coll. MS ap. Cam.

60. **take order**] Compare III, v, 113.

62. **Clarence Daughter**] Compare I, iv, 184.

63. **The Boy is foolish**] MALONE: Shakespeare has here perhaps anticipated the folly of this youth. He was, at this time, I believe, about ten years old, and we are not told by any historian that he had then exhibited any symptoms of folly. Being confined by Henry VII. immediately after the battle of Bosworth, and his education being entirely neglected, he is described by Polydore Vergil, at the time of his death, in 1499, as an idiot; and his account, which was copied by Hall and Holinshed, was certainly sufficient authority for Shakespeare's representation.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: Shakespeare has drawn this unfortunate child, in the sole scene in which he appears, II, ii, as a sweet guileless lad, who discovers no sign of witlessness; but just that innocent faith in goodness which is called credulity by the vicious; for it is he who artlessly asks: 'Think you my uncle did dissemble, Grandam?' and when she answers: 'Ay, boy,' simply and confidently replies: '*I cannot think it.*' Thus harmoniously with nature does our dramatist draw his characters from first to last, in even the minutest particulars.

66. **it stands me much vpon**] ABBOTT (§ 204): This phrase cannot be explained, though it is influenced, by the custom of transposition. Almost inextricable confusion seems to have been made by the Elizabethan writers between two distinct idioms: (1) 'it stands on' (adv.), or 'at hand,' or 'upon' (*cf. instat*, *προσήκει*), *i. e.*, 'it is of importance,' 'it is a matter of duty'; and (2) 'I stand upon' (adj.), *i. e.*, 'I *in-sist* upon.' In (1) the full phrase would be, 'it stands on, upon, to me,' but, *owing to the fact 'to me' or 'me' (the dative inflection) is unemphatic, and 'upon' is emphatic and often used at the end of a sentence*, the words were transposed into 'it stands me *upon*.' 'Me' was thus naturally mistaken for the object of *upon*. . . . The Shakespearean use of 'me,' as representing the old dative, renders it possible, though by no means probable, that 'me,' in [the present passage], was used as a kind of dative.—SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v. stand* 7. *e*) quotes the following examples: 'It stands your grace upon to do him right.'—*Rich. II:* II, iii, 138; 'Does it not, think'st thee stand me now upon.'—*Hamlet*, V, ii, 63; 'It only stands Our lives upon to use our strongest hands.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, II, i, 50.

68. **I must be marryed to my Brothers Daughter**] WALPOLE (p. 74): Let

[68. I must be marryed to my Brothers Daughter]

us examine the accusation of Richard's intending to marry his niece: one of the consequences of which intention is a vague suspicion of poisoning his wife. Buck says that the queen was in a languishing condition, and that the physicians declared she could not hold out till April; and he affirms having seen in the Earl of Arundel's library a letter written in passionate strains of love for her uncle by Elizabeth to the Duke of Norfolk, in which she expressed doubts that the month of April would never arrive. What is there in this account that looks like poison? Does it not prove that Richard would *not* hasten the death of his queen? The tales of poisoning, for a time certain, are now exploded; nor is it in nature to believe that the princess could be impatient to marry him, if she knew, or thought, he had murdered her brothers. . . . Had Richard been eager to wed his niece, and had his character been as impetuously wicked as it is represented, he would not have let the forward princess wait for the slow decay of her rival; nor did he think of it until nine months after the death of his son; which shows it was only to prevent Richmond's marrying her. . . . I should suppose that Richard, learning the projected marriage of Elizabeth and the Earl of Richmond, amused the young princess with the hopes of making her his queen; and that Richard feared that alliance is plain from his sending her to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton on the landing of Richmond.—GAIRDNER (p. 255): Whether the queen was to be divorced or murdered, or was expected to die ere long in the course of nature, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the project of this marriage was conceived during her lifetime. It is stated by the early Tudor historians that the princess herself abhorred the match, even after the death of the queen had removed the greatest obstacle to it. But this account of her sentiments does not pass unchallenged. Nor, admitting its truth, is it by any means inconceivable that she had at one time nearly made up her mind to what she inwardly abhorred. She was in the tyrant's power, her mother thought the match advisable, it offered her a brilliant and captivating position, and her refusal would have been construed as secret enmity to the king. It would have been bad policy, therefore, to exhibit reluctance, even if she really intended to avoid compliance in the end. . . . It is stated by Sir George Buck, on the authority of a document, not known to be now extant, that the Princess consulted the Queen's own physicians how long her rival was likely to live. . . . Positive testimony like this, however revolting and opposed to natural expectation, is not to be lightly set aside as incredible. But it must be owned there are grounds of suspicion in the present case which may fairly justify incredulity. Buck does not expressly say that he had seen the letter himself [in which the Princess expressed her fears that 'the queen would never die']; and we might, perhaps, rather infer the contrary, from the fact that he only gives the substance of it in his own words, whereas he has quoted at full length documents of less importance. On the other hand, if it is not clear that Buck saw it, there is not a tittle of evidence to show that any one else did. No reference is made to it by any of the great antiquaries and historians of Buck's day—by Stow, or Speed, or Holinshed, or Camden. No person seems to have seen it before, no person appears to have seen it since, and nothing is known of its existence now. Add to this the fact that Buck . . . was by no means an impartial historian, but an essayist bent on justifying a paradox, and that such a letter was of very great service to his argument. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, . . . we ought certainly to be pardoned for indulging a belief, or, at all events, a charitable hope, that Elizabeth was incapable of sentiments

Or elſe my Kingdome ſtands on brittle Glaſſe:
Murther her Brothers, and then marry her,
Vncertaine way of gaine. But I am in
So farre in blood, that ſinne will pluck on ſinne,
Teare-falling Pittie dwells not in this Eye.

Enter Tyrrel.

Is thy Name *Tyrrel*?

Tyr. *Iames Tyrrel*, and your moſt obedient ſubiect.

Rich. Art thou indeed?

Tyr. Proue me, my gracious Lord.

Rich. Dar'ſt thou reſolue to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Pleaſe you:
But I had rather kill two enemies.

71. *Vncertaine*] *Uncurrent* Vaughan (iii, 101).
72. *will pluck*] *plucke* Q_{2-5}. *pluckes* Q_{6-8} (subs.)
73. *Teare-falling*] *Teare falling* Q_{1-5}. *Teares falling* Q_{6-8}.
74. Enter...] Re-enter... Cap. et seq.
78. [He takes him aside. Pope.
Lord] *ſoueraigne* Qq, Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
79. *Dar'ſt*] *Dareſt* Q_1, Cam.+.
80, 81. *Pleaſe...enemies*] Ff, Rowe, Dyce. As one line, Qq et cet.
Pleaſe you] *I my Lord* Qq. *Ay, my lord* Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
81. *But I had*] *I'd* Pope, + (– Var. '73).
enemies] *deepe enemies* Q_{2-8}.

so dishonourable and repulsive. . . . It would certainly appear, from the little we know of her after-life, that Elizabeth of York was not destitute of domestic feeling; and that she could have been eager to obtain the hand of her brothers' murderer is really too monstrous to be believed. [For further historical information concerning Richard's projected marriage, see BUCK, pp. 127–130; TURNER, iii, 502–505; LINGARD, iv, 252; MISS HALSTED, ch. xxii.—ED.]

71, 72. **I am in . . . sinne will pluck on sinne**] The lines in *Macbeth:* 'I am in blood Stepp'd in so far, that should I wade no more Returning were as tedious as go o'er.'—III, iv, 136, will doubtless suggest themselves to every reader.

73. **Teare-falling Pittie**] That is, pity which causes tears to fall. 'Fall' is here used transitively as in '*She falls the sword.*'—I, ii, 205; 'when fools eyes fall tears.'—I, iii, 372; and 'fall thy edgeless sword.'—V, iii, 190.—ED.

74. **Tyrrel**] WALPOLE (p. 127): It seems to me to appear that, Sir James Tyrrel not being attainted on the death of Richard, but having, on the contrary, been employed in great services by Henry the Seventh, it is not probable that he was one of the murderers. That Lord Bacon, owning that Tyrrel's confession did not please the King so well as Dighton's; that Tyrrel's imprisonment and execution some years afterwards for a new treason, of which we have no evidence, and which appears to have been mere suspicion, destroy all probability of his guilt in the supposed murder of the children.

80, 81. **Please you: But . . . two enemies**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc., Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 25): Here I suspect we have, in the Folio, the result of a misunderstood direction

Rich. Why then thou haſt it: two deepe enemies,
Foes to my Reſt, and my ſweet ſleepes diſturbers,
Are they that I would haue thee deale vpon:
Tyrrel, I meane thoſe Baſtards in the Tower.
Tyr. Let me haue open meanes to come to them,
And ſoone Ile rid you from the feare of them.
Rich. Thou ſing'ſt ſweet Muſique:
Hearke, come hither *Tyrrel*,
Goe by this token: riſe, and lend thine Eare, *Whiſpers.*
There is no more but ſo: ſay it is done,
And I will loue thee, and preferre thee for it.
Tyr. I will diſpatch it ſtraight. *Exit.*
**King.* Shall we heare from thee Tirrell ere we ſleepe?

Enter Buckingham.

82. *then*] *there* Qq, Cam.+.
82, 83. *two...and...ſleepes*] *to...that... ſleepe* Q_8.
83. *and*] *that* Q_7.
diſturbers] *diſturbs* Qq.
86. [Kneeling. Coll. MS ap. Cam.
open] Om. Q_7Q_8.
88, 89. *Thou*...Tyrrel] Ff, Rowe. As one line, Qq et cet.
Muſique: Hearke, come] *muſicke. Come* Qq, Sta. *music. Hark, come* Cam.+. *music to me. Come* Anon. ap. Cam.
90. *this*] *that* Qq.
Whiſpers.] He whiſpers in his eare. Qq (wiſpers Q_1).
91. *There is*] *Tis* Qq.
it is] *is it* $Q_1Q_2Q_{6-8}$.
92. *for it*] *too* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
93. *I will...ſtraight*] *Tis done my gracious Lord.* Qq, Sta. Cam.+ (*my good Lord.* Q_{6-8}.)
Exit.] Om. Qq.
*King. *Shall...ſleepe?*] Qq, Sta. Cam.+. Om. F_1Ff et cet.
Tirrell] Om. Q_{6-8}.

---

to the printer. Suppose the correction made thus: 'Please you' being written above 'I my Lord but' of the Quarto line, if the erasing line was not carried through *but*, or if the printer did not observe that it was, we should have our present Folio reading. But the corrector meant, no doubt, to make a verse of it.

84. **deale vpon**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* vb, I. 18): To set to work upon. [The present line quoted.]

91. **There is no more but so**] WRIGHT: That is, to carry out Richard's whispered instructions. Compare: 'If love have touched you nought remains but so.'—*Tam. of Shr.*, I, i, 167; and *Hamlet*, I, iii, 10, where Laertes says that Hamlet's passion for Ophelia is but 'The perfume and suppliance of a minute; No more.' To which Ophelia asks: 'No more but so?' [ABBOTT (§ 411) considers this use of 'but so' a confusion between the infinitive and imperative.]

92. **preferre**] That is, *promote, advance.*

93. **I will dispatch it**] COLLIER: The same question, 'Shall we hear from thee ere we sleep' [see *Text. Notes*] had been put to Catesby by Richard in III, i, 210. It was therefore, perhaps, omitted here in the Folio. [See III, i, 210, note by DANIEL.]

**Tir.* Ye ſhall my Lord.*
Buck. My Lord, I haue conſider'd in my minde,
The late requeſt that you did ſound me in.
Rich. Well, let that reſt : *Dorſet* is fled to *Richmond.*
Buck. I heare the newes, my Lord.
Rich. *Stanley*, hee is your Wiues Sonne : well, looke vnto it.
Buck. My Lord, I clayme the gift, my due by promiſe,
For which your Honor and your Faith is pawn'd,
Th'Earledome of Hertford, and the moueables,
Which you haue promiſed I ſhall poſſeſſe.
Rich. *Stanley* looke to your Wife : if ſhe conuey
Letters to *Richmond*, you ſhall anſwer it.
Buck. What ſayes your Highneſſe to my iuſt requeſt?

* *Ye ſhall my Lord.**] Q_{1-5}, Sta. Cam.+. *Yea, my good Lord.* Q_{6-8}. Om. F_1Ff et cet.
95. *conſider'd*] *conſidered* Qq, Cam.+.
96. *The*] *That* Pope, +, Varr. Ran. *requeſt*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Sta. *demaund* Q_{2-8}. *demand* Q_1 et cet.
97. *reſt*] *paſſe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+ (subs.)
98. *the*] *that* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
99. *Wiues Sonne*] *wiues ſonnes* Q_{1-3}. *wife's son* Rowe et seq.
99. *well, looke*] *well look* Knt, Coll. Hal.
100. *vnto it*] *to it* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
101. *the*] *your* Qq, Cam.+.
103. *Hertford*] *Herford* Qq (*Herfort* Q_4). *Hereford* Ff et seq.
104. *Which...ſhall*] *The which you promiſed I ſhould* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. (*your* Q_2).
107. *requeſt*] *demand* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

101. **I clayme the gift**] MALONE: Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was lineally descended from Thomas, Duke of Gloster, . . . who was created Earl of Hereford in 1386, by King Richard II., on which ground the Duke of Buckingham had some pretensions to claim a new grant of the *title;* but with respect to the moiety of the estate, he had not a shadow of right to it; for supposing that it devolved to Edward IV. with the crown, it became, after the murder of his sons, the joint property of his daughters. If it did not devolve to Edward IV. it belonged to the right heirs of Henry IV. [See III, i, 219.]

103. **moueables**] BARNARD: Buckingham does not particularise the real estate because that would be entailed and go with the title, but the 'moveables' needed to be specially mentioned in a grant.

105. 106. **if she conuey Letters to Richmond**] On this point Grafton, in his continuation of More, the ultimate authority, says (p. 183, ed. Singer): '. . . it was geuen him [Lord Stanley] in charge to kepe her in some secret place at home, without hauyng anye seruaunt or companie, so that from thence forth she should neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne, nor any of his friendes, or confederates, by which the king might be molested or troubled, or anye hurte or preiudice might be attempted against his realm and commonaltie.'—ED.

Rich. I doe remember me, *Henry* the Sixt
Did prophecie, that *Richmond* ſhould be King,
When *Richmond* was a little peeuiſh Boy.
A King perhaps.
**Buck.* My Lord.

108. *I...me*] *As I remember* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

111. *A King*] *A King!*— Cap. *perhaps.*] Ff, Rowe, Cap. *perhaps, perhaps.* Qq, Sta. *perhaps, perhaps,*— Cam.+. (*perhaps*, Q_4). *perhaps* — Pope et cet.

112–131. *Buck. *My Lord...vein to day.**] Qq, Pope et seq. Om. F_1Ff, Rowe.

108. **I doe remember me**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v. remember, v.* d. 5. ***reflex***): To bethink or recollect, to think or reflect upon (oneself). Now *rare.*

108, 109. **Henry the Sixt Did prophecie,** etc.] See *3 Hen. VI:* IV, vi, 70–76. JOHNSON says: 'The allusions to the plays of *Henry VI.* are no weak proofs of the authenticity of these disputed pieces.' If JOHNSON means that such allusions point to Shakespeare as the author of the trilogy, it is to be feared that he had not compared the above passage from *3 Hen. VI.* with its corresponding passage in *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which was the basis of Shakespeare's *3 Hen. VI.;* the two passages are almost identical. It is doubtful if Shakespeare were more than an adapter of the older play.—ED.

112–131. **My Lord . . . giuing vein to day**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 25): Though it is not easy to see why these twenty lines should have been struck out of the Folio, the scene reads quite well without them. . . . Perhaps Shakespeare thought that he had represented Richard as making too many words about [his dismissal of Buckingham], and approaching it too indirectly. 'Thou troublest me: I am not in the vein,' was enough.—DANIEL (*Introd.*, p. ix): All the Qq, except Q_4, repeat 'perhaps.' If this repetition be the true reading, can the omission in F_1 have originated with Q_4, or is it merely an accidental coincidence? It is the only instance of the agreement of F_1 with a reading peculiar to Q_4. I incline to believe that the repetition of 'perhaps' was not found in the theatrical MS, and was therefore struck out of the Q. used in the preparation of the F_1 text; and the more so that Q_4 has little or no claim to this distinction. It is worthy of notice, however, that this missing 'perhaps' was the last word which occurs before the only long Q. passage not found in F_1, and the omission of which from the F. is one of the chief puzzles of the many this play presents. I can only account for this omission of this passage from F_1 on the supposition that it never was in the original draught of the play; that it was, in fact, in theatrical parlance, a 'bit of fat,' inserted in the Q. version for the benefit of the chief actor, when that version was put upon the stage. At any rate, when 'copy' was being prepared for the printers of the Folio, it must have been deliberately struck out of the Q. used for that purpose, and could only have been thus struck out because it was not in the theatrical MS, or was there found crossed out: perhaps in striking it out the scribe used his pen too vigourously, and also struck out the 'perhaps,' the absence of which occasions this elaborate attempt to account for its absence. I may add here that I believe this passage, and perhaps [the passage in Richard's speech in III, vii, 228, 'O do not swear,' etc.], are the only passages that can in any way be considered *additions* to the Q.; all the other lines found in it, but not in F_1, are to be

**King.* How chance the Prophet could not at that time,
*Haue told me I being by, that I ſhould kill him.
**Buck.* My lord, your promiſe for the Earledome.
**King.* Richmond, when laſt I was at Exeter,
*The Maior in curteſie ſhowd me the Caſtle,
*And called it Ruge-mount, at which name I ſtarted,
*Becauſe a Bard of Ireland told me once

114. *him.*] *him ?* Pope et seq.
115. *Earledome.*] *earldom,*— Cap. et seq. (subs.)
116. *Richmond,*] *Richmond ?* Pope et seq. (subs.)
116. *laſt I was*] *I was last* Pope,+.
117. *ſhowd*] *ſhewed* Q_{2-8}, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal.
119. *Bard*] *Lord* Q_8.

accounted for as accidental omissions in the Folio.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 94): Who that has ever read the scene as it is in the Qq does not feel that the omission of these lines is a *real* loss? Of course, it may be urged that the judgement of the poet is sometimes at variance with the consensus of the critics respecting the merits of his work. Is it more incredible, it may be asked—is it more incredible that Shakespeare should blot out a passage which every judicious reader would be anxious to retain, than that Milton, for example, should prefer the *Paradise Regained* to the *Paradise Lost?* I reply that, if it were *certain* that Shakespeare had done so, nothing further could be said; but if, on the other hand, it is not certain, and if there is offered an alternative supposition which is more probable, surely it is only reasonable to prefer the latter. We come then to inquire whether the passage has any characteristics which might induce a corrector devoid of taste to expunge it? I think it has. I find that only five lines out of the whole passage are perfectly regular in metre. Now, as we know otherwise that the corrector set his face rigidly against any metrical irregularity, it would have been incumbent upon him, if he had retained the passage, to cast it afresh; and this, I think, was a task above his powers, for his metrical tinkering, however frequent, seldom extends beyond a line at a time.

113. **How chance**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* vb.): 5. 'How chance' was formerly used in questions for: *how chances it that, how is (was) it that.* Here 'chance' takes no inflection, and almost assumes the character of an adverb.

114. **I being by**] MALONE: The Duke of Gloucester was *not* by when Henry uttered the prophecy (see *3 Hen. VI:* IV, vi, 68). Our author seldom took the trouble to turn to the plays to which he referred.

116. **when last I was at Exeter**] 'And during his abode here [Exeter] he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the same, & at length he came to the castell; and, when he vnderstood that it was Rugemont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said: "Well, I see my daies be not long." He spake this of a prophesie told him, that, when he came once to Richmond, he should not long liue after.'—*Holinshed*, iii, 746.—CAPELL (ii, 185) says: 'This singular prophecy, if real, shows that the poet had some resources from which he drew his materials, that are not descended to us, for no chronicle mentions it.'—No chronicle, it is true, before the second edition of Holinshed, mentions the prophecy; and, as CHURCHILL (p. 222) points out, this incident is Holinshed's only important addition to the story.—ED.

*I ſhould not liue long after I ſaw Richmond.
Buck. My Lord.
King. I, whats a clocke?
Buck. I am thus bold to put your grace in mind
*Of what you promiſd me.
King. Wel, but whats a clocke?
Buck. Vpon the ſtroke of ten.
King. Well, let it ſtrike.
Buck. Whie let it ſtrike?
King. Becauſe that like a Iacke thou keepſt the ſtroke
*Betwixt thy begging and my meditation,

121–128. Lines end: *bold...me...ſtroke ...ſtrike?* Steev. Var.'03, '13, Sing. Ktly. *Lord ...clocke... mind ...me ...clocke? ... ten...ſtrike?* Var.'21. *clocke?...mind... clocke...ſtrike...ſtrike?* Knt, Dyce, Cam. + (subs.). *lord...clocke...mind...me... ten...ſtrike?* Coll.Wh. i, Hal. *clocke?... mind ...me...clocke? ...ſtrike. ...ſtrike?* Sta.

121. [kneels and takes Richard by the robe. Booth.

122, 125. *a clocke*] *o'clock* Theob. et seq.

125. *Wel*] Om. Pope,+.
whats] *what is't* Steev. Var. '03, '13.

129. *keepſt*] *keepeſt* Q_2Q_4.

129. **like a Iacke**] WRIGHT: The figure which in old clocks struck the hour upon the bell. Compare: 'But my time Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy, While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the clock.'—*Rich. II:* V, v, 60. Such figures were formerly to be seen at St Dunstan's church in Fleet Street. Jack o' the Clock, or clockhouse, came to be the nickname for a busybody. '*Fretillon:* m. A little nimble dwarfe, or hop-on-my-thombe; a Jacke of the Clocke-house; a little busie-bodie, meddlar, Jacke-stickler; one that hath an oare in euery man's Boat, or his hand in euery man's dish.'—*Colgrave.* [Whoso wishes may read in the *Variorum* of '21 a page made up of passages selected by Malone and Steevens, in reference to the 'Jack of the Clock.'—ED.]

129–130. **thou keepst the stroke**, etc.] Both SIR JOHN HAWKINS and VAUGHAN (iii, 103) consider explanation of this passage necessary. HAWKINS says: 'Richard resembles Buckingham to one of those automatons which struck the hours on a bell, and bids him not suspend the stroke, but strike, that the hour may be past, and himself be at liberty to pursue his meditations.' To which Vaughan replies: 'This does not explain how the striking would put Richard at leisure. I presume that the meditations enjoined by ecclesiastical authority as a part of God's service were prescribed for certain hours. The striking then would be the customary signal for Richard to begin his meditations, and we should interpret either: "because thou suspendest the stroke which must be a signal to close your begging, and be a signal to me to commence my meditations," or, "because you now, like the Jack of a clock, have the control over the striking, which striking separates the time of your begging from the time of my meditations." This last is the right interpretation, I believe.' With all respect to Hawkins and Vaughan, is any elaborate explanation of Richard's meaning necessary? Richard intends his rebuff to be

I am not in the giuing vein to day. 131
Buck. May it pleaſe you to reſolue me in my ſuit.
Rich. Thou troubleſt me, I am not in the vaine. *Exit.*
Buck. And is it thus? repayes he my deepe ſeruice
With ſuch contempt? made I him King for this? 135
O let me thinke on *Haſtings*, and be gone
To Brecnock, while my fearefull Head is on. *Exit.* 137

132. *May...ſuit*] *Why then reſolue me whether you will or no* Qq, Var. '73, '21; Knt, Coll. Dyce, Sing. Wh. i, Hal. *Why then resolve me if you will or no?* Pope, Han. *Why then resolve me whe'r you will or no?* Theob. Warb. Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Sta. Cam. +, Ktly.

133. *Thou*] *Tut, tut, thou* Qq, Sta. Reading *Tut, tut,* as sep. line, Cam.+.
vaine] *vein* Rowe et seq.

133. Exit.] Exeunt Richard, and Train. Capell. Exeunt all but Buckingham. Cam.+. Exit angerly. Coll. MS.

134. *And...thus*] *Is it euen ſo,* Q_1Q_2 Q_7Q_8. *Is it euen ſo?* Q_{3-6}, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Sta. Cam.+.
repayes] *rewardſt* Q_1. *rewards* Q_{3-8}, Cam.+.
deepe] *true* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

135. *ſuch*] *ſuch deepe* Qq, Cam.+.

137. *Brecnock*] *Brecknock* Warb.

---

as offensive as possible; Buckingham, at least, needed no elucidation of what the King meant.—ED.

133. **Thou troublest me**] RICHARDSON (p. 39): Richard's incautious behaviour after he has arisen to supreme authority appears very striking in his conduct to his accomplices. Those whom he formerly seduced, or deceived, or flattered, he treats with indifference or disrespect. He conceives himself no longer in need of their aid: he has no occasion, as he apprehends, to assume disguise. Men of high rank, who shall seem to give him advice or assistance, and so, by their influence with the multitude, reconcile them to his crimes, or bear a part of his infamy, cease to be reckoned necessary; and he has employment for none but the desperate assassin, or implicit menial. All this is illustrated in his treatment of Buckingham.—HAZLITT (*English Stage*, p. 9): When Richard says to Buckingham, 'I am not in the vein,' the expression should, we imagine, be that of stifled hatred and cold contempt, instead of sarcastic petulance [as Edmund Kean gives it].—GOULD (p. 44): We may note an apparent error in J. B. Booth's manner of replying to Buckingham's reiterated demand for the promised earldom. He says: 'Thou troublest me. I'm *not* i' the vein,' in a tone of fretful anger. The passage would seem rather to require a tone of cool and kingly slight.

134. **my deepe seruice**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 47): Here, judging from the correction in the Folio, I should suppose that there must have been some confusion in the MS from which the Quarto was printed. [See *Text. Notes.*] Shakespeare may have written 'deep' in the margin, meaning it as a substitute for *true;* and the printer may have thought that it was meant to be inserted in the next line. With printers such things are possible. But were it not that the Cambridge editors seem to have seen no objection to 'deep' where it stands in the Quarto, I should have thought it certain that no man with an ear for metrical effect ever put it there intentionally.

137. **Brecnock**] Brecknock Castle in Wales, where the Duke of Buckingham's estate lay.

[*Scene III.*]

Enter Tyrrel. 138

Tyr. The tyrannous and bloodie Act is done,
The moſt arch deed of pittious maſſacre 140
That euer yet this Land was guilty of:
Dighton and *Forreſt*, who I did ſuborne 142

SCENE III. Pope et seq.
The Same. Capell. The Ramparts of the Tower. Irving.
138. Tyrrel] Sir Francis Tirrell Qq.
139–160. Mnemonic, Pope, Warb.
139. *Act*] *deed* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
140. *arch deed*] *arch-act* $Q_{1-3}Q_5Q_6$, Sta. *arch act* Q_4, Cam. +. *arch-acts* Q_7. *arch-deed* Pope.
142. *who*] *whom* QqFf et seq.

Scene iii.] For the convenience of students who use the text of the Cambridge or subsequent editors, I have here indicated by brackets the scene (with its line numbers) as it appears in that edition.—ED.—MARSHALL: The division [of a new scene] is, here, certainly necessary. Even if we are to include the succeeding events with the foregoing, the time is different, for in l. 126 above it is morning, whereas l. 172 shows the time to be evening. It seems better to suppose an interval. [The scene between Buckingham and Richard certainly is intended to take place in the morning, but 'soon and after supper,' l. 172, might refer to almost any time after mid-day.—ED.]

139. **The tyrannous and bloodie Act**] HORN (p. 147): The only crime of Richard, which Shakespeare represents actually upon the scene, is the murder of Clarence, and that, moreover, in so impressive a manner that we seem to discern ever after, upon the forehead of Richard, the bloody mark of Cain. But great as is the horror inspired by this murder, the description of the death of the two princes awakens an emotion equally deep. Buckingham, zealous in every crime, shrank appalled at thought of such a murder; only the bloodiest of villains could be bribed to compass it; even they, after the unspeakable deed, were completely unmanned. The poet does not venture to show them to us in their hopeless remorse.—CHURCHILL (p. 204): No opportunity is lost [by Hall] to heighten the pathos [of the murder of the two princes]. They are constantly referred to as 'innocent babes,' 'sely and little babes,' 'poor lambs,' and the like; their blood cries to God for vengeance; Ely's heart sobs to think of them, Buckingham's veins pant and his body trembles. The whole impression of pathos and of horror approaches the description of the murder as given by Shakespeare, of which description it doubtless forms the germ.—SCHELLING (p. 151): 'Heywood,' says Charles Lamb, in a much-quoted passage, 'is a sort of *prose* Shakespeare. His scenes are to the full as natural and affecting. But we miss *the Poet*, that which in Shakespeare always appears out and above the surface of *the nature*.' Is it too bold to query whether the poet, in Shakespeare's Tyrrel, taken with the beauty of 'the gentle babes' more than is a murderer's wont—'their Alabaster innocent Arms,' and lips, 'four red roses on a stalk'—'appears out and above the surface of *the nature*' somewhat to that nature's detriment? [Compare Heywood, *2 Edward IV:* III, v.]

142. **Dighton and Forrest**] 'Sir James Tirel deuised that thei shold be murthered in their beddes. To the execution whereof, he appointed Miles Forest one of the foure that kept them, a felowe fleshed in murther before time. To him he

[142. Dighton and Forrest]

ioyned one John Dighton his own horsekeper, a bigbrode square strong knaue . . . . god neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnsuretie standeth this worldly wel, or what mischief worketh the prowde enterprise of an hyghe heart, or finally what wretched end ensueth such dispiteous crueltie. For first to beginne with the ministers, Miles Forest at sainct Martens pecemele rotted away. Dighton in dede yet walketh on a liue in good possibilitie to bee hanged ere he dye. But sir James Tirel dyed at Tower hill, beheaded for treason.'—*More*, pp. 130, 133. —GAIRDNER (*Eng. Historical Review*, July, 1891, p. 461): I believe nothing was known of the details, or of the instruments of the murder, until the execution of Sir James Tyrell in 1502. Men were convinced the children had been made away with, they could not tell why or by whom. But when Tyrell was condemned to death for a totally different offence, and knew that he must suffer, it was only natural that he should confess himself to a priest, to whom he revealed the full details of the story. His confession implicated only one man alive, his old servant, Dighton, and the matter being so serious, Dighton was examined about it, no doubt under a promise of pardon, considering that a knowledge of his guilt was only obtained under seal of confession from another man. This will explain the statements of Sir Thomas More, first, that Tyrell and Dighton were at that time examined and confessed the crime, and, secondly, that, of its instruments at the time he wrote, Dighton still remained alive, 'in good possibility to be hanged ere he die.' Now, if this be the way the story really came to light, Markham has no ground for his contention that, 'if the confessions had ever been made, Tyrell and Dighton must have been tried and convicted for these atrocious murders, and duly punished.' Tyrell certainly could not be tried for the murder, when he was already under sentence of death for another crime; and as for his servant Dighton, whose agency in the matter, but for his confession, would have remained still a secret, there can be very little doubt that he confessed on a promise of pardon. Tyrell's confession to the priest would certainly not have been published; and to publish Dighton's as a formal statement, would have had much the same effect. Moreover, the King's pardon could hardly have protected him from the fury of the people.—MARKHAM (p. 264): A man named Dighton was made Bailiff of the manor of Ayton (*Harl. MS* 433 fol. 55); but there is nothing to show that this appointment was after the murder, or that he was Tyrrel's horse-keeper, or that Tyrrel ever had a groom of that name . . . A John Dighton was a priest, and possibly a chaplain in the Tower. He may have been only an accessory after the fact, in connection with the interments . . . Miles Forest was a responsible old official at Barnard Castle, living with his wife and grown-up sons in the far north of England, where he died and his family received a pension for his long service. We are asked to believe that he was, at the same time, a notorious murderer who was also a jailer in the Tower, and that he died in sanctuary at St Martin's-le-Grand. How Forest's name got into the story concocted from the pretended confession it is not possible, at this distance of time, to surmise . . . There was a desire to give names and other details in order to throw an air of verisimilitude over the fable. We see the same attempt in the use of the name of Dighton. There was a John Dighton living at Calais when the story was made up, who was known to be connected in some mysterious way with the disappearance of the Princes. So the author of the story hit upon his name to do duty as a strong, square knave who did the deed. The name of neither Dighton nor Forest occurs in the authorised version as given

To do this peece of ruthfull Butchery, [5]
Albeit they were flesht Villaines, bloody Dogges, 144

143. *this*] *thir* Q_3.
peece of ruthfull] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *ruthleſſe peece of* Q_1Q_2, Sta. Cam.+ (subs.). *ruthfull piece of* Q_{3-8}. *piece of ruthless* Pope et cet.
144. *Albeit*] *Although* Qq, Cam.+.
bloody] *blooded* Coll. ii, iii (MS).

---

by Polydore Vergil. It is alleged that Tyrrel and Dighton both confessed. Yet Tyrrel was beheaded for another offence, and Dighton was rewarded with a residence at Calais. These are proofs that there was no such confession as was alleged, and was embodied in the story, which, as it now stands, must be a fabrication. For if the confessions were ever made, Tyrrel and Dighton must have been tried and convicted for these atrocious murders, and duly punished. [The above extract is considerably abridged from Markham's fifth chapter, the whole aim of which is to clear Richard of the guilt of the murder of the Princes and to fasten it upon Henry VII. The principal points in Markham's argument appeared first in the *English Hist. Review*, for April, 1891; it is to that article that Gairdner refers in the foregoing note.—ED.]

143. **peece of ruthfull Butchery**] R. G. WHITE: The Folio gives a revised version of the line [as in the later Qq], the position of the adjective having been changed. Therefore, as the form *ruthful* was retained on the revision, it should not be changed [to *ruthless*]. 'Ruthful' is elsewhere thus used by Shakespeare, and also by other authors of his time, and later: and we now say, with the same force, either a shameful deed or a shameless deed; in one instance meaning that the act causes shame in the observer—in the other, that it shows a lack of shame in the performer.

144. **flesht**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v. vb.* 1): To reward (a hawk or hound) with a portion of the flesh of the game killed, in order to excite his eagerness in the chase. Hence in wider sense, to render (an animal) eager for prey by the taste of blood. [*Ibid.* (*s. v. Fleshed* past part. act. 2 a) Inured to bloodshed, hardened. [The present line quoted.]

144. **bloody**] COLLIER (*Emend.*, p. 333): The passage is surely much improved by the trifling alteration [*blooded*, by the MS Corrector]. The two villains had been fleshed, and were like dogs that had been allowed the taste of human blood; yet they wept, like *two* children, while narrating the particulars of the murder of the princes.—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 173): If Collier can adduce any example of 'blooded' in the sense here intended to it, it will surprise me very much. All authorities I am acquainted with are against it; and I hold it to be an invention of the *ingenious* correctors, who do not hesitate at coining a word.

144. **Dogges**] TAWNEY quotes two or three passages wherein dogs are taken by Shakespeare as symbols of inhumanity and creatures lacking pity. He adds: 'Shakespeare appears to have had a low opinion of dogs.' Tawney might have easily increased his examples; but, on the other hand, Shakespeare is one of the very few dramatists who has given a prominent part to a dog in one of his plays (the only other instance I can, at present, recall is Puntarvolo's dog in Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*); whatever may have been Shakespeare's private opinion, Launce, although speaking of Crab as 'the sourest-natured dog that lives,' made of that dog a companion and confidant. It is, perhaps, not too

Melted with tenderneſſe, and milde compaſſion,
Wept like to Children, in their deaths ſad Story.
O thus (quoth *Dighton*) lay the gentle Babes:
Thus, thus (quoth *Forreſt*) girdling one another
Within their Alablaſter innocent Armes:
Their lips were foure red Roſes on a ſtalke,
And in their Summer Beauty kiſt each other.
A Booke of Prayers on their pillow lay,
Which one (quoth *Forreſt*) almoſt chang'd my minde:
But oh the Diuell, there the Villaine ſtopt:
When *Dighton* thus told on, we ſmothered
The moſt repleniſhed ſweet worke of Nature,
That from the prime Creation ere ſhe framed.

145. *Melted*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal. Rlſe. *Melting* Qq et cet.
milde] *kind* Q_{1-5}, Cam.+. Om. Q_{6-8}.
146. *to*] *two* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Wh. i, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
deaths] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *death's* Coll. Hal. *deaths'* Theob. et cet.
Story] *ſtories* Qq, Pope, Han. Cam.+.
147. *O*] *Lo*, Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
the gentle] *thoſe tender* Q_{1-5}, Sta. Cam.+. *theſe tender* Q_{6-8}.
148. *one*] *on* Q_1Q_2.
149. *Alablaſter innocent*] F_2F_3, Rowe, Cap. *innocent alablaſter* Q_{1-7}, Warb. *innocent alabaſter* Q_8, Pope, +, Sta. Cam.+. *Alabaſter innocent* F_4 et cet.
150. *were*] Om. Q_2. *like* Q_{3-8}, Sta.
151. *And*] *When* Q_{6-8}. *Which* Q_{1-5} et cet.
151. *in*] Om. F_3F_4.
151, 152. *their...Prayers*] *there... prayer* Q_7Q_8.
152. *on*] *one* Q_7.
153. *one*] *once* QqF_4 et seq.
154. *Diuell, there*] *Diuell their* Q_1. *diuel: their* Q_2. *diuel:* or *divell: there* Q_3Q_4. *divel! there* Q_{5-8}. *devil—there* Rowe et seq. (subs.)
155. *When*] *Whilſt* Qq, Cam.+, (*Whileſt* Q_2).
told on, we] Ff, Rowe. *told on we* Q_{1-6}. *told, on we* Q_7. *told, one we* Q_8. *told on: 'We* Knt, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Cam.+. *told on—we* Pope et cet.
ſmothered] *smothered there* Vaughan (iii, 106).
156. *repleniſhed*] *replenisht* Q_7Q_8.
157. *ere ſhe*] *euer he* Qq.

---

much to say that for one reader who remembers the plot of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, there are many who recall Launce and his dog with pleasure. Theseus, in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, speaks in glowing terms of his hounds bred from Spartan stock; but he speaks as a huntsman.—ED.

146. **in their deaths sad Story**] That is, *in relating*, or *hearing*, or *remembering*. This would fill out the ellipsis, and then 'in' becomes the common *in* before a verbal meaning *during* or *while*.—ED.

149. **Alablaster**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.*): From Greek *ἀλάβαστρος*, properly *ἀλάβαστος*, said to be from name of a town in Egypt. The spelling in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is almost always 'alablaster'; apparently due to a confusion with *arblaster*, a cross-bowman, also written *alablaster*.

Hence both are gone with Conſcience and Remorſe, [20]
They could not ſpeake, and ſo I left them both,
To beare this tydings to the bloody King. 160

Enter Richard.

And heere he comes. All health my Soueraigne Lord.
Ric. Kinde *Tirrell*, am I happy in thy Newes.
Tir. If to haue done the thing you gaue in charge, [25]
Be get your happineſſe, be happy then, 165
For it is done.
Rich. But did'ſt thou ſee them dead.
Tir. I did my Lord.
Rich. And buried gentle *Tirrell.*
Tir. The Chaplaine of the Tower hath buried them, 170

158. *Hence...Remorſe*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
gone...Remorſe,] *Thus...remorſe* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *gone;...remorse* Han.
160. *beare*] *bring* Qq, Cam.+.
this] *theſe* Q_{6-8}, Ff, Rowe,+, Cap. Varr. Ran.
161. Richard] *King Richard* Qq, Cam.+. (*ki.* Q_1Q_2.)
162. *comes*] *come* Q_6.
162. *health...Lord*] *haile...liege* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
163. *am*] *and* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
thy] *the* F_3F_4.
Newes.] Ff,Q_1. *newes?* Q_2 et cet.
164. *gaue*] *giue* Q_1Q_2.
166. *done.*] *done my Lord.* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

---

158. **both are gone with Conscience and Remorse**] SCHMIDT (*Note* in *Trans.*): 'Gone with,' in the sense of being *completely overcome*, occurs in another passage in Shakespeare. 'O Richard! York is too far gone with grief.'—*Rich. II:* II, i, 184. The words, 'and so I left them both,' show that this is the only meaning here applicable, provided we read with the Qq *thus*, and not with the Ff, 'hence.' [See, for this use of 'with,' ABBOTT, § 193.]

160. **this tydings**] WRIGHT: Compare: 'The tidings comes that they are all arrived.'—*King John:* IV, ii, 115; and: 'But let ill tidings tell themselves.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, II, v, 87.

163. **Tirrell . . . thy Newes**] MACREADY, in his account of his first appearance as *Richard III.*, says (p. 141): 'At the close of the compunctious soliloquy that Cibber has introduced Tyrrel enters: with all the eagerness of fevered impatience I rushed to him, inquiring of him, in short broken sentences, the children's fate; with rapid decision on the mode of disposing of them, hastily gave him his orders, and hurrying him away exclaimed with triumphant exultation: "Why then my loudest fears are hushed!" The pit rose to a man, and continued waving hats and handkerchiefs in a perfect tempest of applause for some minutes. The battle was won. The excitement of the audience was maintained at fever-heat through the remainder of the tragedy.'

164. **to haue done**] BARNARD: That is, to have the thing done (performed). 'Have' here is not auxiliary, but is equivalent to, *to possess.*

But where (to ſay the truth) I do not know. [30]
Rich. Come to me *Tirrel* ſoone, and after Supper, 172

171. *where...truth*)] *how or in what place* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
172. Rich.] Tir. Q_1Q_3.
ſoone, and] Ff, Coll. i, ii, Wh. i, Hal. *ſoone after* Q_7Q_8. *soon, soon* Rowe, +, Ran. *soon at*,— Var.'73. *ſoone at* Q_{1-6} et cet.
172. *after Supper*] *after-supper* Sta.

171. **where . . . I do not know**] SKOTTOWE (i, 198): This assertion by Tirrell displays the poet's remembrance of one passage and forgetfulness of another, in Sir Thomas More; who first narrates that Tirrell himself directed the burial of the children 'at the stayre foote, metely depe in the grounde vnder a great heape of stones.' But, it is added, they were afterwards taken up by 'a prieste of Sir Robert Brackenbury, and secretly entered in such place, as by the occasion of his deathe, whiche onely knew it, could neuer synce come to light. . . . Bothe Dighton and Tirrell confessed the murther . . . but whither the bodies were remoued thei could nothing tel.'—[pp. 131, 132.]—DIXON (i, 34): As the priest would be likely to inter the princes in consecrated ground, search was made, not only in the open graveyard near St Peter's, but within the church. To find these relics would have been to render a signal service to King Henry. No effort was spared; but fate was against the search; and as the bodies could not be found, the most cunning princes of Europe affected to believe that Perkin Warbeck, the Pretender, was King Edward's son. Two hundred years after the deed was done the mystery was cleared. In the reign of Charles the Second, when the Keep (no longer used as a royal palace) was being filled with state-papers, some workmen, in making a new staircase into the royal chapel, found under the old stone-steps, hidden close away, and covered with earth, the bones of two boys, which answered in every way to those which had been sought so long. Deep public wonder was excited; full inquiry into all the facts was made; and a report being sent to Charles that these bones were those of the murdered princes, the King gave orders for their removal to a royal sepulchre in Westminster Abbey. The bones thus found now lie in the great chapel built by Henry the Seventh, side by side with some of the most eminent of English kings.—BAYLEY (i, 63): Those who have been most forward to blacken the memory of Richard have advanced, as an additional argument against him, the discovery of some bones, resembling those of two children, at the foot of the staircase leading to the chapel in the White Tower: but, in fairness, little or no reliance should be placed on this circumstance; for so many and so contradictory are the statements respecting the burial of these young princes, that bones found at one time in an uninhabited turret were regarded as the remains of one of them; although it afterwards turned out that they were the limbs of an old ape that had clambered up there and died! It is also a very general opinion that the building called the *Bloody-Tower* received its appellation from the circumstance of the children having been *stifled* in it; and it is commonly and confidently asserted that the bones were found under a staircase there; yet both of these stories seem wholly without foundation.

172. **soone**] ARROWSMITH (*Sh.'s Editors*, p. 7): Although 'soon' in the west of England to this day signifies *evening* (Halliwell, *Dict. of Arch. and Prov. Words*), yet elsewhere, or to persons unversed in the nomenclature of the Tudor-Stewart æra, such a signification is unknown, and would be sought to as little pur-

[illegible] 173
[illegible]
[illegible] 175
[illegible] 177

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tir. I humbly take my leaue. 177
Rich. The Sonne of *Clarence* haue I pent vp cloſe,
His daughter meanly haue I matcht in marriage, 179

177, 178. Tir. *I*...Rich.] Om. Qq.
177. *my*] Om. Ff.
leaue.] *leave.* [Exit. Pope,+.
178. *pent*] *pend* Q_7Q_8. *pen'd* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Hal. Ktly.

---

supper, and therefore would hardly bid him farewell until the time when Tirrell was to be 'inheritor of his desire.'

176. **Farewell**] WINTER (*Shadows*, etc., i, 313): Chief among the beauties in Mansfield's impersonation of Richard was imagination. The attitude of the monarch toward his throne—the infernal triumph, and yet the remorseful agony and withering fear—in the moment of ghastly loneliness when he knows that the innocent princes have been murdered and that his imperial pathway is clear, made up one of the finest spectacles of dramatic illumination that the stage has afforded. You saw the murderer's hideous exultation, and then, in an instant, as the single ray of red light from the setting sun streamed through the Gothic window and fell upon his evil head, you saw him shrink in abject fear, cowering in the shadow of his throne; and the dusky room was seemingly peopled with gliding spectres. That treatment was theatrical, but in no derogatory sense theatrical—for it comports with the great speech on conscience; not the fustian of Cibber, about mutton and short-lived pleasure, but the speech that Shakespeare has put into Richard's mouth; the speech that inspired Mansfield's impersonation—the brilliant embodiment of an intellectual man, predisposed to evil, who yields to that inherent impulse, and thereafter, although intermittently convulsed with remorse, fights with tremendous energy against the goodness that he scorns and defies, till at last he dashes himself to pieces against the adamant of eternal law.

178. **The Sonne of Clarence**] See l. 64 above.

179. **His daughter meanly . . . matcht**] RITSON: To Sir Richard Pole, Knt. This Lady, at seventy years of age, without any legal process, and for no crime but her relation to the crown, was beheaded in the Tower by Henry VIII.—HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 91): It should be observed that the marriage was not so mean as the words would lead us to suppose, and as is, I believe, generally supposed by many persons who do not take their ideas of history from Shakespeare only. The mother of Sir Richard Pole was half-sister to Margaret, Countess of Richmond. . . . I do not know whether Shakespeare is right in representing the marriage of the daughter of Clarence with Sir Richard Pole as having taken place during the reign of Richard; but it was in fact a union of the houses of York and Lancaster, similar to that in the marriage of Richmond and the lady Elizabeth; . . . and, if brought about in the reign of Henry VII., probably a stroke of the same policy which gave to the new Lancastrian sovereign the heiress of the rival house. . . . Shakespeare's line has, I have no doubt, contributed much to keep out of sight the real quality and condition of the father of Cardinal Pole, whose reputation was *European*, and who was one of the most illustrious characters of the age.—BOSWELL-STONE (p. 396): Margaret Plantagenet was about twelve years of age at the time of Richard's death. . . . The dramatist has, apparently, confounded her with her first cousin. In 1485 the rumour that Richard would marry his niece was accompanied by a

The Sonnes of *Edward* ſleepe in *Abrahams* boſome, 180
And *Anne* my wife hath bid this world good night.
Now for I know the Britaine *Richmond* aymes [40]

181. *this*] *the* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+. *good night*] *godnight* Q_1Q_2.

182. *Britaine*] F_2. *Brittaine* Qq. *Brittain* F_3. *Britain* F_4. *Briton* Rowe, +. *Breton* Cap. Cam.+. *Bretagne* Var. '73 et cet.

---

report that he meant also 'to prefer the ladie Cicilie hir sister to a man found in a cloud, and of an vnknowne linage and familie.'—*Holinshed*, iii, 751.

180. **Abrahams bosome**] See *Luke xvi*, 22.—WEBB: The profanity of such a phrase in Richard's mouth heightens the horror of his catalogue of crimes. [Was it not part of Richard's scheme to 'clothe his naked villainy with odd old ends stolen forth of holy writ'?—ED.]

181. **Anne . . . hath bid this world good night**] Anne, Richard's Queen, died 16 March, 1485.—LEGGE (ii, 174): The spite of Richard's enemies was such, that reports, incredible and contradictory, were circulated in anticipation of the Queen's death, with the view of bringing suspicion to bear upon the King. It was said that he had caused a rumour to be circulated, 'but he would not have the author known,' that the Queen was dead, the object imputed to him being so to alarm the Queen that she, 'taking some conceit of this strange fame, should fall into some sudden sickness.' She was represented as passionately demanding from the King why she should die? Richard, of course, was the consummate hypocrite. He 'answered her with fair words, and with smiling and flattering leasings comforted her, bidding her to be of good cheer, for to his knowledge she should have none other cause.'—Grafton, p. 837. Defamation is commonly successful. It was so in the case of Richard III. . . . The Queen was known to be in delicate health. She had never recovered from the shock occasioned by the sudden death of her son, and was now the victim of consumption. But it was with a shock of surprise, not wholly free from suspicion, that the public heard of her death. There were not wanting those who openly attributed it to poison, and the tears which the King shed at her funeral to hypocrisy . . . . There is not the shadow of a doubt that she died a natural death, not the less deeply lamented by the King, even if for political reasons he had contemplated a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth when left a widower, as, in the previous year, the Queen's physicians had assured him that he soon must be. [Is it necessary here to call attention to Shakespeare's 'conjuring with the time,' thus affecting the duration of the action? It is scarcely more than a half hour by actual count since Catesby was bid to rumour it abroad that Anne was sick, and also to inquire out some 'mean poor gentleman' for Margaret Plantagenet, yet now, without any outside intelligence, Richard announces the death of Anne and the accomplished alliance. See Note by WHITE, l. 192.—ED.]

182. **for I know**] Compare II, ii, 100: 'For it requires the royal debt it lent you'; and see ABBOTT, § 151.

182. **the Britaine Richmond**] MALONE: He thus denominates Richmond, because after the battle of Tewksbury he had taken refuge in the court of Francis II., Duke of Bretagne, where, by the procurement of Edward IV., he was kept a long time in a kind of honourable custody. [Britaine is here unquestionably an adjec-

At yong *Elizabeth* my brothers daughter, 183
And by that knot lookes proudly on the Crowne,
To her go I, a iolly thriuing wooer. 185

Enter Ratcliffe.

Rat. My Lord.

Rich. Good or bad newes, that thou com'ſt in ſo bluntly? [45]

Rat. Bad news my Lord, *Mourton* is fled to Richmond, 190
And Buckingham backt with the hardy Welſhmen
Is in the field, and ſtill his power encreaſeth. 192

184. *on*] *ore* Qq. *o'er* Cam.+.
185. *go I*] *I go* Qq, Cam.+.
186. Ratcliffe.] Ff, Rowe. Catesby in haste. Coll. ii (MS monovolume). Catesby. Qq et cet.
187, 190. Rat.] Ff, Rowe. Cat. Qq et cet.
188. *or bad newes*] *newes or bad* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Coll. iii.
com'ſt] *comeſt* Qq.
in] Om. Q_7Q_8.
190. Mourton] *Ely* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.

---

tive. MURRAY gives four examples of this usage; but defines them all as 'Ancient British,' which, if the present passage be parallel, and I think it is, cannot be applicable. Under 3. 'Of French Bretagne; Breton,' Murray's earliest quotation is Howell's Letters, 1645. Has not the present passage, where in some texts Breton is adopted, been overlooked? Compare IV, iii, 560.—ED.]

184. **lookes . . . on the Crowne**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 64): The Folio substitutes 'on' for the Quarto *o'er*. I suppose, because the meaning was that Richmond looked *up to* the crown; and to *look o'er* did not mean to *look up to*.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 105): Surely, the Folio reading here is a weak dilution: the Quarto, on the other hand, appears to me very forcible, perfectly intelligible, and quite in accordance with Shakespeare's modes of elliptical expression. Richmond no doubt looks *up to* the crown at present, but he looks *up to* it with the aspiration to place himself *over* it, to become master of it.—TAWNEY follows the Quarto reading and thus explains it: 'That is, despises me the wearer of the crown.'

191, 192. **Buckingham . . . Is in the field**] TURNER (iii, 437): The Duke of Buckingham's discontent is popularly alleged to have arisen from Richard's refusal to grant him the Hereford estate; but both the refusal and the discontent seem to be disproved by the fact, that seven days after his coronation, Richard gave to Buckingham his letters patent, by which he willed and granted, that in the next parliament, the Duke should be legally restored, from the preceding Easter, to all the manors, lordships and lands of the Earl of Hereford, specified in the schedule. The crown could not make a fuller grant. It only wanted the parliamentary sanction. But More acknowledges, that those who were in the real secrets of that day denied these reports which we have noticed, in order to show that they are unfounded. . . . (p. 466) It is manifest that the Duke himself began the hostility. More says that he accused the king to Morton, of *delaying* this concession.

Rich. Ely with Richmond troubles me more neere,
Then Buckingham and his raſh leuied Strength. [50]
Come, I haue learn'd, that fearfull commenting 195
Is leaden ſeruitor to dull delay.
Delay leds impotent and Snaile-pac'd Beggery:
Then fierie expedition be my wing, 198

194. *raſh leuied*] *rash-levied* Pope et seq.
Strength] *armie* Qq, Pope,+ (−Var.'73), Cam.+. *arms* Anon. ap. Cam.
195. *learn'd*] *heard* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
197. *leds*] *leads* Ff et seq.
198. *be my wing*] *be my wings* Q_{3-8}.

This may be true. The official instrument, may have been yielded with a reluctance, as offensive to an haughty spirit as a denial; and the terms of this document, which left it, in fact, to a distant parliament to confirm or annul, gave no unquestionable certainty that the coveted possessions would be ultimately enjoyed. Richard . . . may have intentionally placed it in this position, as a cautionary tie upon Buckingham's stability. The Duke may have felt this; and have also considered such a provisional favour as little better than a personal refusal. But Buckingham also stated other grievances. He declared that he had been refused the High Constableship of England, which many of his predecessors had enjoyed. This office Richard chose to give to Lord Stanley, who walked in it at the coronation. He complained also that he had thought the King to be as tractable, and without cruelty, as he now found him to be the contrary. . . . To these avowed motives we may also add that both were too fond of personal state and popular admiration to be capable of acting cordially together on the high public stage of courtly life.—WESSEL (p. 28): It seems not improbable at all that Buckingham was proud and self-conceited enough to think of getting the crown himself, but that when he arrived at Brecknock, and when Bishop Morton began working upon his conscience, and represented to him that he could atone for his crimes by helping to put upon the throne the only rightful heir existing, namely, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., he consented to do all in his power to bring this about through her union with Henry of Richmond.—BOSWELL-STONE (p. 401): The rebellion of Buckingham and his adherents began on October 18, 1483. This is the date given in the attainder of Buckingham and his confederates in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, vi, 245. But Norfolk, writing from London on 10 October, 1483, tells John Paston: 'that the Kentysshmen be up in the weld, and sey that they wol come and robbe the cite, which I shall lett yf I may.'—*Paston Letters*, iii, 308.

192. **Is in the field**] R. G. WHITE (ed. ii): Events are hurried, or rather huddled, upon each other: it was only at the end of the last scene that Buckingham saw that he must leave Richard for his own safety. The purpose of the dramatist was only to get a recital of the events to the ears of the audience.

193. **more neere**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* 12. *b*): *To come* or *go near to*, to touch closely. 1600 Holland, *Livy*, xlii, xiv, 1123: 'In this last speech he came neere unto the LL of the Senat, and touched them to the quick.'

195, 196. **fearfull commenting Is leaden seruitor**] JOHNSON: that is, timorous thought and cautious disquisition are the dull attendants on delay.

198. **expedition**] WARBURTON: 'Expedition' is here characterized in a very

Ioues Mercury, and Herald for a King: [55]
Go muſter men: My counſaile is my Sheeld, 200
We muſt be breefe, when Traitors braue the Field.
Exeunt. 202

Scena Tertia. [*Scene IV.*]

Enter old Queene Margaret. 2

199. *Ioues Mercury, and Herald*] *Jove's Mercury's an herald* Theob. conj. (Nichols, Lit. Hist. ii, 456).
Ioues] *Loue*, Q_4.
200. *Go*] *Come* Qq, Cam.+.
1. Scena Tertia.] Scene continued. Qq. SCENE IV. Pope et seq. The Same. Before the Palace. Capell. Tower Hill. Irving.
2. old] Om. Rowe et seq.
old...Margaret.] Queene Margaret ſola. Qq.

sublime manner. Which, in simple phrase, says no more than that *expedition is the soul of all great undertakings*. Homer never taught an useful truth more nobly. —HUDSON: The text is made somewhat obscure by the omission of the relative; the sense being: Expedition *who is* Jove's Mercury, and *so is* a king's *proper* herald.

2. **old Queene Margaret**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 98): There is, I believe, no historical evidence, and the taste might be questioned which led to the introduction of Queen Margaret in this play. [See *Dram. Person.*, *Margaret.*] Yet there is something striking in a scene in which three illustrious ladies meet together, each of whom has such a tale to tell of husbands, children, brothers, killed in York and Lancaster's long jars. In the hands of *very skilful actors* the scene might be made effective. We have no directions for 'old Queen Margaret' . . . speaking *aside*, but it is plain that her three first speeches are uttered aside, nor does she join the others till they sit upon the ground. Shakespeare was aware of the effect of this. Constance assumes this attitude; and in *Rich. II.* we have: 'For God's sake let us sit upon the ground,' III, ii, 155.—DOWDEN (*Sh. his Mind*, etc., p. 181): There is a Blake-like terror and beauty in the scene in which the three women seat themselves upon the ground in their desolation and despair, and cry aloud in utter anguish of spirit. . . . Misery has made them indifferent to all ceremony of queenship, and for a time to their private differences; they are seated, a rigid yet tumultuously passionate group, in the majesty of mere womanhood and supreme calamity. Readers acquainted with Blake's illustrations to the book of Job will remember what effects, sublime and appalling, the artist produces by animating a group of figures with one common passion, which spontaneously produces in each individual the same extravagant movement of head and limbs.—WORDSWORTH (*Hist. Plays*, iii, p. 334): This appalling scene, and especially the speeches of Queen Margaret, may be regarded as introduced to afford a *kind of relief* to the reader's mind in contemplating the crimes of Richard. To read such language creates a diversion from the unparalleled horror which those crimes excite, being itself scarcely less horrible.—CHURCHILL (p. 335): At the moment of success, when all seems sure, trouble comes. Richard must take the field to defend what he has won. There follows the comment of Fate, from

Mar. So now proſperity begins to mellow,
And drop into the rotten mouth of death:
Heere in theſe Confines ſlily haue I lurkt,
To watch the waining of mine enemies.
A dire induction, am I witneſſe to,
And will to France, hoping the conſequence
Will proue as bitter, blacke, and Tragicall.
Withdraw thee wretched *Margaret*, who comes heere?

Enter Dutcheſſe and Queene.

5. *ſlily*] *ſlie* Q_1.
6. *waining*] *wayning* Q_6. *waning* Mal. et seq.
enemies] *aduerſaries* Qq, Cam.+.
7. *to*] *too* $Q_3Q_4Q_5$.
9. *bitter, blacke*] *bitter-black* Walker (*Crit.* i, 37).
11. Enter ... Queene.] Enter the Queene, and the Dutcheſſe of Yorke. Qq, Pope,+. (Qu. Q_1Q_2.) Enter the Queen, hastily; Dutchess of York following her. Capell, Var. '78, '85, Mal.

---

the lips of the figure in whom Shakespeare personified his Nemesis. It is Polydore Vergil's conception and not More's. Not till later in the play appears the mental anguish on which More lays all the stress. And even then, when Shakespeare reveals that the completion and perfection of the work of Nemesis lies not in Richard's external losses, but in Richard's own tortured soul, he adopts a view which is Vergil's as well as More's, and one which Vergil insists upon most strongly in connection with that very dream wherein, in Shakespeare, Richard recognises the affliction of his coward conscience. Thus, while on More, as every one has noticed, depends almost the whole material fabric of Shakespeare's play, as nobody seems to have noticed, the ideal fabric depends on Polydore Vergil.—SCHELLING (p. 93): The likeness of *Richard III.* to Marlowe's work in plan and conception ... is seen in a certain fixity of character, a coarseness of stroke, violence of speech and deed, and to a lyricism which convert whole scenes into the expression of a single emotion. Such are the recurrent soliloquies of Richard, and such is the all but purely lyrical scene in which the Queens Margaret and Elizabeth and the Duchess of York, three wretched women bereft of husband and child, oblivious of former rivalry and recrimination, sit on the ground in complete abandonment to sorrow and give themselves up to an almost choric expression of hopeless woe. It would be difficult to find in the whole range of the English drama a scene reproducing so completely the nature and the function of Greek choric ode.

3, 4. **So now prosperity ... the rotten mouth of death**] STEEVENS: Compare: '—now is his fate grown mellow Instant to fall into the rotten jaws Of chap-fall'n death.'—Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, 1602.—MALONE: *Richard III.* was printed in 1597, and therefore Marston must have copied from it.

7. **induction**] Compare I, i, 37.

11. **Enter Dutchesse**] MOULTON (p. 112): Probabilities are forced to bring in Queen Margaret, the head and sole rallying-point of the ruined Lancastrians: when the two aged women are confronted, the whole civil war is epitomised. It is hardly necessary to point out that this enveloping action is itself a Nemesis action.

Qu. Ah my poore Princes! ah my tender Babes:
My vnblowed Flowres, new appearing ſweets:
If yet your gentle ſoules flye in the Ayre,
And be not fixt in doome perpetuall,
Houer about me with your ayery wings,
And heare your mothers Lamentation.
Mar. Houer about her, ſay that right for right
Hath dim'd your Infant morne, to Aged night.

12. *poore*] *young* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *yong* Q_{3-8}.
Princes] *Princeſs* F_4.
13. *vnblowed*] *vnblowne* QqF_2. *unblown* F_3F_4 et seq.
Flowres] *flower* Q_{6-8}. *flowers* F_3F_4 et cet.
13. *new appearing*] *new-appearing* Pope et seq.
ſweets] *ſweet* Q_8.
16. *about*] *aboue* Q_{6-8}.
17. *heare*] *here* F_4.
Lamentation] *lamentations* Q_7Q_8.
18. *right ... right*] *wrong ... wrong* Warb.

All the rising and falling, the suffering and retaliation, that we actually see going on between the different sections of the Yorkist house, constitute a detail in a wider retribution: the presence of the Duchess gives to the incidents a unity, Queen Margaret's function is to point out that this unity of woe is only the Nemesis falling on the House of York for their wrongs to the House of Lancaster.

14, 15. **gentle soules . . . doome perpetuall**] ABBOTT (§ 419): The difference between a mere epithet *before* the noun, and an additional statement conveyed by an adjective *after* the noun, is illustrated by these lines. Compare: 'With eyes severe and beard of formal cut.'—*As You Like It*, II, vii, 155.

18, 19. **Houer about her . . . Aged night**] ABBOTT (§ 515): Rhyme was sometimes used to mark an *aside*, which otherwise the audience might have great difficulty in knowing to be an *aside*. Thus, in a scene where there are no other rhyming lines, Margaret is evidently intended to utter ll 18, 19, 23, 24 as *asides*, though there is no notice of it. One of the lines, 27, even rhymes with the line of another speaker. Margaret does not show herself till l. 38, as also in I, iii, until l. 167, though in the latter scene the *asides* do not rhyme. [Has not ABBOTT overlooked the rhyming couplets 174–179, 206, 207, in this present scene?—ED.]

18. **right for right**] JOHNSON: This is one of those conceits which our author may be suspected of loving better than propriety. 'Right for right' is *justice answering to the claims of justice*. Compare: 'Where 't should be branded if that right were right.'—l. 146 below.—MALONE: In I, iii, Margaret was reproached with the murder of young Rutland, and the death of her husband and son were imputed to the divine vengeance roused by that wicked act: 'So just is God to right the innocent.' Margaret now perhaps means to say, The right of me an injured mother, whose son was slain at Tewksbury, has now operated as powerfully as that right which the death of Rutland gave you to divine justice, and has destroyed your children in their turn.

19. **Infant morne . . . Aged night**] TAWNEY: Perhaps the meaning is: 'Death which comes to most human beings in old age, has fallen upon them in childhood.'

Dut. So many miſeries haue craz'd my voyce,
That my woe-wearied tongue is ſtill and mute.
Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?
Mar. Plantagenet doth quit *Plantagenet*,
Edward for *Edward*, payes a dying debt.
Qu. Wilt thou, O God, flye from ſuch gentle Lambs,
And throw them in the intrailes of the Wolfe?
When didſt thou ſleepe, when ſuch a deed was done?
Mar. When holy *Harry* dyed, and my ſweet Sonne.
Dut Dead life, blind ſight, poore mortall liuing ghoſt,
Woes Scene, Worlds ſhame, Graues due, by life vſurpt,
Breefe abſtract and record of tedious dayes,
Reſt thy vnreſt on Englands lawfull earth,

20–22. In Qq, these lines follow line 37.
20. *haue*] *hath* Q_5.
21. *tongue*] *toong* Q_5.
ſtill and mute] *mute and dumbe* Qq, Cam.+.
23, 24. Om. Qq.
27. *When didſt*] *Why didſt* Ff,+ (–Theob.), Cap. Varr. Ran.
when ſuch] *while ſuch* Lettsom ap. Dyce ii.
28. Harry] *Mary* $Q_{3,4}$. Henry Ff.+, Sta. Ktly.
28. *ſweet*] *ſweet* F_2.
29–33. In margin, Pope, Han.
29. *Dead...ſight*] *Blind ſight, dead life* Qq, Sta. Cam.–.
mortall liuing] *mortal-living* Vaughan (iii, 108).
30. *due, by*] *due by* Qq.
31. *Breefe...dayes*] Om. Qq.
32. *thy*] *they* Q_5 *their* $Q_{3,4}$.
[sitting down on it. Capell et seq. (subs.)

20. **craz'd**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 4. *fig.* To destroy the soundness of, impair, ruin; to ruin financially, render bankrupt. [Compare, perhaps, 'care-cras'd,' III, vii, 193.]

21. **still and mute**] WRIGHT: If Shakespeare's pen produced either [this or the Quarto reading], it might be worth while to enquire why one was substituted for the other. [Is not the reading of the Folio to be preferred? the tongue was *quiet*, and the voice was *dumb*.—ED.]

23. **quit**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* II, ii, *c*): To be return or equivalent for, to balance; especially in phrase, *to quit* (*the*) *cost*.

27. **When didst thou sleepe**] MALONE: The editor of F_2 changed 'When' to *Why*, though Margaret's answer evidently refers to the word found in the original copy.—STEEVENS: I am not quite certain of the authenticity of this reading. The reply of Margaret might have been designed as an interogatory echo to the last words of the Queen.—M. MASON: This appears to be the true reading, as Margaret's next speech is an answer to that question that was not addressed to her.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: This near repetition of the word 'when' gives an effect of impatient sorrow to the Queen's speech, in consonance with the sense which it bore as an exclamation of impatience in Shakespeare's time.

31. **record**] For change of accent in this word, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 133.

32. **Rest thy vnrest**] DELIUS: Compare: 'But let her rest in her unrest awhile.' —*Tit. And.*, IV, ii 31.

Vnlawfully made drunke with innocent blood.
Qu. Ah that thou would'ſt aſſoone affoord a Graue,
As thou canſt yeeld a melancholly ſeate:
Then would I hide my bones, not reſt them heere,
Ah who hath any cauſe to mourne but wee?
Mar. If ancient ſorrow be moſt reuerent,
Giue mine the benefit of ſigneurie,
And let my greefes frowne on the vpper hand
If ſorrow can admit Society.
Tell ouer your woes againe by viewing mine.
I had an *Edward*, till a *Richard* kill'd him:
I had a Husband, till a *Richard* kill'd him:

33. *Vnlawfully*] *Vnlawfull* Q_6Q_7.
innocent] *innocents* Qq. *innocents'* Cam.+.
34. *Ah*] *O* Qq, Cam.+.
aſſoone] F_2. *aſwel* Q_1Q_2. *as well* Q_{3-8}, Cam.+. *as ſoon* F_3F_4 et cet.
[Throwing herself down upon the ground. Hanmer.
37. *Ah...wee*] *O...I* Qq, Cam.+.
[sitting down by her. Var.'73 et seq.
38. *ancient*] *auncient* Q_2Q_3. *any ancient* Pope.
ſorrow] Om. F_4.
reuerent] *reverend* Cam.+.
39. *ſigneurie*] Ff. *ſignorie* Q_{6-8} (subs.). *seigneurie* Rowe i. *seniority* Pope, Han. *seniory* Cam.+. *ſignorie* Qq et cet. (subs.)
40. *greefes*] *woes* Qq, Cam.+.
40, 41. *hand If...Society.*] Ff. *hand, If...ſocietie*, Qq. *hand, If... society.* Rowe, Pope, Han. *hand. If...society*, Theob. et cet.
40. [joining, and taking Seat between them. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
Tell...mine.] Qq. Om. F_1Ff, Rowe, Pope, Ktly.
**ouer*] *o'er* Theob. et seq.
43. *had a*] *had an* F_4.
Husband] *Richard* Qq. *Henry* Cap. conj. Ran. Sta. *Harry* Cam.+.
Richard] *Ricard* Q_1.

39. **ſigneurie**] That is, *seniority*.

40. **let my greefes frowne on the vpper hand**] MALONE: Compare: 'By this starts Collatine as from a dream, And bids Lucretius give his sorrow place.'—*Rape of Luc.*, 1772.

43. **I had a Husband**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 26): Here the Quarto is undoubtedly wrong. For it is Margaret that speaks. The obvious error might have suggested the Folio correction to anybody.... I suspect, however, that it was Shakespeare's own mistake, and I doubt whether it was his own correction. The line was evidently meant to correspond in form with the next but one: 'Thou hadst a Richard,' etc., and no word but 'Richard' will give the proper effect. Here, therefore, I admit that we have reason to suspect the intrusion of a non-Shakespearean hand.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 94): As Spedding justly observes, the force of the whole passage is spoiled by changing *Richard* into any other word.... But has he fully considered the consequences, upon this admission, on his own theory? There can be little doubt that Shakespeare wrote *Richard;* it is, so to speak, one of those ten-barred gates which he takes with such splendid audacity and imperturbable *sang-froid*. But if, like Spedding, I supposed that

Thou had'ſt an *Edward*, till a *Richard* kill'd him:
Thou had'ſt a *Richard*, till a *Richard* kill'd him.
Dut. I had a *Richard* too, and thou did'ſt kill him;
I had a *Rutland* too, thou hop'ſt to kill him.
Mar. Thou had'ſt a *Clarence* too,
And *Richard* kill'd him.
From forth the kennell of thy wombe hath crept
A Hell-hound that doth hunt vs all to death:
That Dogge, that had his teeth before his eyes,
To worry Lambes, and lap their gentle blood:
That foule defacer of Gods handy worke:
That reignes in gauled eyes of weeping ſoules:
That excellent grand Tyrant of the earth,

46, 47. *too*] *to* Q_1.
46. *did'ſt*] *diſt* Q_2.
47. *thou hop'ſt*] *thou hopſt* Q_1Q_2. *and thou holpſt* Q_{3-8}. *thou holp'ſt* Ff et seq.
48, 49. *Thou...him*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
49. *And*] *till* Q_{2-8}, Sta.
53. *blood*] *bloods* Qq (*blouds* Q_1Q_2).
55, 56. *That...ſoules: That...earth*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Hal. Om. Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Lines transposed, Cap. et cet.

Shakespeare had revised his play with the most minute and even pedantic care, I should hold it a thing incredible that he would allow this gross inaccuracy to stand.

50. **From forth the kennell**] ROLFE: Apparently an allusion to the myth of Scylla. [It is impossible to say that there is not here this allusion, but if it be, is it not also combined with an allusion to the fact set forth in the lines in the old play, *The Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, upon which *3 Henry VI.* was founded? '—the midwife cride O Jesus blesse vs, he is borne with teeth. And so I was indeed, which plainelie signifide That I should snarle and bite, and plaie the dogge.'—V, vi, 63 ed. Cam. These lines with but slight change appear in *3 Hen. VI:* V, vi, 72; and Margaret, in the present scene, l. 52, refers to this fact in regard to Richard's birth.—ED.]

52. **Dogge . . . his teeth before his eyes**] The foregoing note on l. 50 seems an adequate explanation of this allusion; DELIUS, however, considers that Margaret refers to the fact that the *child* does not see until after birth and normally gets its teeth much later.

54. **handy worke**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 1. Work of the hands; a thing or collection of things made by the hands of any one. From Old English *handgeweorc*. As *geweorc*, *iwork* did not survive in Middle English, *hand-iwerc* was naturally analysed as a compound of the simple *werc*, with *handi*, often written separately and treated as an adjective.

55, 56. **That reignes . . . the earth**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 26): [The reversal of these two lines, inserted in the Folio], might easily have occurred from printing from an interlined manuscript, and cannot be presumed to have been intentional.

55. **reignes**] Is there, perchance, here a play on the words *rains* and 'weeping'? —ED.

Thy wombe let looſe to chaſe vs to our graues.
O vpright, iuſt, and true-diſpoſing God,
How do I thanke thee, that this carnall Curre
Prayes on the iſſue of his Mothers body,
And makes her Pue-fellow with others mone.
Dut. Oh *Harries* wife, triumph not in my woes:
God witneſſe with me, I haue wept for thine.
Mar. Beare with me: I am hungry for reuenge,
And now I cloy me with beholding it.
Thy *Edward* he is dead, that kill'd my *Edward*,

57. *chaſe*] *chafe* Q_8.
58. *true-diſpoſing*] *true diſpoſing* Qq F_3F_4.
59. *that*] *for* Q_7Q_8.
61. *And...mone.*] Om. Pope, Han.
makes] *make* Q_7Q_8.
Pue-fellow] *puefellow* Q_1Q_2. *pew-fellow* Q_8. *pew-fellow* Steev. et seq.
61. *mone*] *moan* F_4 et seq.
62. Harries] *Harry's* Rowe et seq.
wife] *wifes* Q_1.
63. *thine*] *thee* Q_{2-8}.
66. *kill'd*] *ſtabd* Qq. *ſtabb'd* Sta. Cam.+.

55. **gauled]** Compare: 'Ere yet the salt of most unrighteous tears Had left the flushing in her galled eyes.'

56. **excellent]** BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 1 *b*) gives several examples of 'excellent' used in a 'bad or neutral sense'; among them the two following from Shakespeare: 'A very excellent piece of villany.'—*Tit. And.*, II, iii, 7; 'This is the excellent foppery of the world.'—*Lear*, I, ii, 128.

58, 59. **O vpright . . . God, How do I thanke thee]** Compare: 'O wise young Judge, how do I honour thee!'—*Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 224 (Folio).

59. **carnall]** MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 6) quotes the present line as the only example of 'carnal' used in this figurative sense of *bloody, murderous*.

61. **Pue-fellow]** MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. pew-fellow*): One who has a seat in the same pew; a fellow worshipper; one of the same persuasion or sect; a companion; an associate.—BIRCH (p. 207): The mention of God is accompanied by the usual satire upon it in the mouth of Queen Elizabeth, and by renewed invective in that of Queen Margaret. Margaret, however, thanks God for having revenged her on her enemies—as if resort was made to a pew in a church, to utter cries of anguish, to ask for vengeance on each other, and record their thanks for its receipt. [BIRCH assures us, in his preface, that: '—he wishes to be considered merely as an enquirer, not as a censor. He desires not to judge Shakespeare for his sentiments, but only to exhibit them. This, he trusts, he has done truly and impartially, without levity on the one side or bigotry on the other.' Are neither bigotry, nor a certain levity, entirely absent in the above note?—ED.]

62. **triumph]** Here accented, for the sake of the metre and for this alone, 'triúmph'; compare III, iv, 100; or see WALKER, *Crit.*, iii, 174.

64. **Beare with me]** WARNER (*Eng. Hist. in Sh.*, p. 239): Thus cries Margaret, not only to Elizabeth, but down the centuries it is her frank appeal to the judgement of history. There are few instances of a passion more detestable in the heart of one more excusable for nursing it.

The other *Edward* dead, to quit my *Edward:*
Yong Yorke, he is but boote, becauſe both they
Matcht not the high perfection of my loſſe.
Thy *Clarence* he is dead, that ſtab'd my *Edward,*
And the beholders of this franticke play,
Th'adulterate *Haſtings, Riuers, Vaughan, Gray,*
Vntimely ſmother'd in their dusky Graues.

67. *The*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Knt. *Thy* Qq et cet.
quit] *quite* Q_6.
69. *Matcht*] F_2. *Match'd* F_3F_4, Rowe, Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *Match* Qq et cet.
70. *ſtab'd*] *kild* Qq. *kill'd* Sta. Cam.+.
71. *franticke*] *tragicke* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
play] *scene* Cap. conj.
72. *adulterate*] *adulterer* Warb.
Vaughan] *Vaugham* Q_5.

67. **The other Edward dead, to quit my Edward]** VAUGHAN (iii, 110): It is clear that Margaret needed revenge both for her son and her husband, both for Edward (Rutland) and Henry, his father. As the passage stands, although she expressly says that she is 'cloyed with beholding her revenge,' yet her revenge ought not moderately to be even satisfied, for it discloses no revenge for her *Henry*, while it reveals triple revenge for Edward. The same omission, therefore, of *Henry* which in l. 43 spoiled and falsified her account of her loss, is here, in truth, continued to mar and falsify her story of her satisfied revenge, and needs precisely the same remedy, that is, the substitution of his name. I would read: 'Thy other Edward dead to quit my *Henry*.' [Before considering the necessity of the change from 'Edward' to *Henry*, suggested by VAUGHAN, it may be worthy of notice that one or two slight historic details seem to have been forgotten. Rutland, whose name, by the way, was *Edmund*, not Edward, was not the son of Henry VI., but of Richard Plantaganet, Duke of York; he was elder brother to Gloucester and Clarence; he was not killed by Edward IV., but by Clifford. Vaughan has apparently confused him with Edward, Prince of Wales, the son of Henry VI. As regards Vaughan's proposed change, Margaret says, in effect: thy Edward, *i. e.*, Edward IV., who killed my son Edward, is dead; the other Edward, your son, is dead to balance the death of my Edward; young York's death barely counts, because both Edward IV. and Edward V. will not even make up for my one son. If now we change 'Edward' at the end of l. 67 to *Henry*, wherein lies the force of Margaret's remark that young York 'is but boot'?—ED.]

68. **boote]** MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 1): 2. That which is 'thrown in,' or given in addition, to make up a deficiency of value; a premium, compensation, odds.

71. **beholders of this . . . play]** That is, the murder of Edward, Prince of Wales; but here, as in I, iii, 220, Margaret accuses Rivers of having been a witness, and Hall does not give his name among the bystanders. In the former scene Margaret also mentions Dorset instead, as here, of his brother Grey, but at the time of the present scene Dorset has escaped to France. Shakespeare, possibly, did not turn back to see what he had formerly written; it is equally possible that he relied on the fact that an audience's memory for the names of characters no longer on the scene is not very tenacious.—ED.

73. **Vntimely smother'd]** TAWNEY: The idea seems to be that the fiery

Richard yet liues, Hels blacke Intelligencer,
Onely reſeru'd their Factor, to buy ſoules,
And ſend them thither : But at hand, at hand
Inſues his pittious and vnpittied end.
Earth gapes, Hell burnes, Fiends roare, Saints pray,
To haue him ſodainly conuey'd from hence :
Cancell his bond of life, deere God I pray,
That I may liue and ſay, The Dogge is dead.

74. *Intelligencer*] *intelligence* Walker (*Crit.*, ii, 56).
75. *their*] *the* Han.
Factor,] *factor* Qq.
76. *them thither*] *then thither* F_2. *then hither* F_3.
at hand, at hand] *at hand at handes* Q_1. *at hand*, Q_7Q_8.
78. *Hell burnes*] *hell burns, heaven weeps* Walker (*Crit.*, ii, 15). *heaven lowers, hell burns* Seymour (i, 387).
Hell] *Hels* Q_6.
roare,] *roar for him* Cap.
78. *Saints*] *and saints* Wordsworth.
pray,] *pray for vengeance* Pope, + (– Var. '73).
79. *To...hence*] Om. Pope (– Var. '73).
conuey'd from hence] *conueyed away* Qq. *convey'd away* Cam.+. *conveyed hence* (and inverting ll. 79, 80) Seymour (i, 387).
80. *bond*] *bonds* Q_7Q_8.
I pray] *I plead* Daniel.
81. *and*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i. *to* Qq et cet.

energy of these men was prematurely stifled by their being buried in the earth. [SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v. adverb* 2) gives several examples wherein 'untimely' is 'especially used of a violent death,' the present line among them.—ED.]

74–76. **Intelligencer, . . . reseru'd . . . to buy soules, And send them**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 93): The meaning of this would be more clear were a different punctuation adopted, thus: 'hell's black intelligencer; Only reserved, their factor to buy souls And send them thither.' Richard is first the intelligencer for the fiends below, a character odious and infamous. He is reserved, not yet taken to the place to which Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey are gone; and reserved only for this purpose, that he may act for the fiends (as a factor for a merchant), *buy* souls, corrupt those who but for him would be fit for another place, and *send them thither*.

74. **Intelligencer**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): One who conveys intelligence or information. One employed to obtain secret information, an informer, a spy, a secret agent.

75. **their**] Many other examples of the plural pronoun, used in reference to both heaven and hell, will, doubtless, suggest themselves to every reader of the older dramatists.

79. **from hence**] The Folio change here seems an improvement on the *away* of the Qq. Triplets are not common in Shakespeare's verse; besides the cæsura in l. 81 falling at 'say ' gives almost the impression of a fourth rhyme.—ED.

80. **Cancell his bond of life**] The lines: 'Cancel and tear to pieces that great bond which keeps me pale.'—*Macbeth*, III, ii, 49, 50, will, of course, occur to every reader. ROLFE compares also: 'If you will take this audit take this life, And cancel these cold bonds.'—*Cymb.*, V, iv, 27.—ED.

81. **The Dogge is dead**] MRS JAMESON (ii, 259): She should have stopped

Qu. O thou did'ſt propheſie, the time would come,
That I ſhould wiſh for thee to helpe me curſe
That bottel'd Spider, that foule bunch-back'd Toad.
Mar. I call'd thee then, vaine flouriſh of my fortune:
I call'd thee then, poore Shadow, painted Queen,
The preſentation of but what I was;
The flattering Index of a direfull Pageant;
One heau'd a high, to be hurl'd downe below:

82. *did'ſt*] *dids* Q_4.
84. *bottel'd*] *bloated* Grey (ii, 63). *bottled* Var. '73 et seq. *bottle-* Coll. MS. *bunch-back'd*] *bunch-backt* Q_1. *hunch-backt* Q_{2-8}. *hunch-back'd* Pope.
85, 86. *call'd*] *call* Q_7.
87. *preſentation*] *repreſentation* F_3F_4, Rowe.
88. *Pageant*] *page* Warb. Johns.
89. *heau'd*] *heaued* Q_1Q_2.
a high] *on high* Pope, +. *o' high* Coll. Wh. i. *a-high* Dyce, Huds. Sta. Cam. +. *a' high* Hal. Ktly.

here; but the effect thus powerfully excited is marred and weakened by so much superfluous rhetoric that we are tempted to exclaim with the old Duchess of York: 'Why should calamity be full of words?' [Shakespeare was, doubtless, fully aware of the superfluity; the line quoted by the admirable critic shows, I think, Shakespeare's consciousness of this defect.—ED.]

82. **thou did'st prophesie**] See I, iii, 256.

84. **bottel'd Spider**] See I, iii, 254.

87. **presentation**] WRIGHT: That is, the mere semblance without the reality.

87. **of but what I was**] MARSHALL conjectures that we should here read: '*but of* what I was'; but does not Margaret mean that Elizabeth is only the semblance of what she, Margaret, is alone—the rightful queen? Marshall's suggested inversion makes Margaret speak of Elizabeth as the semblance of what Margaret formerly was—a queen surrounded by friends. In I, iii, 214, 215, Margaret expresses the hope that Elizabeth may live to see another 'decked in thy rights as thou art stalled in mine.' It is to this, I think, that she here refers.—ED.

88. **Index of a direfull Pageant**] STEEVENS: 'Pageants' are *dumb-shows*, and the poet meant to allude to one of these, the index of which promised a happier conclusion. The pageants then displayed on public occasions were generally preceded by a brief account of the order in which the characters were to walk. These indexes were distributed among the spectators, that they might understand the meaning of such allegorical stuff as was usually exhibited.—WRIGHT: This explanation given by Steevens receives some support from Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, III, iii, in which, before the performance of *The Masque of Melancholy*, Corax hands Palador a paper which explains the dumb-show: 'Pray, my lord, Hold, and observe the plot: 'tis there express'd In kind, what shall be now expressed in action.' For 'Index' used in the sense of prologue or introduction, see II, ii, 156. [For a history of the word 'pageant' see MURRAY, *N. E. D. s. v.* 6 *b. Note.*]

89-94. **One heau'd a high . . . onely to fill the Scene**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 26): I should certainly prefer the Quarto reading of this passage to the Folio. But I should prefer the following to either, and I cannot but think that it was the one intended: 'One heaved ahigh, to be hurled down below:

A Mother onely mockt with two faire Babes;
A dreame of what thou waſt, a gariſh Flagge
To be the ayme of euery dangerous Shot;
A ſigne of Dignity, a Breath, a Bubble;
A Queene in ieaſt, onely to fill the Scene.

90. *onely mockt*] *onelie, mockt* Q_{1-7}.
faire] *ſweete* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

91–93. *A dreame...a gariſh Flagge To be...Shot; A ſigne...a Bubble*] *A dreame of which thou wert, a breath, a bubble, A ſigne...a gariſh flagge, To be...ſhot,* Qq. (*wert* Q_1Q_2.) *A dream...a bubble, A ſigne...a garish flag, To be...shot.* Sta. *A dream of what thou wert, ...a bubble, A sign...a garish flag To be...shot* Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

A sign of dignity, a garish flag, To be the aim of every dangerous shot: A mother only mocked with two fair babes; A dream of what thou wast, a breath, a bubble, A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.' Perhaps it would be better still to make l. 94 change places with l. 93. But, at any rate, I am clear that the 'sign of dignity' and the 'garish flag' were not meant to be separated. Here, therefore, we have evidence of an intentional alteration of some kind; and if the reading of F_1 represents the intention of the alterer, I admit a difficulty in imputing it to Shakespeare. But if, on the other hand, his intention was misunderstood by the printer or transcriber, and he meant only that the lines which stand second and third should come after those which stand fourth and fifth, I should say that the alteration was judicious.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 95): I do not see any reason to suppose that the corrector, whoever he was, intended any change in the arrangement of these lines. I think that the reading of F_1 is due merely to a blunder of the printer, whose eye caught the last half of the following line instead of that of the line which he was composing—a sufficiently common mistake. I dissent, however, from Spedding's opinion respecting the most judicious arrangement of the lines. Would not the canons of criticism pronounce that the line which stands third in the Qq *ought* to come last? 'A dream of what thou wert, a breath, a bubble.' Surely anything which follows 'a breath, a bubble,' must be of the nature of an anti-climax.

90. **mockt with two faire Babes**] That is, a mother only deceived *in thinking* that she has two fair babes. Compare: 'O my most gracious lord I hope you will not mock me with a husband. *Duke.* It is your husband mocked you with a husband.'—*Meas. for Meas.*, V, i, 421.

91. **A dreame of what thou wast, a garish Flagge**] Though it does not become me to dissent from many of my betters, I cannot persuade myself that the Folio arrangement of this line and the next is not to be preferred to that of the Qq. The 'garish Flag' seems to be in apposition to the 'dream.' In what way can a garish flag refer to her present deplorable state? In times past she was, indeed, so brilliant an apparition that she might well be the aim of all the dangerous shots of envy—but is she so now? Assuredly her present state could not be compared to that of the prominent position of a standard bearer.—ED.

91. **garish**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 1): Of dress, ornament, ceremonial, etc.: Obtrusively or vulgarly bright in colour, showy, gaudy. (The early spellings *gaurish, gawrish*, suggest derivation from *gaure*, to stare.)

Where is thy Husband now? Where be thy Brothers?
Where be thy two Sonnes? Wherein doſt thou Ioy?
Who ſues, and kneeles, and ſayes, God ſaue the Queene?
Where be the bending Peeres that flattered thee?
Where be the thronging Troopes that followed thee?
Decline all this, and ſee what now thou art.
For happy Wife, a moſt diſtreſſed Widdow:
For ioyfull Mother, one that wailes the name:
For one being ſued too, one that humbly ſues:
For Queene, a very Caytiffe, crown'd with care:
For ſhe that ſcorn'd at me, now ſcorn'd of me:
For ſhe being feared of all, now fearing one:
For ſhe commanding all, obey'd of none.
Thus hath the courſe of Iuſtice whirl'd about,

96. *be*] *are* Q_1Q_2, Cam. +.
two Sonnes] *children* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam.+.
97. *and kneeles, and ſayes*] *to thee, and cries* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
98. *flattered*] *flatter'd* Pope, +.
99. *followed*] *follow'd* Pope, +.
103, 104. *For one being...For Queene*] Lines transposed, Qq, Cap. Sta. Cam.+.
103. *humbly*] *humble* Q_7.
105–107. *For...me: For...one: For ...none.*] Line 106 omitted, and 105 and 107 transposed, Qq, Cap. Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
105, 107. *ſhe*] Ff, Rowe, Knt i, Sta. *one* Qq et cet.
106. *For ſhe*] Ff, Rowe, Knt i, Sta. *For one* Pope et cet.
feared] *fear'd* Rowe.
107. *obey'd of*] *obey'd, of* F_4.
108. *whirl'd*] *whe'eld* Q_1. *wheel'd* Q_{2-8}, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Cam. +.

95, 96, 98, 99. **be**] For other examples of 'be' 'used to refer to a number of persons,' see ABBOTT, § 300. [Albeit it is possible to attribute the use of this subjunctive to other causes.—ED.]

100. **Decline**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. verb*, 20. *b*): To say or recite formally or in definite order. [The present line quoted.]

104. **Caytiffe**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. A.* 2): A wretched miserable person, a poor wretch, one in a piteous case. From Old Norman French *caitif, caitive*, captive, weak, miserable. The central Old French form *chaitif*, gave the English variant *chaitif*, frequent in 14th and 15th centuries, but did not displace the earlier Norman form. The transition of meaning has taken place, more or less, in most of the Romanic languages. [In spite of the manifestly French origin of this word, DUPORT thus renders the line: 'Qui n'a sur les autres hommes d'autre avantage que d'être plus accablée de maux,' which is hardly even a paraphrase of the idea that, instead of the golden crown of a queen, Elizabeth has upon her brow the deep wrinkles and whitened locks of care. SCHLEGEL is more literal: 'Statt Kōnigin, mit Noth gekrōnte Sclavin,' reproducing, to a certain extent, the force of the original alliteration, and the idea of *captive* in the use of the word *Sclavin*. —ED.]

108. **Iustice whirl'd about**] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 175): This might seem to be

And left thee but a very prey to time,
Hauing no more but Thought of what thou waſt.
To torture thee the more, being what thou art,
Thou didſt vſurpe my place, and doſt thou not
Vſurpe the iuſt proportion of my Sorrow?
Now thy proud Necke, beares halfe my burthen'd yoke,
From which, euen heere I ſlip my wearied head,
And leaue the burthen of it all, on thee.
Farwell Yorkes wife, and Queene of ſad miſchance,
Theſe Engliſh woes, ſhall make me ſmile in France.
Qu. O thou well skill'd in Curſes, ſtay a-while,

109. *thee*] *me* Q_7Q_8.
110. *waſt*] *wert* Q_1Q_2, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *art* Q_{3-8}.
112. *not*] *now* Han.
114. *burthen'd*] *burthened* Q_{1-7}. *burdened* Q_8.
115. *wearied head*] *weary necke* Q_{1-5}, Sta. Cam.+. *wearied necke* Q_{6-8}.
118. *woes*] *wars* Q_4.
ſhall] *will* Qq, Cam.+.

countenanced by: '—thus the whirligig of time brings in his revenges.'—*Twelfth Night*, V, i, 385. But *wheel'd* seems much more suitable to this place. [Barnard compares, more appositely, I think, '—justice always whirls in equal measure.'—*Love's Labour's*, IV, iii, 384.—ED.]

110, 111. **what thou wast . . . what thou art**] Compare: 'No greater grief than to remember days Of joy when misery is at hand.'—Dante, *Inferno*, canto v, ll 118, 119, Cary's translation, where there is the following note: 'Imitated by Chaucer: "For of Fortunes sharp adversite The worste kind of infortune is this, A man to have been in prosperite, And it remembir when it passid is."—*Troilus and Cresseide*, bk. iii, l. 1625. By Marino: "Che non ha doglia il misero maggiore, Che ricordar la gioia entro il dolore."—*Adone*, canto xiv, st. 100. And by Fortiguerra: "Rimembrare il ben perduto Fa più meschino lo presente stato."—*Ricciardetto*, canto xi, st. 83. The original, perhaps, was in Boëtius: "In omni adversitate fortunæ infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem et non esse." *De Consol. Philosoph.*, lib. ii, par. 4.'—It seems, perhaps, superfluous to call attention to Tennyson's reference to Dante: 'This is truth the poet sings, That a sorrows crown of sorrow is remembering happier things.'—*Locksley Hall*, l. 49. Compare also what Margaret says in I, iii, 269, 270: 'O that your young nobility could know What 'tis to lose it and be miserable'; also in l. 122 below: 'Compare dead happiness with living woe.'—ED.

113. **Vsurpe**] The use of 'usurp' applied to 'sorrow' seems somewhat incongruous; no one would forcibly take for his own use grief or pain. But as the word had been used in regard to benefits in the foregoing line, its employment in regard to evils naturally suggested itself.—ED.

114. **my burthen'd yoke**] WRIGHT: That is, the yoke which is a burden to me. 'Burthened' in the sense of *burdensome* is formed from the substantive *burthen*, and not from the verb. Compare: 'Or any creeping venom'd thing,' etc., I, ii, 23.

And teach me how to curſe mine enemies.
Mar. Forbeare to ſleepe the night, and faſt the day:
Compare dead happineſſe, with liuing woe:
Thinke that thy Babes were ſweeter then they were,
And he that ſlew them fowler then he is:
Bett'ring thy loſſe, makes the bad cauſer worſe,
Reuoluing this, will teach thee how to Curſe.
Qu. My words are dull, O quicken them with thine.
Mar. Thy woes will make them ſharpe,
And pierce like mine. *Exit Margaret.*
Dut. Why ſhould calamity be full of words?
Qu. Windy Atturnies to their Clients Woes,

121. *night...day*] *nights...daies* Q_1Q_2. *nights...days* Pope, Han. Cam.+.
122. *dead*] *deaths* Q_7Q_8.
123. *thy*] Om. Q_4.
ſweeter] Ff, +, Wh. i. *fairer* Qq et cet.
125. *makes*] *make* Q_7Q_8.
bad cauſer worſe] QqFf. Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Cam.+, Ktly. *bad cauſes worſe* Q_4. *bad cauſe worſer* Q_8. *bad-cauſer worse* Steev. et cet.
127. *words*] *word* F_2.
128, 129. *Thy woes...mine*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
129. Margaret] Mar. Qq (after l. 130).
131. *their Clients Woes*] *your client woes* Qq. *their Cliens woes* F_2. *your client's woes* Pope, Theob. *their client-woes* Han. Warb. Johns. *their client woes* Cap. et seq.

121. **Forbeare to sleepe . . . and fast**] MALONE: 'Fast' has no connection with the preceding word 'forbear'; the meaning being, sleep not at night, and fast during the day.

122. **Compare dead happinesse**, etc.] See l. 110 above.

123. **sweeter**] R. G. WHITE: It is noteworthy that [in l. 90], in Margaret's preceding speech, '*sweet* babes' of the Qq was changed to 'faire babes' in the Folio. This double change in counterpart could not have been accidental; and, indeed, it is far more natural and touching to use *fair* in the mere descriptive allusion to the babes, and 'sweet' in describing a mother's memory of them. And yet *fairer* has been hitherto retained 'as antithetical to "fouler"' in the next line!

125. **Bett'ring thy losse, makes**, etc.] M. MASON: We must either read this line: 'Bett'ring thy loss, *make* the bad causer,' etc., which I believe to be the true reading, or include it in a parenthesis.—MALONE: 'Bettering' is *amplifying, magnifying*, thy loss. Shakespeare employed this word for the sake of an antithesis, in which he delighted, between *better* and *loss*. [Mason's emendation *make* is anticipated by the editor or compositor of Q_7.—ED.]

125. **the bad causer worse**] VAUGHAN (iii, 112): Steevens's change, *bad-causer*, is, I conceive, of doubtful advantage to the sense. 'Causer' is sufficiently explained by the word 'loss' in the same line, to which it refers, as meaning the *causer of loss*, and the conversion of 'bad' from a simple epithet of 'causer' to a substantive dependent upon 'causer' mars both the form and essence of the aphorism, that is, making good destroyed better than it is, makes the bad man who destroyed it worse than he is.

131–135. **Windy Atturnies . . . yet do they ease the hart**] MALONE: Com-

Ayery ſucceeders of inteſtine ioyes, 132

132. *inteſtine*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *inteſtate* Qq et cet.

pare: 'So of concealed sorrow may be said: Free vent of words love's fire doth assuage: But when the heart's attorney once is mute, The client breaks as desperate of his suit.'—*Ven. & Ad.*, 333-336. Also: 'Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak, Whispers the o'er-fraught heart and bids it break.'—*Macbeth*, IV, iii, 208, 209. [See *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 245, this edition, for other examples wherein somewhat this same thought is expressed.]

131. **Atturnies**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Attorney*): From Old French *atourner*, in sense of 'one appointed or constituted,' whence all the specific uses.

131. **their Clients Woes**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 27): [The Folio is here] probably right as to 'their,' but is certainly wrong as to 'clients.' [See *Text. Notes.*] 'Intestine' in the next line must be a blunder, but need not be imputed to the reviser, being an ordinary case of a less familiar word misread by the printer for a more familiar one. ['Client' as an adjective is unknown to MURRAY.—ED.]

132. **succeeders of intestine ioyes**] THEOBALD: As I cannot understand this reading, I have adopted that of the Quarto, *intestate*, that is, words tun'd to complaints, succeed joys that are dead'; and unbequeathed to them, to whom they should properly descend.—CAPELL (ii, 187): Intestate joys may be expressive of joys so utterly exhausted that, having no part of themselves to bequeath to others, they dy'd without a bequest; the line's first part tells us who were their successors, namely, words of complaint.—MALONE: The metaphor is extremely harsh. The joys already possessed being all consumed and passed away, are supposed to have died intestate, having nothing to bequeath; and mere verbal complaints are their successors, but inherit nothing but misery.—VAUGHAN (iii, 115): Theobald's interpretation is incongruous; for the person who dies is never bequeathed, and the possession which is bequeathed is not what dies. Malone seems strangely to interpret 'poor breathing orators of miseries' as 'inheriting nothing but misery.' But 'orators' are not *heritors* and 'orator' seems here to have a purely forensic and technical signification, and 'breathing' has the sense common in Shakespeare of *speaking*. In 'airy' I half suspect an equivocation between the words *heir* and *air*, to crown and emphasize the contrast between title by *inheritance* and title by *testament*.—DAVIS (p. 205): This conceit could never have occurred to a writer whose knowledge of law was only of that uncertain kind which every layman has, or thinks he has, yet who would be very cautious how he used it for such purposes of illustration or personation.—R. L. ASHHURST (MS note): If 'intestate' be the right word, of which I feel some doubt, I think 'intestate joys' must mean, pleasures in the midst of which a man is cut off without having time to make a will—wills being seldom made except almost in 'extremis.' Thus succeeders would mean those who received the succession to the intestate. Rather, perhaps, the civil law idea of the next of kin who accepted the succession. The joys I think belong to the original decedant. After the death, we have only words, windy attorneys, airy succeeders, breathing orators of misery. Orator is either one who prays or one who speaks. In Shakespeare's time it was universally used in bills in equity and all chancery proceedings, and is still used in many of our courts. The old bills begin 'Humbly complaining prayeth your orator.' But I doubt if it mean in the present passage more than general complainants of miseries.

Poore breathing Orators of miſeries,
Let them haue ſcope, though what they will impart,
Helpe nothing els, yet do they eaſe the hart.
Dut. If ſo then, be not Tongue-ty'd: go with me,
And in the breath of bitter words, let's ſmother
My damned Son, that thy two ſweet Sonnes ſmother'd.
The Trumpet ſounds, be copious in exclaimes.

Enter King Richard, and his Traine.

Rich. Who intercepts me in my Expedition?
Dut. O ſhe, that might haue intercepted thee
By ſtrangling thee in her aceurſed wombe,
From all the ſlaughters(Wretch)that thou haſt done.
Qu. Hid'ſt thou that Forhead with a Golden Crowne

134. *will*] Ff, +, Wh. i. *do* Qq et cet.

135. *nothing els*] *not at all* Qq, Sta. Cam.+ (*not all* Q_7Q_8).
do they] *not doe they* Q_7. *they do* Rowe ii, +.

136. *ſo then,*] Ff. *ſo then* Q_8. *ſo, then* Q_{1-7} et cet.
Tongue-ty'd] *toong-tide* $Q_1Q_2Q_3$. *tongue-tide* Q_4. *toong tide* Q_5.

137. *ſmother*] *wither* Bailey (ii, 291).

138. *that*] *which* Qq, Cam.+.
ſweet] Om. Q_{3-8}.
drum within.] Cap.

139. *The...ſounds*] *I heare his drum* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
SCENE V. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.

140. and his Traine.] marching with drummes and Trumpets. Qq. and his train, marching. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

141. *me in*] Om. Qq, Cam.+.

142. *O ſhe*] Ff, Rowe, Pope. *A ſhe*, Qq. *O, she* Theob. et seq.

143. *aceurſed*] F_4.

145. *Hid'ſt*] *Had'ſt* Q_7. *Haſt* Q_8. *Hidest* Rowe, Pope, Cam.+.

---

133. **Poore breathing**] WRIGHT: 'Poor' is here used as an adverb.

135. **Helpe nothing els**] WRIGHT: That is, are of no other use; this change from the Quarto reading: 'Help not at all,' appears to have been due to a misunderstanding of the word 'help,' which here means, have no power to cure, but simply to relieve the heart. 'Help' is found frequently in this sense. Compare: 'If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague.'—*Temp.*, II, ii, 97. —VAUGHAN (iii, 115): I am not sure that 'help' in the sense of *cure* is applicable to this place, where 'help' seems legal or diplomatic.—TAWNEY: It seems better to take 'help' here in the sense of *be of use, avail*, as Schmidt does. This interpretation suits equally well either [Folio or Quarto] reading.

139. **exclaimes**] See I, ii, 58.

141. **Who intercepts me**] It may, perhaps, seem strange that Richard does not at once recognize his mother and sister-in-law. But a moment's reflection will show that if we perchance have forgotten, Shakespeare has not, that the three women are seated upon the ground; Margaret has withdrawn, but the other two are still bowed in grief; at Richard's first speech the Duchess rises and confronts him—a much more dramatic arrangement than if while standing she intercept him.—ED.

142. **O she**] VAUGHAN, the only advocate for the Quarto reading *A she*, vindicates it on the ground that 'Shakespeare often thus designates a woman.'

Where't ſhould be branded, if that right were right ?
The ſlaughter of the Prince that ow'd that Crowne,
And the dyre death of my poore Sonnes, and Brothers.
Tell me thou Villaine-ſlaue, where are my Children ?
Dut. Thou Toad, thou Toade,
Where is thy Brother *Clarence* ?
And little *Ned Plantagenet* his Sonne ?
Qu. Where is the gentle *Riuers, Vaughan, Gray ?*
Dut. Where is kinde *Haſtings* ?
Rich. A flouriſh Trumpets, ſtrike Alarum Drummes:
Let not the Heauens heare theſe Tell-tale women
Raile on the Lords Annointed. Strike I ſay.
Flouriſh. *Alarums.*
Either be patient, and intreat me fayre,

146. *Where't...branded*] Ff, Rowe i. *Where...grauen* Qq (*Where would* Q_4), Sta. Cam.+. *Where...branded* Rowe ii et cet.
right ?] Ff. *right*, Qq et cet.
147. *The*] *For* Coll. MS.
148. *poore*] *two* Qq, Cam.+.
149. *Villaine-ſlaue*] *villaine ſlaue* Qq, Cam.+.
150, 151. *Thou Toad*...Clarence ?] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
152. Plantagenet] *Plantaget* Q_{3-5}.
153, 154. Qu. *Where*...Haſtings ?] Qu. *Where is kinde Haſtings, Riuers, Vaughan, Gray ?* Qq, Pope,+ (−Var. '73), Sta. Cam.+.
158. Flouriſh. Alarums.] The trumpets Q_1. The Trumpets sound. Q_2. The trumpets ſounds. Q_{3-5}.

---

146. **that**] For other examples of 'that' as a 'conjunctional affix,' see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 287. Compare l. 233.

148. **Brothers**] See I, iii, 42, and notes.

154. **Dut. Where is kinde Hastings**] WRIGHT: The corrector of the Folio here changes the Quarto reading. [See *Text. Notes.*] The Queen is not likely to have spoken so of Hastings, who was always opposed to her family. As it appears to me highly improbable that Shakespeare wrote either the one or the other, I have followed the reading of the earlier copies.—VAUGHAN (iii, 116): I would restore the single Quarto line, but make the earlier half of it a part of the speech spoken by the Duchess, thus: 'And little Ned Plantagenet his son? Where is kind Hastings? *Q. Eliz.* Rivers? Vaughan? Grey?' There is every reason for considering the remembrance of Hastings with kindness as appropriate to the Duchess of York; and not less natural is the Queen's immediate recurrence to the loss of Rivers and his two companions.

155. **A flourish Trumpets**] DOWDEN (p. 184): Richard's cynicism and insolence have in them a kind of grim mirth; such a *bonhomie* as might be met with among the humourists of Pandemonium. His brutality is a manner of joking with a purpose. When his mother, with Queen Elizabeth, comes by 'copious in exclaims,' the mirthful Richard calls for a flourish of trumpets to drown these shrill female voices.

159. **intreat me fayre**] WRIGHT explains this as, 'use me well,' quoting in corroboration: 'I'll write unto them and entreat them fair.'—*3 Hen. VI:* I, i, 271.

Or with the clamorous report of Warre,
Thus will I drowne your exclamations.
Dut. Art thou my Sonne?
Rich. I, I thanke God, my Father, and your ſelfe.
Dut. Then patiently heare my impatience.
Rich. Madam, I haue a touch of your condition,
That cannot brooke the accent of reproofe.
Dut. O let me ſpeake.
Rich. Do then, but Ile not heare.
Dut. I will be milde, and gentle in my words.
Rich. And breefe (good Mother) for I am in haſt.
Dut. Art thou ſo haſty? I haue ſtaid for thee
(God knowes)in torment and in agony.
Rich. And came I not at laſt to comfort you?
Dut. No by the holy Rood, thou know'ſt it well,
Thou cam'ſt on earth, to make the earth my Hell.
A greeuous burthen was thy Birth to me,
Tetchy and wayward was thy Infancie.

160. *clamorous*] *clamour* Q_4.
report] *reports* $Q_7Q_8F_3F_4$, Rowe i.
161. *drowne*] *drownd* Q_8.
163. *I, I*] *Ay, I* Rowe et seq.
164. *heare*] *here* Q_1. *hear* F_3F_4. *bear* Coll. MS.
166. *That*] *Which* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
167, 168. Dut. *O let...not heare*] Om. Qq, Sta.
169. *words*] *ſpeech* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
171. *haſty? I*] *haſtie I* Qq (*haſtie, I* Q_4).
haue] *once* Coll. MS.
172. *torment and in*] *anguiſh, paine and* Qq, Pope,+, Sta. Cam.+.
176. *burthen*] *burden* Johns.
177–180. Mnemonic, Warb.

MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* I. 1) gives many examples of the word used in this sense, which is not to be doubted. But may not Richard refer to the questions which have been so cruelly and justly put to him? And may not his last, and possibly most emphatic, word, 'exclamations,' refer rather to speech than treatment?—ED.

162. **Art thou my Sonne?**] On which word in this question is the emphasis to fall—On 'thou,' or on 'Son'? Rhythm decides in favour of the former, and, in fact, would make both emphatic.—ED.

165. **touch**] SCHMIDT (*Lex.*) here interprets 'touch' as, a *dash*, a *spice*, a *smack*.

166. **accent of reproofe**] What studied insolence is contained in this euphemism for all the bitter names which had been showered upon him.—ED.

174. **the holy Rood**] See III, ii, 84, and note.

176. **A greeuous burthen**] There is, possibly, an allusion here to the following fact in regard to Richard's birth, mentioned by Rous, p. 215: '—rex Ricardus, qui natus est apud Fodringhay in comitatu Northamptoniæ, biennio matris utero tentus.'—ED.

177. **Tetchy . . . thy Infancie**] BUCKNILL (*Sh.'s Med. Knowl.*, p. 186): The Duchess of York's description of her terrible son's nativity, infancy, childhood, and

Thy School-daies frightfull, desp'rate, wilde, and furious,
Thy prime of Manhood, daring, bold, and venturous:
Thy Age confirm'd, proud, subtle, slye, and bloody,
More milde, but yet more harmfull; Kinde in hatred:
What comfortable houre canst thou name,
That euer grac'd me with thy company?
Rich. Faith none, but *Humfrey Hower*,

178. *desp'rate*] *desperate* QqF_4.
179. *Thy...venturous*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
180. *slye, and bloody*] *bloudie, trecherous* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *treacherous, bloody* Marshall conj.
181. *More milde...hatred*] Om. Qq, Pope,+ (−Var. '73), Sta.
harmfull; Kinde] Ff. *harmful-kind* Walker, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *harmfull, kinde* Qq et cet.
182. *houre*] *hoür* Ktly.
183. *with*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *in* Qq et cet.
184–186. In margin, Pope, Han.
184, 185. *Faith...Grace*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
184. Humfrey] *Humphreys* Q_8. *th' hungry* Kinnear (p. 270).
Hower] Ff, Rowe, Ktly, Huds. *Houre* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran. *Hour* Mal. et cet.

---

manhood forms a graphic illustration of the maxim that no man was ever suddenly very wicked, and may well be commended to the study of those physicians who have recently invented what they are pleased to call 'moral idiotcy.' On these principles the evidence of Richard's mother would have been amply sufficient to prove that he was a moral idiot, and utterly irresponsible for the guilt of his actions. It might thus be urged that, with all his apparent force of will, he had no free choice, but was himself the puppet of organization and of circumstance, and, therefore, that all his crimes were inevitable.

177. **Tetchy**] SKEAT (*Dict.*): The sense of 'tetchy' (better, *techy*) is full of *tetches* or *teches*, that is, bad habits, freaks, whims, vices. The adjective is formed from Middle English *tecche* or *tache*, a habit, especially a bad habit.

179. **Thy prime of Manhood**] That is, the springtime of thy manhood. See I, ii, 274.

180. **Thy Age confirm'd**] R. G. WHITE (ed. ii): This is quite preposterous. Richard had hardly reached even the 'prime of manhood.' He was only thirty-three years old, and was slain at Bosworth field in his thirty-fifth year.

181. **more harmfull; Kinde in hatred**] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 175) suggests that we here read 'harmful-kind in hatred'; but are not the words, 'kind in hatred,' intended here as a repetition of the idea contained in 'more mild but yet more harmful'?—ED.

182. **comfortable**] Here used causitively; as in the *Book of Common Prayer:* 'The most comfortable sacrament,' etc.

183. **grac'd**] Compare: 'Please't your highness To grace us with your royal company.'—*Macbeth*, III, iv, 45.

184. **Humfrey Hower**] STEEVENS: This may probably be an allusion to some affair of gallantry of which the Duchess had been suspected. I cannot find the name in Holinshed. Surely the poet's fondness for a quibble has not induced him at once to personify and christen that 'hour' of the day which summoned his mother to break fast. Compare: 'Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old

[184. Humfrey Hower]

mistress, Houre, is at hand.'—*Wit in a Woman*, 1604. Shakespeare might indeed, by this strange phrase, have designed to mark the hour at which the good Duchess was as hungry as the followers of Duke Humphrey. The common cant phrase of 'dining with Duke Humphrey,' I have never yet heard satisfactorily explained. It appears, however, from *The Guls Horn-booke*, Dekker, 1609, that in the ancient church of St Paul, one of the aisles was called 'Duke Humphrey's Walk'; in which those who had no means of procuring a dinner affected to loiter. For example: '—sundry fellowes in their silkes shall be appointed to keepe Duke Humfrye company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad.'—Nash, *A Wonderful Prognostication for this Year*, 1591; Again: '—to seeke his dinner in Poules with duke Humphrey: to licke dishes, to be a beggar.'—G. Harvey, *Foure Letters*, etc., 1592. [STEEVENS quotes three other passages wherein this phrase occurs; all of them, however, bearing a date subsequent to that of Qu_1 of this present play.—ED.]—MALONE: I believe nothing more than a quibble was meant. In *Sonnet* XX we find a similar conceit: a quibble between *hues* (colours), and *Hughes*, formerly spelt (*Hews*), the person addressed. [This note appears in Malone's edition, 1790, but is not repeated in the *Variorum* of 1821, where its place is taken by the following: '"Humphrey Hour" is merely used in ludicrous language for *hour*, like *Tom Truth*, for *truth*, and twenty more such terms.']—WRIGHT: If this phrase ever had any meaning it is now completely lost. If Steevens's explanation be correct, it is not clear how 'Humphrey Hour' can mean the hour at which the Duchess was summoned to breakfast. The spelling in the Qq *Houre* and in the Ff 'Hower' does not throw much light upon the question.—VAUGHAN (iii, 117): 'Humphrey Hour,' on account of that name, was an 'hour'; by virtue of the invitation to the comfort of an important meal, was a 'comfortable hour'; by reason of inviting 'her grace the Duchess' with proper address of 'your grace,' 'graced her'; and as delivering an invitation which was to take her 'forth of Richard's company,' necessarily 'graced her' in his company. This is but one amongst several strokes of equivocation in the conduct of dialogue by which Shakespeare industriously touches in a perfect delineation of Richard's social character. They have, however, here, as I opine, and certainly in other places, eluded the observation even of the most acute critics, and provoked either misinterpretation or corruption of the text.—WALSH (p. 500) gives, as the origin of the phrase, 'to dine with Duke Humphrey,' the following: 'The Duke Humphrey, with whom the dinnerless are facetiously said to dine, was Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (Henry V.'s brother), who was protector during the minority of Henry VI. He was a great patron of literature and the arts and famous for his hospitality. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says the proverb "hath altered the original meaning thereof; for first it signified *aliená vivere quadrâ*, to eat by the bounty or feed by the favour of another man; for Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (commonly called the good duke) was so hospitable that every man of fashion, otherwise unprovided, was welcome to dine with him. But after the death of the good Duke Humphrey (when many of his former almsmen were at a loss for a meal's meat), this proverb did alter its copy; to dine with Duke Humphrey importing to be dinnerless" [ii, 345]. A more circumstantial explanation of the saying is that on the Duke's death the report arose that his monument was to be erected in St Paul's. The report proved untrue. When a wag had no place to dine he would hang around the aisles of St Paul's, pretending to be looking for the monument of Duke Humphrey. This

That call'd your Grace
To Breakefaſt once, forth of my company.
If I be ſo diſgracious in your eye,
Let me march on, and not offend you Madam.
Strike vp the Drumme.
Dut. I prythee heare me ſpeake.
Rich. You ſpeake too bitterly.
Dut. Heare me a word:
For I ſhall neuer ſpeake to thee againe.
Rich. So.
Dut. Either thou wilt dye, by Gods iuſt ordinance
Ere from this warre thou turne a Conqueror:
Or I with greeſe and extreame Age ſhall periſh,
And neuer more behold thy face againe.
Therefore take with thee my moſt greeuous Curſe,

186. *Breakefaſt*] *breake faſt* Q_1.
my] Om. Q_4.
187. *If I*] *If it* Q_{2-8} (*If* Q_4).
diſgracious] *gratious* Q_{3-7}. *grieious* Q_8.
eye] *ſight* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +, Ktly.
188. *you Madam*] *your grace* Qq, Pope, +, Cam. +.
189–192. As two lines, ending, *ſpeake* ... *word:* Steev. et seq.
189. *Strike ... Drumme*] Om. Qq, Pope, Han.
190–194. *I prythee*...Rich. *So.*] *O heare me ſpeake for I ſhall neuer ſee thee more.* King. *Come, come you are too bitter.* Qq (*the more* $Q_2Q_3Q_4$. *you art* Q_1) Sta. *O hear me speak, for I shall never see thee.* K. Rich. *Come, come, you are too bitter.* Pope, Han.
195. *thou wilt*] *thou'lt* Pope, + (– Var. '73), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
196. *Ere*] *Eeare* Q_1. *E'er* Rowe. *E're* Han.
this] *his* Q_2.
197. *and*] *or* Johns. (1771) ap. Cam.
198. *more behold*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i. *looke vpon* Qq et cet.
199. *greeuous*] *heauie* Qq. *heavy* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +.

---

soon became known as dining with Duke Humphrey, and a monument (really that of Sir John Beauchamp) was pointed out as his, whom the dinnerless adopted as their patron.'—DYCE (*Gloss.*): No satisfactory explanation, as far as I am aware, has yet been given of these words.

189. **Strike vp the Drumme**] WRIGHT: That is, *strike aloud.* So 'blow up' signifies *blow aloud* in the expression: 'Blow up the trumpet in the new moon,' *Psalm* lxxxi, 3.

195. **Either**] For other examples, where, for metrical reasons, 'either' is pronounced as a monosyllable, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 103; compare I, ii, 70.

195. **thou wilt dye**] MARSHALL: Pope's change, 'thou'lt die,' is inadmissible, since the emphasis is on 'thou,' which is opposed to 'I' in l. 197.

199. **take ... my most greeuous Curse**] COLLINS (p. 81) remarks that these following lines recall 'with close exactness the scene in which Oedipus curses Polynices.' [The Oxford translator thus renders the passage: 'But do you go

Which in the day of Battell tyre thee more 200
Then all the compleat Armour that thou wear'ſt.

---

to ruin, both spurned and disowned by me, basest of the base, taking with you these curses, which on you I invoke, never to gain possession of your native land by the spear, and never to return to hollow Argos, but to die by a brother's hand, to slay him by whom you were driven out. Such curses I imprecate, and I invoke the murky parent gloom of Tartarus to receive you in its mansions: and I invoke these goddesses, and I invoke Mars, who has inspired you with this dire hatred.'—*Oedipus Coloneus*, 1382–93—*Oxford Trans.*, ed. Bohn, p. 98.—ED.]—OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 105): Neither logically nor ethically is any other conclusion valid than that, under the weight of his mother's curse, Richard suffers a complete moral collapse; here, moreover, the poet has placed the turning-point of Richard's life and fate. Margaret's curse occurs where the action is on the increase, his Mother's where it is on the decrease, after the measure of crimes against Heaven is complete; where the conscience of the sinner is weakened, and where superstitious fancies show themselves, all of which would have been unknown in the earlier period. But the moral effect of Margaret's curse is weakened by her character. For every crime of which she accused Richard, he could retort with one of which she equally was guilty. The venerable Duchess, on the other hand, does not admit the common subterfuge that seeks, in the sins of others, to find pardon for one's own; but, of unblemished character, she attacks with fury her degenerate son. He seeks in vain with fretful haste and warlike sounds to stem the torrent of her reproaches. His very vacillation in departing shows how fraught with torment to him is the whole incident. In the former scene, he not only did not seek to curb Margaret's bitter curse, but even, with an intellectual superiority, turned it mockingly back upon her own head.—BROOKE (p. 117): The scene closes when, on Richard's head—who now, in fine dramatic contrast to this almost solitary scene, comes marching by with warlike sound and pomp on his way to overthrow Buckingham—falls his mother's curse. And the curse is a prophecy, as it were, of all his victims will say to him the night before Bosworth field. It is often Shakespeare's habit to anticipate, in a short passage, a scene which he means to give in full, a sketch of the picture to be completed.

200–205. **tyre . . . fight . . . Whisper . . . promise**] ABBOTT (§ 365): The reader of Shakespeare should always be ready to recognise the subjunctive, even where the identity of the subjunctive with the indicative inflection renders distinction between two moods impossible, except from the context. [As in this passage], 'tire,' necessarily subjunctive, impresses upon the reader that the co-ordinate verbs, 'fight,' 'whisper,' 'promise,' are also subjunctive. But else, it would be possible for a careless reader to take 'fight,' &c., as indicative, and ruin the passage.

200, 201. **tyre thee more Then all the compleat Armour**] GERVINUS (i, 385): Wonderful use is made of this curse in the scene before the battle of Bosworth, a use worth more than all the others, in which the poet has employed these imprecations. Without looking back to that maternal sentence, without Richard himself remembering it, his 'beaver' burdens him in the battle so that he orders it to be made easier, and his arm is weary with the lance, which he exchanges for a lighter. This is better than the multiplied impression of the severe curses, and their literal and ever-repeated fulfilment; and, better too, is the imprecation of the mother, temporarily irritated, when the occasion demanded it, than the steady

My Prayers on the aduerſe party fight,
And there the little ſoules of *Edwards* Children,
Whiſper the Spirits of thine Enemies,
And promiſe them Succeſſe and Victory:
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end:
Shame ſerues thy life, and doth thy death attend. *Exit.*
Qu. Though far more cauſe, yet much leſſe ſpirit to curſe
Abides in me, I ſay Amen to her.
Rich. Stay Madam, I muſt talke a word with you.
Qu. I haue no more ſonnes of the Royall Blood
For thee to ſlaughter. For my Daughters(*Richard*)

203. Edwards] *Edward* Q_2.(*Edwards* Ashbee Facsimile).
204. *Spirits*] *ſpirit* Q_4.
205. *and Victory*] *in victory* Q_7Q_8.
206. *art,*] *art, and* Q_{6-8}.
be] *by* Q_5.
209. *her.*] *all.* Qq, Sta. Cam.+. [going. Theob.+.
210. *talke*] *ſpeake* Qq, Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Ktly, Coll. iii.
211. *more*] *moe* Q_1, Cam.+.
212. *ſlaughter.*] *murther* Q_1. *murther*, Q_{2-8}. *murther:* Cap. Varr. Mal. *murder:* Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Ktly.

---

excess of the revengeful curses of Margaret. [Is not this giving to the words of the Duchess too literal a meaning? She does not wish Richard's armour to rest heavily upon him, but that her curse may rest *more* heavily. Moreover, it is not during the fight that he complains of his 'beaver' and 'staves,' but the night before.—ED.]

201. **compleat**] Compare: 'That thou dead corse, again in complete steel.' —*Hamlet*, I, iv, 52.

210. **Stay Madam**, etc.] JOHNSON: On this dialogue 'tis not necessary to bestow much criticism, part of it is ridiculous, and the whole improbable.—M. MASON: I cannot agree with Johnson's opinion. I see nothing ridiculous in any part of this dialogue; and with respect to probability it was not unnatural that Richard, who by his art and wheedling tongue, had prevailed on Lady Anne to marry him in her heart's extremest grief, should hope to persuade an ambitious and, as he thought her, a wicked woman, to consent to his marriage with her daughter, which would make her a queen, and aggrandise her family.—WRIGHT: My own sympathies, I confess, are with Johnson's opinion.—BROOKE (p. 118): This scene ... is of that cunning which overreaches its aim. Richard thinks he has persuaded Elizabeth to give him her daughter; but it is he who has been deceived, he whom the woman has played with. She pretends to consent, but is already in communication with Richmond, to whom she does give her daughter. From this point of view, which I think Shakespeare meant, the unnaturalness of the scene (the far too great length of which is only excused by the impossible effort Richard makes) is modified; and the weakness which has come on Richard's intellect is more than suggested. All is breaking down in him: his self-control, his temper, intelligence, his clear sight of things, his foresight, his power to keep men and subdue them to his will. The art is excellent with which this is shown in Richard's talk with Catesby, Ratcliffe, Stanley, and the messengers.

To reuell in the Intrailes of my Lambes.
But that ſtill vſe of greeſe, makes wilde greeſe tame,
My tongue ſhould to thy eares not name my Boyes,
Till that my Nayles were anchor'd in thine eyes:
And I in ſuch a deſp'rate Bay of death,
Like a poore Barke, of ſailes and tackling reft,
Ruſh all to peeces on thy Rocky boſome.
Rich. Madam, ſo thriue I in my enterprize
And dangerous ſucceſſe of bloody warres,
As I intend more good to you and yours,
Then euer you and yours by me were harm'd.
Qu. What good is couer'd with the face of heauen,
To be diſcouered, that can do me good.

247, 248. *Madam...warres*] *Madam ſo thriue I in my dangerous attempt of hoſtile armes* Qq (as one line).
249. *I*] Om. Q_6Q_7.
and] *or* Vaughan (iii, 121).
250. *and*] Ff,Q_{6-8}, Cap. Knt, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *or* Q_{1-5} et cet.
250. *by...harm'd*] *were by me wrongd* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
251. *with*] *'neath* Vaughan.
252. *diſcouered*] Ff,Q_{6-8}. *diſcouerd* Q_{1-5} et cet. (subs.)
good.] *good*, Q_1. *good?* Q_3Q_4Ff et seq.

conceit seems to have been a favorite of our author. We meet with it more than once. Compare: 'Thou hidest a thousand daggers in thy thoughts which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart To stab at half an hour of my life.'—*2 Hen. IV:* IV, v, 107. Also: 'Not on thy sole, but on thy soul, harsh Jew, Thou makest thy knife keen.'—*Mer. of Ven.*, IV, i, 123.

241. **still vse**] That is, *constant*, *continued* use.

243. **Nayles . . . anchor'd in thine eyes**] ROLFE: Compare 'I am not yet so low But that my nails can reach into thine eyes.'—*Mid. N. Dream*, III, ii, 298; and 'Could I come near your beauty with my nails I'd set my ten commandments in your face.'—*2 Hen. VI:* I, iii, 144. In the latter case it is a duchess, as here a queen, that speaks. '*Tempora mutantur*,' etc. [Compare, also, in Cleopatra's violent speech to Seleucus: 'Go back, I warrant thee; but I'll catch thine eyes, though they had wings.'—V, ii, 156.]

245. **reft**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* reave, v^1): 3. To despoil, rob, or forcibly deprive (usually a person) *of* something. (In modern use chiefly in past participle, *reft*.)

247–249. **so thriue I . . . As I intend**] That is, may the success of my enterprise be as assured, as are my good intents toward you and yours in the future.

248. **dangerous successe**] Is it possible that 'success' may here mean *succession*? as in: '—our parents' noble names In whose success we are gentle.'—*Wint. Tale*, I, ii, 393; also: 'And so success of mischief shall be born.'—*2 Hen. IV:* IV, ii, 47; these are the only examples of 'success' in this sense given by SCHMIDT (*Lex.*). He quotes the present line as an example of the meaning *issue*, *result*.

252. **discouered**] 'Discover' is, possibly, here used in the sense both of to *uncover*, and also to *find what before was hidden*.

Rich. Th'aduancement of your children, gentle Lady
Qu. Vp to ſome Scaffold, there to loſe their heads.
Rich. Vnto the dignity and height of Fortune,
The high Imperiall Type of this earths glory.
Qu. Flatter my ſorrow with report of it:
Tell me, what State, what Dignity, what Honor,
Canſt thou demiſe to any childe of mine.
Rich. Euen all I haue; I, and my ſelfe and all,
Will I withall indow a childe of thine:
So in the Lethe of thy angry ſoule,
Thou drowne the ſad remembrance of thoſe wrongs,
Which thou ſuppoſeſt I haue done to thee.

253. *Th'*] *The* Qq, Cam.+.
gentle] *mightie* Qq.
254. *loſe*] *looſe* Qq.
255. *Vnto*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i. *No, to* Qq et cet.
Fortune] *honor* Qq, Pope,+ (−Var. '73), Coll. Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
256. *high*] *height* Q_{2-8}. (*hight* Q_1.)
257. */orrow*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Huds. */orrowes* Qq. *sorrows* Pope et cet.
259. *demiſe*] *deviſe* Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. Cap. Sing.
260. *I, and*] *yea and* Qq. *yea, and* Cam.+. *Ay, and* Rowe et cet.
261. *withall*] Om. Q_7Q_8.
263. *drowne*] *drownd* Q_8.

256. **The high Imperiall Type**] M. MASON: By this Richard means, *a crown*.—MALONE: Compare 'Thy father bears the type of king of Naples.'—*3 Hen. VI:* I, iv, 121.—WRIGHT: Compare Richard's speech to his soldiers, as reported in Hall's *Chronicle* (p. 414): 'By whose wisedome and polecie, I haue obteyned the crowne & type of this famous realm & noble region.'

259. **demise**] DAVIS (p. 205): 'Demise' is a conveyance, either in fee, for life, or for years. According to Chief Justice Gibson, the word strictly denotes a posthumous grant, and no more (5 *Whart.* 278).—ALLEN (p. 123): In Shakespeare's time the words *bequeath*, *inherit*, and perhaps 'demise,' were not exclusively legal terms, and no strong argument is to be derived from their use in a sense which would be technically inaccurate. The word 'demise,' at least, seems to be here used not only in an untechnical, but in an unusual, sense. [MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 2) quotes the present line under: 'To convey, transmit; to lease.' The word does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare.—ED.]

261. **withall**] ABBOTT (§ 196): 'Withal' is here not placed at the end of the sentence on account of the 'all' at the end of the previous verse.

262, 263. **in the Lethe . . . drowne the sad remembrance**] WRIGHT: [The river Lethe] the waters of which produced forgetfulness. Hence it figures in Milton's description in *Paradise Lost:* 'Far off from these, a slow and silent stream, Lethe, the river of oblivion rolls Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks Forthwith his former state and being forgets—Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.'—Bk, ii, 582–586. [See, also, Virgil, *Æneid:* 'Animæ, quibus altera fato Corpora debentur Lethæi, ad fluminis undam Securos latices et longa oblivia potant.'—Bk, vi, 713–715.—ED.]

Qu. Be breefe, leaſt that the proceſſe of thy kindneſſe
Laſt longer telling then thy kindneſſe date.
Rich. Then know,
That from my Soule, I loue thy Daughter.
Qu. My daughters Mother thinkes it with her ſoule.
Rich. What do you thinke?
Qu. That thou doſt loue my daughter from thy ſoule
So from thy Soules loue didſt thou loue her Brothers,
And from my hearts loue, I do thanke thee for it.
Rich. Be not ſo haſty to confound my meaning:
I meane that with my Soule I loue thy daughter,
And do intend to make her Queene of England.

266. *telling*] *a-telling* Abbott (§ 372).
kindneſſe] *kindnes* Q_1. *kindness'* Cap. et seq.
date] *doo* Qq. *do* Pope,+ (—Var. '73). *doth* Heath. *done* Vaughan (iii, 124).
267, 268. *Then...Daughter*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
268. *thy*] *my* Q_8.
272. *Soules loue*] *ſoule* Q_{6-8}.
thou loue] *thou* Q_{2-5}.
273. *my*] *thy* F_4.
do] Om. Q_7Q_8.
276. *do intend*] *meane* Qq, Cam.+.

265. **processe**] See IV, ii, 173.

266. **date**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* substan. 2): 4. The time during which something lasts; period, season; duration; term of life or existence.

268. **I loue thy Daughter**] OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, p. 114): Richard's language throughout this whole dialogue manifests a self-control in strong contrast to that of his most hated enemy—Elizabeth; he firmly and at once represses any anger, which may often strive to blaze out, at her stubborn refusals to understand, and her deep-drawn lamentations. The hypocrisy of his love for Elizabeth's daughter has an earnest and an honourable appearance—the king stands ever behind the lover. But in this repetition of the scene with Anne, Shakespeare should at least have omitted the threadbare motive that Richard murdered his nephews and wife through love for Elizabeth's daughter, as once he had killed Edward and Henry through love for Anne. This same reason repeated to any character other than Elizabeth might, to the audience, be of value; it would, moreover, have had a strong effect on Anne, but certainly not on Elizabeth.

271. **loue... from thy soule**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: That the Queen here uses 'from' with bitter sarcasm, in the sense of *apart from*, is made evident by Richard's hastily changing 'from' to 'with,' in line 275, which word she has previously used in the phrase 'thinks it *with* her soul.'—WRIGHT: A poor quibble but not unworthy of the dialogue. [ABBOTT (§ 158) gives numerous examples of 'from' used in the sense of *apart from*.]

276. **England**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 47): I do not know whether Shakespeare ever pronounced 'England' as a trisyllable. The corrector of the Folio read it as a disyllable and changed the metre [of the Quarto line] accordingly. [For examples wherein 'England' is apparently pronounced as a trisyllable, see WALKER, *Vers.*, p. 7.]

Qu. Well then, who doſt ỹ meane ſhallbe her King.
Rich. Euen he that makes her Queene:
Who elſe ſhould bee?
Q₁. What, thou?
Rich. Euen ſo: How thinke you of it?
Qu. How canſt thou woo her?
Rich. That I would learne of you,
As one being beſt acquainted with her humour.
Qu. And wilt thou learne of me?
Rich. Madam, with all my heart.
Qu. Send to her by the man that ſlew her Brothers,
A paire of bleeding hearts: thereon ingraue
Edward and *Yorke*, then haply will ſhe weepe:
Therefore preſent to her, as ſometime *Margaret*
Did to thy Father, ſteept in Rutlands blood,

277. *Well*] *Say* Qq (*Saie* Q_1), Sta. Cam.+.
King.] Ff. *king?* Qq et cet.
278, 279. *Euen...bee?*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
279. *Who...bee?*] *Who ſhould be elſe* Q_1, Cam.+. *Who ſhould elſe?* Q_{2-8} (*how ſhould* Q_5).
280–283. As two lines, ending: *it, madam?...you* Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Sta. Ktly.
281. *Euen ſo: How...it?*] *I, euen I, what...it, Madame?* Qq, Varr. Mal. Dyce, Cam.+. *Even I; What...it, Madam?* Cap. *Even ſo: What...it, madam?* Steev. Var. '03, '13. *Ay, even I, what...Madame* Mal. conj.
283, 284. As one line, Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Cam.+.
283. *That*] Om. Pope,+.
I would] *would I* Q_1Q_2, Cap. Sta. Cam.+.
284. *being*] *that are* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+. *that were* Q_{3-8}.
285, 286. As one line, Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
286. *Madam*] Om. Pope,+ (—Var. '73).
288. *ingraue*] *engraven* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
289. *haply*] *happelie* Q_1Q_2. *happily* Q_{3-8}.
will ſhe] *ſhe will* Qq, Cam.+.
290. *ſometime*] *ſometimes* $Q_1Q_2Q_7Q_8$.
291. *thy*] *my* Q_8.
291, 292. *ſteept...A hand-kercheefe*] *a handkercheffe ſteept in Rutlands blood* Qq, as one line.

285. **And wilt thou learne**] ABBOTT (§ 99): That is: do you indeed wish to learn of me? Hence Ben Jonson, who quotes Chaucer: 'What? quod she, and be ye wood? [*Hous of Fame*, Bk. iii, l. 623.—ED.] adds that: '*And*, in the beginning of a sentence, serveth for admiration.'—[*English Grammar*], p. 789.

286. **Madam**] STEEVENS: I suppose this word may be safely omitted, as it violates the metre.—MALONE: No doubt that, or any other word, may be omitted, but not *ſafely*, unless it can be shown that we are at liberty to rewrite our author's plays, and convert into verse what he has left us as prose.

291. **steept in Rutlands blood**] See *3 Hen. VI:* I, iv, 79–83; compare I, iii, 186 above.

A hand-kercheefe, which ſay to her did dreyne
The purple ſappe from her ſweet Brothers body,
And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withall.
If this inducement moue her not to loue,
Send her a Letter of thy Noble deeds:
Tell her, thou mad'ſt away her Vnckle *Clarence*,
Her Vnckle *Riuers*, I (and for her ſake)
Mad'ſt quicke conueyance with her good Aunt *Anne*.

Rich. You mocke me Madam, this not the way
To win your daughter.

Qu. There is no other way,
Vnleſſe thou could'ſt put on ſome other ſhape,
And not be *Richard*, that hath done all this.

Ric. Say that I did all this for loue of her.

292. *hand-kercheefe*] *handkercher* Q_1. *handkercheffe* Q_{2-4}. *Hand-kerchiefe* F_2. *Hand-kerchiffe* F_3. *Hand-kerchief* F_4. *Handkerchief* Rowe et seq.

292, 293. *which...body*] Om. Qq.

293. *ſappe*] *tide* Pope, +.

Brothers body] Ff. *brothers bodies* Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. *brothers' bodies* Warb. Johns. Varr. Ran. *brother's body* Cap. et cet.

294. *wipe*] *drie* Qq. *dry* Sta. Cam. +.

withall] *therewith* Qq, Pope, +, Sta. Cam. +.

295. *moue*] *force* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.

296. *Letter...deeds*] *ſtorie...acts* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.

298. *I*] *yea* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *Ay* Rowe et cet.

299. *Mad'ſt*] *Madſt* Q_1. *Madeſt* Qq, Cam. +. *Hadst* Vaughan (iii, 125).

300. *You...Madam*] *Come, come, you ...me;* Q_1Q_2, Cam. +. *Come, come, ye ...me*; Q_{3-5}.

this] *this is* QqFf et seq.

302. *There is*] *There's* Pope, + (—Var. '73).

305–359. Ric. *Say...yeares*] Om. Qq.

305. *her.*] *her?* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

293. **Brothers body**] CAPELL (ii, 188): Smother'd bodies, as were the princes', emit no 'purple sap'; therefore body is meant of another 'brother,' Lord Grey, who had a death to wet many 'handkerchiefs.'

299. **conueyance**] DYCE (*Gloss.*): That is, juggling artifice, secret management.

305–359. **Say that I did . . . tender yeares**] STAUNTON: Is it credible that so accomplished a master of stage-craft as Shakespeare, after witnessing the representation of *Richard III.*, would have added above eighty lines to the longest scene in the play? Is it not more probable these lines—those touching the young prince's train, II, ii, 129–147; the nine, III, vii, 153–161, in Gloucester's mock reply to the Mayor and Buckingham, and some others, formed originally part of the text and were omitted to accelerate the action?—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 141) thinks that a motive for the omission of these 55 lines in the Qq may have been that Richard's words: 'Say that I did all this for love of her,' are too close a repetition of his reasons urged to Anne in I, ii, and attributes the omission to an anonymous corrector, since, as in the case of a like omission in the Qq, lines 233–246, Shakespeare would not have thus deliberately destroyed the logical sequence of the dialogue.—See note by OECHELHÄUSER, l. 268; also *Appendix*, Pickersgill on *The Text*.—ED.

Qu. Nay then indeed ſhe cannot chooſe but hate thee
Hauing bought loue, with ſuch a bloody ſpoyle.
Rich. Looke what is done, cannot be now amended:
Men ſhall deale vnaduiſedly ſometimes,
Which after-houres giues leyſure to repent.
If I did take the Kingdome from your Sonnes,
To make amends, Ile giue it to your daughter:
If I haue kill'd the iſſue of your wombe,
To quicken your encreaſe, I will beget
Mine yſſue of your blood, vpon your Daughter:
A Grandams name is little leſſe in loue,
Then is the doting Title of a Mother;
They are as Children but one ſteppe below,
Euen of your mettall, of your very blood:

306. *hate*] *have* Mason, Steev. Var. '03, '13. *love* Tyrwhitt, Wh. i, Dyce ii, iii, Ktly, Huds. Coll. iii. *take* Jervis.
307. *bought*] *brought* Pope.
310. *giues*] *give* Rowe et seq.
repent] *repent of* Rowe,+ (—Var. '73).
312. *your*] Om. Var. '21 (misprint).
314. *your*] *you* Pope ii.
315. *Mine*] *More* Vaughan (iii, 128).
316. *little leſſe*] *less little* Theob. ii, Warb.
319. *mettall*] *mettle* F_3, Var. '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+. *metal* F_4, Rowe, +, Cap. Var. '78, Sing.

306. **she cannot choose but**] WRIGHT: That is, she must of necessity. Compare: 'Yond same cloud cannot choose but fall by pailfuls.'—*Temp.*, II, ii, 24; and: 'That cannot choose but amaze him.'—*Merry Wives*, V, iii, 18. [See, also, if needful, ABBOTT, § 353.]

306. **hate thee**] TYRWHITT: The sense seems to require that we should read '*love* thee,' ironically.—M. MASON: I should rather amend it by reading 'have thee'; as the word *have* is more likely to have been mistaken for 'hate,' the traces of the letters being nearly the same.—STEEVENS: This conjecture is, in my opinion, at once fortunate and judicious. A somewhat corresponding error appears in *Coriol.*, IV, iv, 23: 'My birth place hate I,' where *have* was apparently given instead of *hate*.—BOSWELL: It is by no means evident that this is spoken ironically, and, if not, the old reading affords a perfectly clear meaning. A virtuous woman would hate the man who thought to purchase her love by the commission of crimes.

309. **Men shall deale**] ABBOTT (§ 315): That is, men cannot help making mistakes.

310. **giues**] For this interpolation of *s* at the end of certain words in the Folio see note by WALKER, IV, i, 116.

319. **mettall**] WRIGHT: No distinction is consistently made in spelling [in the Folio] between the literal and metaphorical meanings of this word. Like the Latin *metallum*, from which it is derived, it primarily denotes that which is dug out of a mine, and so, stuff or substance generally. Hence it is applied to that which forms the basis of character, and so disposition or temper.

Of all one paine, ſaue for a night of groanes
Endur'd of her, for whom you bid like ſorrow.
Your Children were vexation to your youth,
But mine ſhall be a comfort to your Age,
The loſſe you haue, is but a Sonne being King,
And by that loſſe, your Daughter is made Queene.
I cannot make you what amends I would,
Therefore accept ſuch kindneſſe as I can.
Dorſet your Sonne, that with a fearfull ſoule
Leads diſcontented ſteppes in Forraine ſoyle,
This faire Alliance, quickly ſhall call home
To high Promotions, and great Dignity.
The King that calles your beauteous Daughter Wife,
Familiarly ſhall call thy *Dorſet*, Brother:
Againe ſhall you be Mother to a King:
And all the Ruines of diſtreſſefull Times,
Repayr'd with double Riches of Content.
What? we haue many goodly dayes to ſee:
The liquid drops of Teares that you haue ſhed,
Shall come againe, transform'd to Orient Pearle,

320. *Of all one...ſaue*] *All for no... say* Vaughan (iii, 129).
321. *bid*] *'bid* Heath, Cap.
329. *Leads*] *Treads* Cap. conj. Coll. ii (MS).
332. *beauteous*] *beautious* F_3.

320. **Of all one paine**] CAPELL (ii, 188): In what sense are a daughter's children 'of all one pain' to the grandmother; that is, of the same *pain* to her that they are to the daughter? The exception ['save for a night,' etc.] directs us to it; the *pain* (that is, the solicitude) of both is one and the same because their love is the same—the mother's is only heightened by consideration of that *pain* which she underwent in their births.

321. **bid**] HEATH (p. 300): We should read, *'bid*, that is, *abode*, the præter perfect tense of the verb *abide*. The sense is, all proceeding from one and the same pang of child-birth which gave your daughter to the world, except those groans only which she in her turn must endure, as you have already endured them on her account.—JOHNSON: 'Bid' is in the past tense from *bide*.—MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Abide. 16. To endure, suffer, bear, undergo, sustain.) gives two examples of the past tense *abid*.

339. **Orient Pearle**] Shakespeare uses 'orient' as an adjective applied to pearls in two other passages: *Mid. N. Dream*, IV, i, 59; and *Ant. & Cleo.*, I, v, 41. On the foregoing passage from *Mid. N. Dream* Wright has the following note: 'Compare: "Bright orient pearl, alack, too timely shaded."—*Pass. Pilgrim*, 133. The epithet appears to be originally applied to the pearl and other gems as coming from the east, and to have acquired the general sense of bright and shining,

Aduantaging their Loue, with intereſt.
Often-times double gaine of happineſſe.
Go then (my Mother) to thy Daughter go,
Make bold her baſhfull yeares, with your experience,
Prepare her eares to heare a Woers Tale.
Put in her tender heart, th'aſpiring Flame
Of Golden Soueraignty: Acquaint the Princeſſe
With the ſweet ſilent houres of Marriage ioyes:
And when this Arme of mine hath chaſtiſed
The petty Rebell, dull-brain'd *Buckingham*,
Bound with Triumphant Garlands will I come,
And leade thy daughter to a Conquerors bed:
To whom I will retaile my Conqueſt wonne,
And ſhe ſhalbe ſole Victoreſſe, *Cæſars Cæſar*.
Qu. What were I beſt to ſay, her Fathers Brother
Would be her Lord? Or ſhall I ſay her Vnkle?
Or he that ſlew her Brothers, and her Vnkles?
Vnder what Title ſhall I woo for thee,
That God, the Law, my Honor, and her Loue,
Can make ſeeme pleaſing to her tender yeares?

340. *Loue,*] *love* F_4. *loan* Theob. et seq.
341. *Often-times double*] Ff. *Often-times double* Rowe, Pope. *Of ten times double* Theob.+, Varr. Mal. Knt, Cam.+. *Of ten-times-double* Steev. et cet.
343. *her*] *your* F_4.
344. *Woers*] *Wooers* Ff et seq.
348. *chaſtiſed*] *chastisèd* Dyce, Huds. *chàstised* Sta.
350. *Garlands*] *laurels* Cap.
353. *Victoreſſe*] *Victreſs* F_4 et seq.
356. *Brothers,*] *Brothers?* F_3F_4, Rowe. *brothers* Knt, Dyce, Cam.+.

---

from the objects which it most commonly describes. Compare: "Ten thousand banners rise into the air, With orient colours waving."—*Paradise Lost*, i, 546.'—MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Orient, adject. B. 2, b*) gives examples of 'orient' used in the sense of *lustrous, shining*.—ED.

340. **Loue**] THEOBALD: My easy emendation [*loan*] will convince every reader that 'love' and *lone* are made out of one another only by a letter turned upside down. Thus: The tears that you have lent to your affections shall be turned into gems; and requite you by way of *interest*.

347. **sweet silent houres**] The turbulent reign of Edward furnished but few opportunities for Elizabeth to enjoy any such hours; her first marriage with Sir John Grey might, perhaps, have afforded her some experience of them.—ED.

348. **chastised**] WRIGHT: The accent is here on the first syllable, as in all other passages of Shakespeare, except *Tro. & Cress.*, V, v, 4: 'Tell her I have chastised the amorous Trojan.'

352. **retaile**] See III, i, 89.

Rich. Inferre faire Englands peace by this Alliance.
Qu Which ſhe ſhall purchaſe with ſtil laſting warre.
Rich. Tell her, the King that may command, intreats.
Qu. That at her hands, which the kings King forbids.
Rich. Say ſhe ſhall be a High and Mighty Queene.
Qu. To vaile the Title, as her Mother doth.
Rich. Say I will loue her euerlaſtingly.
Qu. But how long ſhall that title euer laſt?
Rich. Sweetly in force, vnto her faire liues end.
Qu. But how long fairely ſhall her ſweet life laſt?
Rich. As long as Heauen and Nature lengthens it.
Qu. As long as Hell and *Richard* likes of it.

360. *this*] *his* Q_{6-8}.
362. *Tell her...that*] *Say that...which* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
363. *forbids*] *forbid* Q_{2-8}.
365. *vaile*] Ff, Rowe. *waile* Qq et cet.
367. *title euer*] *little Ever* Roderick. *euer*] Om. Q_5. '*ever*' Dyce, Wh. i, Cam.+.
368. *in force*] *inforce* Qq. *liues*] *life's* Rowe et seq.
369. *her...life*] *that title* Q_{3-8}.
370, 371. *As...As*] *So...So* Qq, Cam.+. *So...As* Sta.
370. *lengthens*] *lengthen* Pope,+, Hal. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
371. *likes*] *like* Pope,+, Hal. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

---

360. **Inferre**] See III, v, 81.

363. **the kings King forbids**] GREY (i, 64): Alluding to the prohibition in the Levitical law. See *Leviticus* xviii, 14.—BOSWELL: She rather means that her [Qu. *his*?] crimes would render such a marriage offensive to Heaven. This is consistent with the rest of the dialogue. [The chapter and verse cited by Grey refer to the illegality of marriage with a father's brother, or with a father's brother's wife. In the *Book of Common Prayer*, 1549, there is, following the *Articles of Belief*, a *Table of Kindred and Affinity, wherein whosoever are related are forbidden in Scripture and our Laws to marry together*, and therein 'Brothers' daughter' is enumerated among the prohibited relationships. Grey's reference to Leviticus has been uniformly followed, I believe, in all modern editions, but is it not more likely that it is to the foregoing *Table* that Elizabeth refers?—ED.

365. **vaile**] The Quarto reading, *waile*, is possibly right; but might not a meaning be obtained from the Folio—taking 'vail' in the sense of *lower*, as in, 'Vailing her high-top'?—*Mer. of Ven.*, I, i, 28; and, 'thy vailed lids.'—*Hamlet*, I, ii, 70. By this interpretation the antithesis to 'high' in Richard's speech is preserved.—ED.

370, 371. **lengthens . . . likes**] WRIGHT: In the one case 'heaven and nature' are regarded as one idea, as 'hell and Richard' are in the other. Compare IV, i, 50. [Also: 'Time and the hour runs through the roughest day.'—*Macbeth*, I, iii, 147.]

371. **likes of it**] ABBOTT (§ 177): 'Of' after 'to like' is perhaps a result of the old impersonal use of the verb *me liketh*, which might seem to disqualify the verb from taking a direct object. Similarly: *it repents me of*, becomes I repent *of*.

Rich. Say I her Soueraigne, am her Subiect low.
Qu. But ſhe your Subiect, lothes ſuch Soueraignty.
Rich. Be eloquent in my behalfe to her.
Qu. An honeſt tale ſpeeds beſt, being plainly told.
Rich. Then plainly to her, tell my louing tale.
Qu. Plaine and not honeſt, is too harſh a ſtyle.
Rich. Your Reaſons are too ſhallow, and too quicke.
Qu. O no, my Reaſons are too deepe and dead,
Too deepe and dead (poore Infants) in their graues,
Harpe on it ſtill ſhall I, till heart-ſtrings breake.
Rich. Harpe not on that ſtring Madam, that is paſt.

372. *low*] *loue* Qq, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *now* Pope,+ (—Var. '73).
376. *plainly...tell*] *in plain terms tell her* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
378. *Your*] *Madame your* Qq, Sta.
to quicke] *too quick* QqF_3F_4 et seq.
379–383. In margin, Pope, Han.
379. *my*] *your* Ran.
380. *Too*] *Two* F_4, Pope,+, Varr. *To* Rowe ii.
their graues] *their graue* Qq, Cam.+. *your graves* Cap.
381–383. *Harpe on...breake.* Rich. *Harpe not...paſt. Now*] Ff,+. King. *Harpe on...breake.* King. *Now* Q_{2-8}. King. *Harpe not one...paſt.* Qu. *Harpe on...breake.* King. *Now* Q_1 et cet. (subs.)

---

372. **low**] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 175): 'Low' cannot be from Shakespeare's hand.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 28): Which [reading, that of Quarto or Folio] is right may be questioned; but right or wrong, the change requires no curious explanation.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 95): I am surprised to find that in Spedding's opinion, 'which reading is right may be questioned.' Most readers, I think, will rather agree with Walker. Does not the alteration bear upon the face of it the mark of an injudicious corrector, in whose eyes *love* in the sense of *lover* was an offence?—WRIGHT: The Folio reading gives no opportunity for the play on words contained in 'loathes' in the next line.

376. **Then plainly to her, etc.**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: It is worthy of observation that the dialogue in this scene, like that in I, ii, is in the same style of snip-snap rejoinder which pervades the dialogue in almost every scene of *Love's Lab. Lost.* It is full of quibbling and word-catching, ingenious twisting of phrase, and wilful perversion of meanings: just the verbal fencing and adroit sentential play of fancy in which a student-pen, first essaying its skill, delights to exercise itself. [Might not this be summed up in the pedantic but convenient word *stichomythia*? Compare 360–378, above.—ED.]

382. **Harpe not on that string**] LOWELL (p. 96): Though this had long been a common expression, it is reasonable to suppose that Shakespeare borrowed it from More or from Holinshed . . . More says: 'The Cardinall made a countinance to the other Lord, that he should harp no more upon that string' [p. 54]. These words are spoken in the presence of Elizabeth, but are addressed to Lord Howard.

Now by my George, my Garter, and my Crowne.
Qu. Prophan'd, diſhonor'd, and the third vſurpt.
Rich. I ſweare.
Qu. By nothing, for this is no Oath:
Thy George prophan'd, hath loſt his Lordly Honor;
Thy Garter blemiſh'd, pawn'd his Knightly Vertue;
Thy Crowne vſurp'd, diſgrac'd his Kingly Glory:
If ſomething thou would'ſt ſweare to be beleeu'd,
Sweare then by ſomething, that thou haſt not wrong'd.
Rich. Then by my Selfe.
Qu. Thy Selfe, is ſelfe-miſvs'd.
Rich. Now by the World.

385, 386. As one line, Steev. et seq.

385. */ſweare.*] */ſweare by nothing.* Qq. *ſwear*— Rowe et seq.

387, 388, 389. *Thy*] *The* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Cam. +.

387. *Lordly*] *holy* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +. *saintly* Marshall conj.

388. *Knightly*] *Kingly* Ff, Rowe.

389. *vſurp'd*] *vſurped* Qq.
Glory] *dignitie* Qq.

390. */omething thou would'ſt*] *ſomething thou wilt* Q_{1-6}, Sta. Cam. +. *nothing thou wilt* Q_7Q_8.

392–396. *Selfe. ... World. ... death.*] *self— ...world— ...death*— Rowe et seq. (subs.)

392–397. *Then ... diſhonor'd*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Sing. Wh. i, Ktly. *Now by the World.* Qu. *Tis ful of thy foule wrongs.* King. *My Fathers death.* Qu. *Thy life hath that diſhonord.* King. *Then by my ſelfe.* Qu. *Thy ſelfe, thy ſelfe myſvſeſt.* Qq et cet.

392–399. As four lines, ending: *wrongs ...diſhonor'd.../elfe-miſvſed...all.* Steev. Varr. Coll. Dyce, Hal. Sta. Cam. +. As four lines, ending: */elfe-miſvſed...wrongs ..diſhonor'd...all* Knt, Sing. Wh. i, Ktly.

393. *Thy Selfe*] *Thy ſelfe,* Q_8.
is ſelfe-miſvs'd] *thyſelfe miſvſeſt* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.

---

383. **my George**] COURTENAY (*Comment.*, ii, p. 107, *foot-note*): There is here an inaccuracy, when Richard swears by his *George*, a badge not used in his time.— ASHMOLE (p. 173, § 6), after describing the robes and hoods of the Order of the Garter, says: 'There remains now the Collar and *George*, brought in by King Henry VIII.' Again, speaking of the collar, he says, p. 174: '—nor ought the collar to be adorned with precious stones (as the *George* may be) such being prohibited by the Law of the Order. At the middle of the Collar before pendant at the Table of one of the Garters in the Collar is to be fix'd the image of St George arm'd sitting on Horseback, who having thrown the Dragon on his Back encounters him with a Tilting-Spear.'

387, 388, 389. **his**] For an account of the change of the possessive neuter from 'his' to *its*, see MURRAY: *N. E. D. s. v.* its.

387. **Lordly**] PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 112): The Folio, probably to get rid of the alliteration, changes the Quarto reading *holy*. But surely this involves a sacrifice of the proper epithet, which Shakespeare would not have made. To say nothing of the sacred character of the George, the word 'profaned' shows that *holy* is the true reading.

Qu. 'Tis full of thy foule wrongs.
Rich. My fathers death.
Qu. Thy life hath it diſhonor'd.
Rich. Why then, by Heauen.
Qu. Heanens wrong is moſt of all:
If thou didd'ſt feare to breake an Oath with him,
The vnity the King my husband made,
Thou had'ſt not broken, nor my Brothers died.
If thou had'ſt fear'd to breake an oath by him,
Th'Imperiall mettall, circling now thy head,
Had grac'd the tender temples of my Child,
And both the Princes had bene breathing heere,
Which now two tender Bed-fellowes for duſt,

398, 399. *Heauen.* Qu. *Heanens*] Ff, +, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran. *Heaven*— Qu. *God's* Mal. Var.'21. *God.* Qu. *Gods* Qq et cet.

399. *Heanens*] F_1. *Heaven's* Ff (subs.) *Heav'n's* Rowe, +.

400. *didd'ſt feare...with*] Ff, +, Varr. Ran. *hadſt feard...by* Qq et cet. (subs.) *him*] *heav'n* Pope, +, Varr. Mal.

401. *my husband*] *my brother* Q_{1-6}. *thy brother* Q_7Q_8, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +, Coll. iii.

402. *Thou had'ſt not*] *Had not beene* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +.

402. *Brothers died*] *brother ſlain* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Cam. +.

403. *by him*] *with heav'n* Pope, + (—Var. '73).

404. *thy*] *my* Q_8.
head] *brow* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.

405. *grac'd*] *graſt* Q_{1-5}. *grac't* Q_{6-8}. *graced* Cam. +.

407. *two ... for*] *too ... for* Roderick Cap. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *are...in* Long MS ap. Cam.
Bed-fellowes] *play-fellows* Qq, Sta. Cam. +. *Bed-folowes* F_2.

399, 400. **Heanens . . . him**] MALONE: The editors of F_1, from the apprehension of the penalty of the statute 3 *Jac.* I., altered the Quarto line, but by this alteration made all that follows in the Queen's speech ungrammatical.—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 96): I hold the Folio text [in this passage] to be decidedly wrong, and reject it in favor of the Quarto. To proceed only upon one ground, the order *now—then—why then* appears much more natural than *then—now—why then*. But however this may be, there is, at any rate, a bad case of blundering at the end of this passage, where *God* is changed to 'Heaven,' and yet 'him' is allowed to stand.

402. **Brothers**] Earl Rivers is the only brother of Elizabeth introduced in the present play; for an attempt to explain this use of the plural, see note by DANIEL, I, iii, 42.

407. **Bed-fellowes**] R. G. WHITE: 'Bed-fellows' for *play-fellows*, the Quarto reading, is an improvement of the poetic beauty of the line too obvious to need comment. Variations such as these are evidently the result of the author's revision of the play. And the addition of 'What canst thou swear by now,' making with the reply (which is found in the Qq) a perfect verse, shows at least authoritative restora-

Thy broken Faith hath made the prey for Wormes.
What can'ſt thou ſweare by now.
Rich. The time to come.
Qu. That thou haſt wronged in the time ore-paſt:
For I my ſelfe haue many teares to waſh
Heereafter time, for time paſt, wrong'd by thee.
The Children liue, whoſe Fathers thou haſt ſlaughter'd,
Vngouern'd youth, to waile it with their age:
The Parents liue, whoſe Children thou haſt butcher'd,
Old barren Plants, to waile it with their Age.

408. *hath*] *had* Q_8.
the prey for] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *a prey to* Pope,+. *a prey for* Qq et cet.
Wormes] *worme* Q_8.
409. *What...now*] Om. Qq, Pope.
410. *The*] *By the* Qq, Mal. Steev. Varr. *By* Pope,+, Varr. Ran.
411. *wronged*] *wrongd* Qq.
the] Om. Qq.
413. *time, for time*] *time, for time,* Q_1Q_2. *time for time,* Q_{3-8}.
paſt, ...thee] *by the paſt wrong'd* Qq. (*thee paſt* Q_5Q_6.)
414. *Fathers*] *parents* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+.
ſlaughter'd] *ſlaughtered* Qq.
415. *with their*] Q_5Ff, Rowe, Cap. Coll. Wh. i. *with her* Q_{6-8}. *in her* Steev. reprint (foot-note). *in their* Q_{1-4} et cet.
416. *butcher'd*] *butchered* Q_7Q_8.
417. *barren*] *withered* Qq, Cam.+. *wither'd* Pope,+, Sta.
Plants] *plaints* Q_5.
with] *in* Pope,+.

---

tion.—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 150): The two princes, dust to dust returned, are likewise become 'bedfellows' of the dust. Since they are now a 'prey to worms,' as is said in the next line, they can hardly be *play-fellows for dust*, which the Quarto reading makes them. The anonymous corrector of the Quarto recalled, possibly, the line in the closing speech of IV, i, which he had stricken out, wherein the Tower is called: 'old sullen playfellow for tender princes.' But at that time the princes were living.—CARTER (p. 144): Compare: 'They shall sleepe both in the dust, and the wormes shall cover them.'—*Job* xxi, 26 (Genevan Version).

414. **Fathers**] BARNARD thinks that Elizabeth here refers to the children of Clarence, orphaned by Richard; but Elizabeth had no valid reason to accuse Richard of this crime: Edward, in her presence, had assumed all responsibility.—ED.

417. **waile it with their Age**] DANIEL, who seeks to establish a direct connection between Q_8 and F_1, says (*Introd.*, p. x), in regard to this passage: 'Here Q_5 puts in its solitary claim to exclusive connection with F_1 [see *Text. Notes*]; but all things considered, I am disposed to think that, so far from this case telling against Q_8, it affords proof in its favour. *In their* is clearly the right reading, and it is quite possible that the scribe who prepared the "copy" for F_1, with the theatrical MS before him and working on a copy Q_8, may, in correcting the obvious blunder *her*, have overlooked the other correction of "with" to *in* which he should also have made. This is one of the errors into which correctors for the press are, I know from experience, very liable to fall.' [For a summary of DANIEL'S theory see *Appendix: The Text.*]

Sweare not by time to come, for that thou haſt
Miſvs'd ere vs'd, by times ill-vs'd repaſt.
Rich. As I entend to proſper, and repent:
So thriue I in my dangerous Affayres
Of hoſtile Armes: My ſelfe, my ſelfe confound:
Heauen, and Fortune barre me happy houres:
Day, yeeld me not thy light; nor Night, thy reſt.
Be oppoſite all Planets of good lucke
To my proceeding, if with deere hearts loue,
Immaculate deuotion, holy thoughts,
I tender not thy beautious Princely daughter.
In her, conſiſts my Happineſſe, and thine:
Without her, followes to my ſelfe, and thee;
Her ſelfe, the Land, and many a Chriſtian ſoule,
Death, Deſolation, Ruine, and Decay:

418, 419. In margin, Pope, Han.
419. *ere*] *eare* $Q_{1-3}Q_5$. *nere* Q_4.
times ill-vs'd repaſt] Ff. *time miſuſed orepaſt* Qq, Cam.+. *times ill--us'd o'erpaſt* Rowe et cet.
421. *Affayres*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i (subs.). *attempt* Qq et cet.
423. *Heauen...houres*] Om. Qq.
Heauen] *So heaven* Ktly conj.
424. *light;*] *light?* Ff.
426. *proceeding*] *proceedings* Qq, Cam. +.
426. *deere*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Wh. i. *pure* Qq et cet.
427. *Immaculate*] *Immaculatd* Q_2. *Immaculated* Q_{3-8}.
428. *tender*] *render* Q_3Q_{5-7}.
430. *Without her,*] *Without her* Q_1. *Without, her* Q_2.
430, 431. *my ſelfe...Land,*] *this land and me, To thee her ſelfe,* Qq. *this land and me, To thee, herſelf,* Sta. Cam.+.
432. *Death,*] *Sad* Qq.
Deſolation] *deſolate* Q_7Q_8.

420–422. **As I entend . . . Armes**] TAWNEY: Richard begins as if he were going to assert positively that his intentions are honourable, but after the word 'arms' the construction is changed, and he imprecates various calamities on himself if they are not.

421. **Affayres**] VERPLANCK: The Quarto reading *attempts*, as it might here imply not defensive war, but hostile aggression, I take to have been changed by the author.

425. **opposite**] ROLFE: That is, *opposed, adverse*. Shakespeare mentions 'planets' nearly a score of times, but always with an astrological reference.

428. **tender**] That is, *regard, hold in high estimation;* compare I, i, 50; II, iv, 82.

430–432. **to my selfe, and thee; . . . Ruine, and Decay**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 153): Richard thus enumerates in logical sequence the evils which will befall if he be denied union with the daughter of Elizabeth. He thinks first of himself, then of the Queen, whom he is most anxious to influence, then of her daughter, and last of the land and its inhabitants. The anonymous corrector of the Quarto, on the contrary, makes Richard think first of the land, which by this destructive change is thus completely separated from the clause belonging to it—'and many a Christian soul.' More than this, the unnecessary epithet *sad*, is put in place of

It cannot be auo yded, but by this:
It will not be auoyded, but by this.
Therefore deare Mother (I muſt call you ſo)
Be the Atturney of my loue to her:
Pleade what I will be, not what I haue beene;
Not my deſerts, but what I will deſerue:
Vrge the Neceſſity and ſtate of times,
And be not peeuiſh found, in great Deſignes.
Qu. Shall I be tempted of the Diuel thus?
Rich. I, if the Diuell tempt you to do good.
Qu. Shall I forget my ſelfe, to be my ſelfe.
Rich. I, if your ſelfes remembrance wrong your ſelfe.
Qu. Yet thou didſt kil my Children.
Rich. But in your daughters wombe I bury them.
Where in that Neſt of Spicery they will breed
Selues of themſelues, to your recomforture.

434. *by*] Om. Q_1.
435. *deare*] *good* Qq, Cam.+.
438. *my*] *by* Qq.
deſerts] *deſires* F_4, Rowe.
439. *of ſtate and*] *and state of* Coll. MS.
440. *peeuiſh found*] *pieuiſh, fond* Q_1. *peeuiſh, fond* Q_2. *peeuiſh fond* Q_{3-8}. *peevish-fond* Mal. conj. Hal. Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
441. *thus?*] *thus.* Q_1.
442. *tempt you*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Dyce i, Hal. *tempts thee* Wh. i, Rlfe. *tempt thee* Qq et cet.
443. *ſelfe.*] *ſelfe?* Q_{3-8}.
444. *your ſelfes*] *your ſelues* Q_8. *your self's* Rowe et seq.
445. *Yet*] *But* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.
445. *Children.*] *harmless children.* Walker (Vers. 8). *children, didst thou not?* Anon. ap. Cam. ii.
446. *I bury*] *I buried* Q_1Q_2. *I burie* Q_3Ff. *Ile burie* Q_{4-8}. *I'll bury* Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
447. *Where in*] *Wherein* Q_1Q_8. *Where, in* Theob. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. *Neſt of Spicery*] See Herodotus, Lib. ii, cap. 13; Pliny, Nat. Hist., bk, x, ch. ii; Green, p. 380.
they will] *they ſhall* Q_1Q_2, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly. *there ſhall* Q_{3-8}.
448. *Selues*] *Selfes* Qq.
recomforture] *recomfiture* Qq.

the indispensable word 'death,' l. 432. Death threatens the persons named, desolation, ruin, and decay, threaten the land and its inhabitants.

440. **peeuish found**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 29): Here the Folio is certainly wrong. One cannot fancy Shakespeare making that alteration. But then it is easy to fancy a printer or transcriber not understanding the effect of the double epithet (*peevish-fond*) and supposing *fond* a mistake for 'found,' which makes very good sense.

447, 448. **Nest of Spicery**] STEEVENS notes that there is here an allusion to the phoenix.

448. **recomforture**] That is, *renewed comfort.* CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.*) quotes the present instance as the only example of the use of this word.—ED.

Qu. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?
Rich. And be a happy Mother by the deed.
Qu. I go, write to me very ſhortly,
And you ſhal vnderſtand from me her mind. *Exit* Q.
Rich. Beare her my true loues kiſſe, and ſo farewell.
Relenting Foole, and ſhallow-changing Woman.

450. *by*] *in* Q_7Q_8.
451. *me*] *me, Richard,* Coll. ii, iii (MS).
very] Om. Pope,+.
452. *And...mind*] Om. Qq.
Exit *Q.*] After l. 453, Qq.
453. *and ſo*] Om. Qq.
[Kissing her. Johns.
454. *ſhallow-changing*] *ſhallow changing* Qq. *shallow, changing* Theob. Coll. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+. *shallow, changing*— Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.

449. **Shall I go win my daughter]** OECHELHÄUSER (*Essay*, p. 116): Here we, who simply read the drama, feel for the second time in the same scene, and the second follows close upon the first, that the important psychologic moment in the action does not at once make itself apparent, but that, in order to comprehend it, recourse must be had to the æsthetic critic; I refer to Richard's behaviour under his mother's curse, and here Elizabeth's at the close of this wooing scene. In its arrangement for the stage this is a manifest error on Shakespeare's part. In so important a period of the action, the correct interpretation of the poet's idea should not be left to the actor's conception alone, either to distort or completely destroy. A word or two spoken aside—even a stage-direction, if need be—would have been sufficient to dispel all doubts as to the correct interpretation.

450. **And be a happy Mother]** See l. 285 *ante*.—HUDSON (*Life*, etc., p. 166): It appears somewhat uncertain whether Elizabeth is really beguiled by Richard's wizard rhetoric, or whether she only temporizes, and feigns a reluctant acquiescence, and so at last fairly outwits him. Most critics, I believe, have taken the former view; but I am far from seeing it so: for her daughter's hand is firmly pledged to Richmond already, and she is in the whole secret of the plot for seating him on the throne. So I take it as an instance of that profound yet innocent and almost unconscious guile which women are apt to use in defence of those they love, and which so often proves an overmatch for all the sources of deliberate craft.

451. **shortly]** STEEVENS: This adverb, in the present instance, is employed as a trisyllable.—WALKER (*Vers.*, 23) quotes this line as an example wherein 'shortly' seems to be so pronounced, and adds: 'But I suspect some error.' So also ABBOTT, § 477.

452. **Exit Q.]** WRIGHT: At the close of the narrative which suggested this scene, Hall has the following profound remark: 'Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, yf all women had bene found constante, but let men speake, yet wemen of the verie bond of nature will followe their awne kynde.'—p. 406.

454. **Relenting Foole, etc.]** HORN (iii, 144): We might well think that in a scene, such as the foregoing, with its rumblings of thunder, its flashes of lightning, its sepulchral horror, and clarion-tongued justice, that even Richard would be somewhat daunted, but then we should forget that which Richard ever held steadfast in view: 'I am determined to become a villain.' In everything which

How now, what newes ? 455

Enter Ratcliffe.

Rat. Moſt mightie Soueraigne, on the Weſterne Coaſt
Rideth a puiſſant Nauie: to our Shores
Throng many doubtfull hollow-hearted friends,
Vnarm'd, and vnreſolu'd to beat them backe. 460
'Tis thought, that *Richmond* is their Admirall:
And there they hull, expecting but the aide
Of *Buckingham*, to welcome them aſhore.
Rich. Some light-foot friend poſt to ỹ Duke of Norfolk; 464

455. *How...newes ?*] Om. Qq, Pope, + (−Var. '73).
456. SCENE VI. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns.
Enter Ratcliffe.] After l. 454, Qq. Enter Ratcliffe; Catesby following. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
457. *Moſt mightie*] *My gracious* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
458. *Rideth*] *Rides* F_4, Rowe, Pope.
458. *Nauie: to our Shores*] *Nauie. To the ſhore* Qq, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Huds. (subs.)
459. *hollow-hearted*] *hollow harted* Qq.
462. *they*] *thy* Q_2.
464. *light-foot*] *light foote* Q_2.
Norfolk] *Norff.* Q_{1-5}.

---

others consider *appalling*, he is completely at home. Nay, more, it affords him pleasure thus to exercise his wit in this thrust-and-parry form of dialogue, and, imperturbable, to conquer. The pleasing task of supplying a scurrilous comment on Elizabeth comes from his superabundance of ingenuity; it is not a very edifying ejaculation: 'Relenting fool, and shallow-changing woman.'

454. **shallow-changing**] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 26), among many other examples of such compound adjectives, compares: 'According to my shallow-simple skill.'—*Two Gent.*, II, i, 8; 'that loose grace Which shallow-laughing hearers give to fools.'—*Love's Labour's*, V, ii, 870. But in the present instance 'shallow-changing' is the reading of F_1; and in the two examples quoted by Walker the hyphen is his own substitution for a comma, wherein he has been followed by only one or two modern editors.—ED.

462. **hull**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. verb*[2]): Of a ship: To float or be driven by the force of the wind, or current on the hull alone; to drift to the wind with sails furled; to lie a-hull. [The present line quoted.]

464. **Some light-foot friend**, etc.] JOHNSON: Richard's precipitation and confusion is, in this scene, very happily represented, by inconsistent orders, and sudden variations of opinion.—CHURCHILL (p. 511): The same purpose is apparent in this scene between Richard, Catesby, and Ratcliffe, as in that between Richard and Catesby in the *True Tragedy*, wherein it is shown how Richard is unnerved by Richmond's conspiracy and by his conscience. He does not know whether he has called Catesby or not, misunderstands Catesby's hope that his troubles will be overcome as a hope that he himself will be overcome, and flies into a passion when Catesby praises Richmond. [See *Appendix: The True Tragedie*, etc., p. 533.]

Ratcliffe thy ſelfe, or *Catesby*, where is hee?
Cat. Here, my good Lord.
Rich. *Catesby*, flye to the Duke.
Cat. I will, my Lord, with all conuenient haſte.
Rich. *Catesby* come hither, poſte to Salisbury:
When thou com'ſt thither: Dull vnmindfull Villaine,
Why ſtay'ſt thou here, and go'ſt not to the Duke?
Cat. Firſt, mighty Liege, tell me your Highneſſe pleaſure,
What from your Grace I ſhall deliuer to him.
Rich. O true, good *Catesby*, bid him leuie ſtraight
The greateſt ſtrength and power that he can make,
And meet me ſuddenly at Salisbury.

466, 467. As one line, Steev. et seq.
466. *good*] Om. Qq, Cam.+.
467–469. Catesby...*Salisbury*] *Flie to the Duke, poſt thou to Salisburie* Qq. *Fly to the Duke.* [To Ratcliffe] *Post thou to Salisbury.* Cam.+.
469. Catesby] *Ratcliff* Rowe et seq.
470. *thither*] *there* Qq.
Dull] [to Catesby] *Dull* Rowe et seq.
471. *ſtay'ſt thou here*] *ſtandſt thou ſtill?* Qq. (*ſtands* Q_4Q_7.) Cam.+.
472. *Liege...pleaſure*] *Soueraigne, let me know your minde*, Qq, Cam.+.
473. *to him*] *to them* Q_1Q_2. *him* Qq, Sta.
475. *that*] Om. Qq, Pope, Sta. Cam.+.
476. *ſuddenly*] *preſently* Qq, Cam.+.

467, 469. **Catesby, flye . . . Catesby come hither**] CAMBRIDGE EDD. (*Note* xx): We have followed the reading of the Qq in preference to that of the Ff. The Folio reading seems to show that the text of the Qq has been altered by no very skilful hand.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 29): To me it seems to show that the Folio has been *edited* by no very skilful hand; but the correction (first suggested by Rowe) which was obviously *intended* cannot surely be taken for any want of skill in the alterer. It makes the meaning so clear that it is scarcely necessary to insert the stage-direction [*to Catesby*] before: 'Dull unmindful villain.' As it appears by the speeches interchanged between Richard and Ratcliffe, a few lines further on (as they stand in both Qq and Ff), that it was he who had been told to post to Salisbury, it is certain that 'Catesby,' in his second speech, 'Catesby come hither,' was either a misprint, or a slip of the pen for 'Ratcliffe.' This correction, therefore, *must* be made; and, being made, it leaves everything clear and consistent.

469. **Salisbury**] BARNARD: At Salisbury Richard would be in a position to intercept the junction of Buckingham and Richmond.

474. **O true, good Catesby**] HUDSON (*Life*, etc., ii, 151): By his bland apology implied in, 'O true, good Catesby,' which drops so easily that it seems to spring fresh from his heart, Richard instantly charms out the sting of his former words, and we feel that the man is knit closer to him than ever. Yet his kingly dignity is not a whit impaired, nay, is even heightened, by the act, partly from his graciousness of manner, and partly from his quick art in putting the apology under a sort of transparent disguise.

Cat. I goe. *Exit.*
Rat. What, may it pleaſe you, ſhall I doe at Salis-bury?
Rich. Why, what would'ſt thou doe there, before I goe?
Rat. Your Highneſſe told me I ſhould poſte before.
Rich. My minde is chang'd:

Enter Lord Stanley.

Stanley, what newes with you?
Sta. None, good my Liege, to pleaſe you with ẏ hearing,
Nor none ſo bad, but well may be reported.
Rich. Hoyday, a Riddle, neither good nor bad:
What need'ſt thou runne ſo many miles about,
When thou mayeſt tell thy Tale the neereſt way?
Once more, what newes?
Stan. *Richmond* is on the Seas.
Rich. There let him ſinke, and be the Seas on him,

477. Cat. *I goe.* Exit.] Om. Qq.
478. *What...I doe*] *What is it your highnes pleaſure I ſhal do* Q_{1-4}. *What it is your highneſſe pleaſure I ſhall do* Q_5. *What is your highneſs pleaſure I ſhall do* Q_{6-8}. *What is't your highness' pleaſure I shall do* Cam.+ (as one line).
Salis-bury?] *Salis-burie.* Q_1.
483-485. *chang'd:*...Stanley] *chang'd ſir, my minde is changd. How now* Qq, Cam.+ (subs.)
484. Enter Lord Stanley.] Enter Darby Qq. After l. 482, Cap. et seq.
484, 485. As one line, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Ktly.
486. *None, good my Liege,*] F_2F_3, Pope. *None good my Lord* Qq. *None good, my lord,* Cam.+. *None good, my Liege,* F_4 et cet.
486. *ẏ*] Om. Q_7Q_8. *the* Ff.
487. *well...reported*] *it may well be told* Qq, Cam.+.
488. *Hoyday*] Ff, Rowe, Dyce, Sta. Cam.+. *Heyday* Pope et cet.
Riddle, neither] $Q_{1-6}F_2F_3$, Rowe, Pope. *riddle neither* F_4. *riddle! neither* Theob. et seq.
489. *what need'ſt*] *Why doeſt* Q_1Q_2. *Why dooſt* Qq. *Why dost* Pope,+, Cam.+.
miles] *mile* Q_{1-6}, Cam.+.
490. *mayeſt*] *maiſt* Q_1Q_2. *mayſt* Qq, Cam.+ (subs.)
the neereſt] *a neerer* Qq, Cam.+.
way?] *way.* Q_1Q_2. *way,* Q_{3-8}.
491, 492. As one line, Steev. et seq.

483. **My minde is chang'd**] VERPLANCK: By the repetition of these words, in the Qq, and also those in l. 496, the author's first intention may have been to express the hurry and excitement of rapid action; which, in revision, may well have seemed to him inconsistent with the cool self-possession and lofty bearing of Richard.

493. **There let him sinke**] DRAKE (p. 443): This reply is pointed with irony and invective. There are two causes in nature and character for this: First, Richard

White-liuer'd Runnagate, what doth he there?
Stan. I know not, mightie Soueraigne, but by gueſſe.
Rich. Well, as you gueſſe.
Stan. Stirr'd vp by *Dorſet*, *Buckingham*, and *Morton*,
He makes for England, here to clayme the Crowne.
Rich. Is the Chayre emptie? is the Sword vnſway'd?
Is the King dead? the Empire vnpoſſeſt?

494. *White-liuer'd*] *White liuerd* Qq. *Runnagate*] QqF$_2$F$_3$. *Run-a-gate* F$_4$, Rowe, Pope, Han. *Runagate* Theob. et cet.
496. *Well, ...gueſſe.*] Ff,+. *Well sir as you gueſſe as you gueſſe.* Q$_{1-6}$. *Well, ſir, as you gueſſe*, Q$_7$Q$_8$ (subs.) *Well, sir, as you guess, as you guess?* Cam.+. *Well...guess?* Cap. et cet.
497. *Stirr'd*] *Sturd* Qq.
Morton] *Elie* Qq. *Ely* Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
498. *here*] *there* Qq, Cam.+.

---

was before informed of the news: his passion was not taken by surprise, and he was enough at ease to make a play upon Stanley's words—'on the seas'—and retort—'be the seas on him'; secondly, Stanley was a suspected subject; Richard was therefore interested to show a contempt of his competitor before a man of such doubtful allegiance. In the spirit of this impression he urges Stanley to give an explicit answer to the question—Stanley endeavors to evade by answering that he knows not 'but by guess.' The evasion only strengthens Richard's suspicions, and he again pushes him to disclose what he only guesses. What a cluster of excellences are before us in Richard's speech, beginning, 'Is the chair empty?' All these interrogatories are *ad hominem:* they fit no man but Stanley; they can be uttered by Richard; and they can flow from the conception of no poet but the poet of nature.

494. **White-liuer'd**] Compare: 'Go prick thy face, and over'-red thy fear Thou lily-liver'd boy.'—*Macb.*, V, iii, 14.

494. **Runnagate**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.*): It so happens that *gate* in many English dialects signifies *a way;* whilst at the same time the Middle English verb *rennen* passed into the form *run*, as at present. Hence the Middle English *renegat*, a renegade, was popularly supposed to stand for *renne a gate*, that is, to run on the way, and was turned into 'runagate' accordingly; especially as we also have the word *runaway*. But it is certain that the original sense of Middle English *renegat* was *apostate* or *villain;* '*Renegat:* a renegade, one that abjures his religion.'—*Cotgrave*. It is remarkable that when *renegate* had been corrupted into 'runagate,' we borrowed the word over again, in the form *renegade*, from Spanish *renegado*. It is a pity we could not do without it altogether.

496. **Well, as you guesse**] R. G. WHITE (*Sh.'s Scholar*, p. 343): If there be two words for the use of which, more than any others, our English cousins twit us, they are 'well,' as an interrogative exclamation, and 'guess.' Milton uses both, as Shakespeare also frequently does, and exactly in the way in which they are used in America; and here we have them both in half a line. Like most of those words and phrases which it pleases John Bull to call Americanisms, they are English of the purest and best, which have lived here while they have died out in the mother country. [Is the phrase, 'as you guess,' as here used, an Americanism?—ED.]

What Heire of *Yorke* is there aliue, but wee? 501
And who is Englands King, but great *Yorkes* Heire?

501. **What Heire of Yorke]** MALONE: Richard asks this question in the plenitude of power, and no one dares to answer him. But they whom he addresses, had they not been intimidated, might have told him that there was a male heir of the house of York alive, who had a better claim to the throne than he; Edward, Earl of Warwick, the only son of the usurper's elder brother, George, Duke of Clarence; and Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV., and all her sisters, had a better title than either of them.—RITSON: The issue of King Edward had been pronounced *illegitimate* the Duke of Clarence *attainted of high treason*,—and the usurper declared 'the *undoubted heir of Richard duke of York*,'—by *act of parliament:* so that, as far as such a proceeding can alter the constitution and legalize usurpation and murder, he is perfectly correct and unanswerable.—R. G. WHITE, after giving the substance of the foregoing notes by Malone and Ritson, adds: 'Although Edward's issue had been pronounced illegitimate, and Clarence attainted of high treason, yet this was unjustly done by procurement of Richard himself.' [On the question of Richard's influence in procuring these acts of parliament opinion is somewhat divided. More, who was followed closely by Vergil, Hall and Holinshed, says: 'Somme wise menne also weene, that his drifte couertly conuayde, lacked not in helping furth his brother of Clarence to his death: which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as menne demed) more faintly then he that wer hartely minded to his welth.'—p. 10. On the other hand, in the account of the proceedings against Clarence as given in Ingulph's *Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland* (commonly called the second continuation of the Croyland Chronicle), written about 1485, and thus nearer to the period of which it treats, it is stated: '—not a single person uttered a word against the Duke, except the King; not one individual made answer to the King except the Duke.'—p. 479. An extract so pertinent has naturally not escaped the vigilance of both Legge and Churchill. Buck says (p. 82): 'it [Clarence's death] was the King's owne immoveable and inexplorable doome who thought it justly and necessarily his due; for Clarence stood guilty of many treasons and great ones.' More directly accuses Richard of the slander on the Duchess of York, which made Edward's issue illegitimate: 'But the chief thing and the weighty of al that inuencion, rested in this that they should allege bastardy, either in King Edward himself, or in his children or both. So that he should seme dishabled to inherite the crowne by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him.'—p. 89. The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* contains, in full, the Act of Attainder against the Duke of Clarence, and that Richard was not responsible for the dastardly act of defaming his mother and brother is shown by the following: 'And overe this, the said Duke beyng in full purpose to exalte hymself and his Heires to the Regallye and Corone of Englande, and clerely in opinion to putte aside from the same for ever the said Corone from the Kyng and his Heirez, upon oon the falsest and moost unnaturall coloured pretense that man myght imagyne, falsely and untruely noysed, published and saide, that the Kynge oure Sovereigne Lorde was a Bastard, and not begotten to reigne uppon us.'—vol. vi, p. 194. Legge quotes the foregoing from the *Rolls of Parliament*, but has not, I think, gone to the original source for his extract. This somewhat long note should, perhaps, be placed more fittingly among those referring to Richard's complicity in the death of Clarence. Its answer to White's charge, contained in his note, must be a justification for its present position.—ED.]

Then tell me, what makes he vpon the Seas?
Stan. Vnleſſe for that, my Liege, I cannot gueſſe.
Rich. Vnleſſe for that he comes to be your Liege,
You cannot gueſſe wherefore the Welchman comes.
Thou wilt reuolt, and flye to him, I feare.
Stan. No, my good Lord, therefore miſtruſt me not.
Rich. Where is thy Power then, to beat him back?
Where be thy Tenants, and thy followers?
Are they not now vpon the Weſterne Shore,
Safe-conducting the Rebels from their Shippes?

503. *makes he*] *doth he* Qq, Cam.+. *makes him* Han.
Seas] *ſea* Q_{1-7}, Pope, +.
506. *Welchman*] *Welſhman* Q_1. *Welchmen* $Q_4Q_7Q_8$.
comes.] *comes?* Sta.
508. *my...Lord*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i. *mightie liege* Qq. *mighty liege* Pope et cet.
509. *then, ... back?*] *then? ... backe,* Q_1. *then...backe?* $Q_{2-8}F_3F_4$, Cam.+.
then] *now* Q_7Q_8.
him] *them* Q_8.
510. *be*] *are* Qq, Pope, +, Cam.+.
Tenants,] *tennants?* Q_1.
512. *Safe-conducting*] *Safe conducting* Qq, Var.'73. *Conducting safe* Pope.

---

504. **Vnleſſe for that . . . I cannot gueſſe**] HUNTER (*Illust.*, ii, 93): These words convey no idea. They are, in fact, a broken sentence—Richard interrupts him.—DYCE: Not so, surely. Stanley has previously told Richard his 'guess' in the matter; and Richard again having put to him the question, what Richmond 'makes upon the seas,' Stanley now replies: 'Unless *for that* (*i. e.*, the reason already given), I cannot guess.' Richard immediately catches up the words: 'Unless for that,' using '*for that*' in a different sense.

506, 508. **wherefore . . . therefore**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 111): In 'therefore' and 'wherefore' the accent is shifted at pleasure from the one syllable to the other.

508. **miſtruſt me not**] RAMSAY (ii, 573): Throughout the revolutions of the last six and twenty years the House of Stanley had been singularly successful in keeping out of hot water. Thomas, the present Lord, had throughout supported the Yorkist cause; but without committing himself to such an extent as to involve the active hostility of the Lancastrians, when their fortunes were in the ascendant. He had kept clear of Warwick and Clarence and their intrigues. . . . On the list of those who had profited by Richard's bounty Stanley's name was second only to those of Norfolk and Northumberland. Men wondered that Richard could trust the Stanleys; but if Richard were here to explain his conduct, he would doubtless tell us that he could not help himself; and that he had to trust them and hope for the best.

509. **Power**] GUEST (p. 40): The disyllables containing *y* and *w* seem to have been once so numerous in our language that many words, both English and foreign, were adapted to their pronunciation, and thus gained a syllable; *scúr*, Anglo-Saxon, became *shower*, and *fleur*, French, became *flower*. Change of pronunciation has again reduced them to their original dimensions.

Stan. No, my good Lord, my friends are in the North. 513

Rich. Cold friends to me: what do they in the North, When they ſhould ſerue their Soueraigne in the Weſt? 515

Stan. They haue not been commanded, mighty King: 517

515. *me*] *Richard* Qq, Cam. +. 517. *King*] *ſoueraigne* Qq, Cam. +.
517. *been*] *bin* Q_1-$_5Q_8$.

513, 514. **in the North**] MARSHALL: Stanley's lands were in Cheshire and Lancashire; he had, too, considerable power in North Wales.

515. **Cold friends to me . . . in the North**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 48): This [line, as in the Quarto], in any of Shakespeare's later plays, would be a common form of line: the redundant syllable, coming in the middle of the line immediately before a strong pause, drops, as it were, into the pause, and scarcely disturbs the measure more than the redundant syllable at the end of the line. But in the plays of the second period I think you will find very few such, and at the time when the inserted passages—the more considerable of them—were composed, I doubt whether Shakespeare would have admitted them at all. To get rid of it here, *Richard* is changed in the Folio to 'me.'—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 101): There is a stage-tradition, I believe, that the delivery of this line, as in the Quarto, was one of the finest 'points' in Edmund Kean's impersonation of Richard; perhaps, if Spedding had heard him, he might have been careful to omit *this* passage from the list of his examples [of alterations made to improve the metre].—WRIGHT: The Folio reading destroys what little force there was in the line.

516. **When they . . . in the West**] T. R. GOULD (p. 46): This line was delivered by J. B. Booth in one continuous tone of commanding resonance, in which the words were dropped like stones in the current of his speech.

517–528. **Stan. They haue not been . . . but fraile**] SKOTTOWE (i, 206): The dialogue between Richard and Lord Stanley, in the old play [*The True Tragedy*, etc.], furnishes these passages: '*King*. Well, Stanley, I fear, it will be proved to the contrary, that thou didst furnish him both with money and munition; which if it be, then look for no favour at my hands, but the due deserts of a traitor; but let this pass. What's your repair to our presence? *Stan.* Only this, my lord, that I may repair from the court to my house in the country. *King.* Ay, sir, that you might be in Cheshire and Lancashire, then should your post pass invisible into Britain, and you to depart the realm at pleasure; or else, I to suffer an intolerable foe under me, which I will not. But Stanley, to be brief, thou shalt not go. . . . Come hither, Stanley, thou shalt go, leaving me here thy son and heir George Stanley for a pledge, that he may perish for thy fault if need should be; if thou likest this, go, if not—answer me briefly and say quickly, no.' The same leading idea is expressed in Shakespeare.—CHURCHILL (p. 512): The chronicle basis for this scene is as follows. Richard gave credence 'least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was joyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye maie perceaue. For when the sayde lord Stanley would haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openlye sayde) but the truth was to the-

Pleaſeth your Maieſtie to giue me leaue,
Ile muſter vp my friends, and meet your Grace,
Where, and what time your Maieſtie ſhall pleaſe.
Rich. I, thou would'ſt be gone, to ioyne with *Richmond:*
But Ile not truſt thee.
Stan. Moſt mightie Soueraigne,
You haue no cauſe to hold my friendſhip doubtfull,
I neuer was, nor neuer will be falſe.
Rich. Goe then, and muſter men:but leaue behind

518. *Pleaſeth*] *Pleaſe it* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.
521. *I, thou*] Ff. *I, I, thou* Qq. *Ay, thou* Rowe,+, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Sta. *Ay, Ay, thou* Cap. et cet.
would'ſt] *wouldeſt* Q_1. *would'st fain* Pope,+.
522. *But Ile*] *I will* Qq, Cap. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.
thee.] *you, ſir.* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.
523. *Moſt*] Om. Pope,+ (—Var.'73).
525. *nor neuer*] *nor ever* Pope, Han.
526. *Goe...and*] *Well, go* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. (Reading *Well* as separate line) Cam.+.
men] *thy men* Q_2, Cap. Varr. Ran.
but] *but heare you,* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+.

---

intent to be in perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmond at his first ariuall in England: the king in no wise would suffre hym to departe before that he had left as hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde Straung his first begotten sonne and heire.' The common source will not by any means account for all the resemblances in the wording, conception, and course of the scene [as it appears in *The True Tragedy* and in the present play].

518. **Pleaseth your Maiestie**] SPEDDING, in his enumeration of alterations in the Folio not intended by Shakespeare (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 30), quotes this phrase and adds: 'There is at least one other instance in Shakespeare of the use of "pleaseth" in this way, *Com. of Err.*, IV, i, 12. But, for our present purpose, it is needless to discuss it; for it may as easily be a misprint as a change of construction.' The construction in *Com. of Err.*, IV, i, 12: 'Pleaseth you walk with me,' is *pace* Spedding, possibly open to question as to its parallelism with the present instance. But there can be no doubt, I think, that we have exactly parallel examples in the following: 'Pleaseth your lordship to meet his grace.'—*2 Hen. IV:* IV, i, 225; 'Pleaseth your grace to answer him directly.'—*Ibid.*, IV, ii, 52; 'Pleaseth your grace to appoint some of your council.'—*Hen. V:* V, ii, 78. It is, perhaps, noteworthy that in these three passages the Folio retains the Quarto reading 'pleaseth.'—ED.

521. **I, thou would'st be gone**] PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc., Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 97): I should regard, the Folio reading here, as a misprint [see *Text. Notes*], were it not that the corrector has displayed in similar passages an inveterate dislike of this thoroughly dramatic repetition of a word (a different thing altogether, it will be observed, from the *recurrence* of the same word). With regard to the metre, the line in the Folio, although it will not *scan*, is yet decasyllabic; which might, in the judgement of the corrector, be sufficient.

Your Sonne *George Stanley :* looke your heart be firme,
Or elſe his Heads aſſurance is but fraile.
Stan. So deale with him, as I proue true to you.
Exit Stanley.

Enter a Meſſenger.

Meſſ. My gracious Soueraigne, now in Deuonſhire,
As I by friends am well aduertiſed,
Sir *Edward Courtney*, and the haughtie Prelate,
Biſhop of Exeter, his elder Brother,
With many moe Confederates, are in Armes.

Enter another Meſſenger.

Meſſ. In Kent, my Liege, the *Guilfords* are in Armes,
And euery houre more Competitors
Flocke to the Rebels, and their power growes ſtrong.

527. *heart*] *faith* Qq, Cam.+.
529. *So*] Om. Q_4.
530. Exit Stanley.] Om. Q_1Q_2. Exit Dar. Q_{3-5}.
531. a Meſſenger] 1. M. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
533. *aduertiſed*] *advertis'd* F_4.
534. Edward] *William* Qq. *Edmond* Pope,+.
535. *Exeter*] *Exceter* Q_1.
his...Brother] *his brother there* Qq, Cam.+.
536. *moe*] Q_{1-6} (subs.), Cam.+. *more* Q_7Q_8 et cet.
536. *Confederates*] *confiderates* Q_{2-5}. *confed'rates* Pope,+.
537. another Meſſenger] 2. M. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
538. *In...Liege*] *My Liege, in Kent* Qq, Cam.+.
539. *more*] Om. F_4, Rowe. *still more* Pope, Han.
Competitors] *complices* Han.
540. *the Rebels...growes ſtrong*] *their aide, and ſtill their power increaſeth* Qq, Cam.+.

535. **Biſhop of Exeter**] FRENCH (p. 249): Peter Courtenay, who became Biſhop of Exeter in 1478, was a zealous Lancastrian, and had to seek refuge in Brittany, whence he returned with the Earl of Richmond.

536. **moe**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.*): The modern English *more* does duty for two Middle English words which were generally well distinguished, viz., *mo* and *more*, the former relating to number, the latter to size . . . . 'Mo than thries ten,' more than thirty in number; Chaucer: *Cant. Tales*, 578 . . . The distinction between *mo* and *more* is not always observed in old authors, but very often it appears clearly enough.

538. **the Guilfords**] COURTENAY (ii, 110): The Guildfords were a distinguished family seated at Hempstead in Kent. Sir Richard was K. G. under Henry VII., and Sir Edward, his son, was father-in-law to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

539. **Competitors**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 2. One associated with another in seeking the same common object; an associate, a partner. [The present line quoted.]

Enter another Meſſenger. 541

Meſſ. My Lord, the Armie of great *Buckingham.*

Rich. Out on ye, Owles, nothing but Songs of Death,
He ſtriketh him.
There, take thou that, till thou bring better newes. 545

Meſſ. The newes I haue to tell your Maieſtie,
Is, that by ſudden Floods, and fall of Waters,
Buckinghams Armie is diſpers'd and ſcatter'd,
And he himſelfe wandred away alone,
No man knowes whither. 550

Rich. I cry thee mercie:

541. another Meſſenger] 3. M. Cap. et seq. (subs.) Tyrrel. Booth, Irving.

542. *My*] Om. Q_4.
great] *the Duke of* Qq, Pope, +, Cam. +.
Buckingham.] *Buckingham*— Rowe et seq.

543. *ye*] *you* Q_{1-5}, Cam. +.
of] *off* Q_1.
Death,] *death.* Q_{1-6}, Ff, Rowe. *death?* Pope et seq.

544. He...him] After l. 542, Qq.

545. *There...bring*] *Take that vntill thou bring me* Qq, Cam. +.

546. *The ... Maieſtie,*] *Your Grace miſtakes the newes I bring is good,* Qq.

546. [kneeling. Coll. ii, iii (MS).

547. *Is, that by*] *My newes is, that by* Qq. *My news is,—by* Vaughan (iii, 135).
Floods] *Flood,* F_4, Rowe i.
Waters] *water* Qq.

548. Buckinghams] *The Duke of Buckinghams* Q_{1-5}.
diſpers'd] *diſpreſt* Q_4.

549, 550. *And...whither*] As one line, reading: *And he himſelfe fled, no man knowes* Qq.

551. *I cry thee*] *O I crie you* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. *Oh! I cry thee* Pope, +.

---

543. **Owles . . . Songs of Death**] Pliny says (ch. xii, p. 276): 'The Scritch-Owle alwaies betokeneth some heauie newes and is most execrable and accursed, and namely, in the presages of public affaires, he keepeth ever in desarts: and loueth not only such vnpeopled places, but also that are horrible and hard of accesse. In summer he is the very monster of the night, neither crying nor singing out cleare, but vttering a heauie groane of doleful mourning.' TAWNEY refers, for a further account of the import of the cry of the Owl, to BRAND iii, 206–210.—ED.

547. **sudden Floods, and fall of Waters**] BARNARD: The king's supporters had broken down the bridges over the Severn, and Buckingham found it impossible to unite his Welsh forces with the insurgents from Devon, for the whole country between Gloucester and Bristol was impassable owing to the floods. With the rains came the great gale which drove back Richmond's ships. All this, together with an eclipse of the moon, was sufficient to persuade Buckingham's Keltic followers that Heaven was against them, and they dispersed.

548, 549. **Buckinghams Armie . . . away alone**] VAUGHAN (iii, 134): The messenger's reply is more natural in its commencement as the Qq give it; and faults are easily corrected. Thus: 'The duke of Buckingham's army is dispers'd And scattr'd, and he himself fled no man knows whith'r.'

551. **I cry thee mercie**] Compare I, iii, 246; and V, iii, 261; see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 201.

There is my Purſe, to cure that Blow of thine.
Hath any well-aduiſed friend proclaym'd
Reward to him that brings the Traytor in?
Meſſ. Such Proclamation hath been made, my Lord.

Enter another Meſſenger.

Meſſ. Sir *Thomas Louell*, and Lord Marqueſſe *Dorſet*,
'Tis ſaid, my Liege, in Yorkeſhire are in Armes:
But this good comfort bring I to your Highneſſe,
The Brittaine Nauie is diſpers'd by Tempeſt.
Richmond in Dorſetſhire ſent out a Boat
Vnto the ſhore, to aske thoſe on the Banks,
If they were his Aſſiſtants, yea, or no?

552. *There...thine*] *I did miſtake, Ratcliffe reward him for the blow I gave him.* Qq. *There...thine* [3d Mess. rises. Coll. ii, iii (MS).
553. *proclaym'd*] *giuen out* Qq.
554. *Reward to him*] *Rewardes for him* Qq.
the Traytor in] *in Buckingham* Qq.
555. *been*] *bin* Q_{3-5}.
Lord] *liege* Qq, Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Sta. Cam. +, Ktly.
556. another Meſſenger] 4. M. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
558. *in Yorkeſhire are*] *are vp in* Qq.
559. *But ... Highneſſe*] *Yet ... Grace* Qq, Cam.+.
560, 561. *The Brittaine...Dorſetſhire*] As one line, omitting *by Tempeſt*, Qq.
560. *Brittaine*] QqFf, Rowe, Pope. *Breton* Cap. Cam.+. *Bretagne* Theob. et cet.
561. *Dorſetſhire*] *Dorſhire* Q_{1-5}.
561, 562. *ſent...Banks*] *Sent out a boate to aske them on the ſhore* As one line, Qq (*one the* Q_7Q_8).
563. *no?*] *no:* Qq.

555. **Proclamation hath been made**] BOSWELL-STONE (p. 404, *foot-note*): [Richard's proclamation is printed in] Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii, p. 204; it is dated 23 October, 1483.

557. **Sir Thomas Louell**] WRIGHT: Sir Thomas Lovel was Chancellor of the Exchequer and Treasurer of the Household to Henry VII. and was one of Lady Margaret's Executors. In the play of *Hen. VIII.* he appears as Constable of the Tower.

560. **The Brittaine Nauie**] See IV, ii, 182.

563. **yea, or no**] The following rule for the use of *yea* and *nay*, and *yes* and *no*, is given by Sir T. More in his *Conſutacion of Tyndales Aunswere:* 'I woulde not here note by the way, that Tyndal here translateth no for nay, for it is but a trifle and mistaking of the englishe worde . . . . For the use of those two words in aunswering to a question is this. No aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative. As for example, if a manne should aske Tindall hymselfe: ys an heretike mete to translate holy scripture into englishe. So to thys question if he will aunswere trew englishe, he must aunswere nay and not no. But and if the question be asked hym thus lo: Is not an heretyque mete to translate holy scripture into english. To this question lo if he will aunswer true english, he must aunswere

Who anſwer'd him, they came from *Buckingham*,
Vpon his partie : he miſtruſting them,
Hoys'd ſayle, and made his courſe againe for Brittaine.
Rich. March on, march on, ſince we are vp in Armes,
If not to fight with forraine Enemies,
Yet to beat downe theſe Rebels here at home.

Enter Catesby.

Cat. My Liege, the Duke of Buckingham is taken,
That is the beſt newes : that the Earle of Richmond
Is with a mighty power Landed at Milford,

564. *anſwer'd*] *anſwered* Qq, Cam. +.
566. *Hoys'd*] *Hoiſt* Qq. *Hoised* Cam. +.
his courſe againe] *away* Qq.
Brittaine] QqFf, Rowe, Pope. *Brittany* Cam. +. *Bretagne* Theob. et cet.
569. *beat*] *bare* Q_8.
570. Enter Catesby.] Enter another Messenger. Cam. conj.
572. *That is*] *Thats* Qq.

no & not nay. And a lyke difference is there betwene these two adverbes ye, and yes. For if the question bee framed vnto Tindall by thaffirmatiue in thys fashion. If an heretique falsely translate the newe testament into englishe, to make hys false heresyes seeme the worde of Godde, be hys bookes worthy to be burned: To this question asked in thys wyse yf he wil aunswere true englishe he must aunswere ye and not yes. But nowe if the question be asked hym thus lo by the negatiue: If an heretique falsely translate the newe testament into englishe, to make hys false heresyes seme the word of God, be not his bokes well worthy to be burned. To thys question in thys fashion framed if he wyll aunswer trew englishe, he maye not aunswere ye, but he must aunswere yes, and say yes mary be they, bothe the translation and the translatour, and al that wyll hold wyth them.'—*Workes*, 1557, p. 448. It will be noticed that More himself has misused the word 'no,' in the sentence beginning 'No aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative.' According to the example that follows, this should read '*Nay* aunswereth,' etc. The foregoing extract from More is quoted in the *Century Dictionary*, *s. v. yea;* where the editors have noted the error in the word 'No.'—ED.

565. **Vpon his partie**] Compare I, iii, 147; and III, ii, 54, for other examples of this phrase.

566. **Hoys'd**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* verb 1): To raise aloft by means of a rope or pulley and tackle, or by other mechanical appliances. (a) Originally *nautical*, and chiefly *to hoise sail;* often with *up*. It is to be noticed that the word appears early as an interjection, being the actual cry of sailors in hauling.

573. **Landed at Milford**] GAIRDNER (p. 269): On the First of August, Richmond embarked at Harfleur, with all his English followers. . . . He had a prosperous wind, and arrived at Milford Haven on the 7th or 8th.—WRIGHT: A gap of two years in the history is here bridged over by the dramatist. Richmond embarked on his first fruitless expedition to join Buckingham on 12 October, 1483, but his actual landing at Milford did not take place until August, 1485.

Is colder Newes, but yet they muſt be told.
Rich. Away towards Salsbury, while we reaſon here,
A Royall batteil might be wonne and loſt:
Some one take order Buckingham be brought
To Salsbury, the reſt march on with me. *Floriſh. Exeunt*

Scena Quarta.

Enter Derby, and Sir Chriſtopher. 2

574. *Newes, but*] *tidings* Q_{1-5}, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Coll. iii.
they] *it* Rowe, +, Cap. Varr. Ran.
576. *batteil*] *battell* QqFf, Rowe, Pope, Theob. i. *battle* Theob. ii et seq.
578. Floriſh. Exeunt] Exeunt. Q_1Ff. Om. Q_{2-6}.
1–23. Scena Quarta...Exeunt] Om. Coll. MS.
1. Scena Quarta.] Scene continued, Qq. SCENE VII. Pope, Han. Warb. Johns. SCENE V. Cap. et seq.
Lord Stanley's House. Theobald. Lord Derby's House. Cam. +.
2. Derby] Lord Stanley, Pope, +.
and] Om. Qq.
Sir Chriſtopher] Sir Christopher Urswick. Theobald.

574. **colder**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* cold. 9, 10): Said of things which chill or depress the vital emotions, and of the feelings thus produced. Felt as cold by the receiver, chilling, damping, the reverse of encouraging; as in *cold comfort, cold counsel, cold news, cold rede.* [The present line quoted.]

1. **Scena Quarta**] WRIGHT: The scene is probably at Knowsley in Lancashire, where the Lady Margaret was living when Morton first opened negotiations with her for the return of her son. But it is a little uncertain, because when the queen proposed the marriage of Richmond with the Princess Elizabeth, the Lady Margaret was at her husband's house in London, afterwards Derby House, the site of which is occupied by the Herald's College.—BOSWELL-STONE (p. 409): The historic date of this scene must be August, 1485, but Stanley gives Urswick a message relating to a matter which had been settled in 1483. When the marriage between Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth had been arranged, 'the countesse of Richmond tooke into hir seruice Christopher Urswike, an honest and wise priest . . . So the mother, studious for the prosperitie of hir son appointed this Christopher Urswike to saile into Britaine to the earle of Richmond, and to declare and reueale to him all pacts and agreements betweene hir & the queene agreed and concluded.'—*Holinshed*, iii, 742.—W. STRUNK, JR. (MS note): This scene has a close parallel (at exactly the same place in the play) in *1 Hen. IV:* IV, iv, in which, on the eve of battle the Archbishop of York entrusts his chaplain, Sir Michael, with letters.

2. **Sir**] WRIGHT: The title 'Sir' which is here given to Urswick is out of place, for he was at this time LL. D. and master of King's Hall, Cambridge (1483–1488). [For this title 'Sir' given to priests, see III, ii, 123.]

2. **Sir Christopher**] See *Dram. Person.*

Der. Sir *Chriſtopher*, tell *Richmond* this from me,
That in the ſtye of the moſt deadly Bore,
My Sonne *George Stanley* is frankt vp in hold:
If I reuolt, off goes yong *Georges* head,
The feare of that, holds off my preſent ayde.
So get thee gone: commend me to thy Lord.
Withall ſay, that the Queene hath heartily conſented
He ſhould eſpouſe *Elizabeth* hir daughter.
But tell me, where is Princely Richmond now?
Chri. At Penbroke, or at Hertford Weſt in Wales.
Der. What men of Name reſort to him.
Chri, Sir *Walter Herbert*, a renowned Souldier,

4. *the...deadly*] Ff, Rowe, Dyce, Wh. i, Huds. *the...bloody* Coll. Hal. *this... deadly* Sing. Ktly. *this...bloudie* Qq et cet. (subs.)

7. *holds off*] Ff, +, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i. *withholds* Qq et cet.

8–10. Transposed to follow l. 20. Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

8. *So...Lord*] *Returne vnto thy Lord, commend me to him*, Q_1, Var. '73, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. (*...vnto my Lord* Q_{2-8}).

9. *Withall ſay, that*] *Tell him* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *Say that* Marshall.

10. *ſhould*] *ſhall* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

12. *Penbroke*] *Pembrooke* Q_{3-5}. *Penbrook* F_3. *Pembrook* F_4, Rowe. *Pembroke* Pope et seq.

Hertford Weſt] *Harford-weſt* Q_1. *Herford-weſt* Q_2Q_5. *Hertford-weſt* Q_3Q_4. *Hertford, weſt* Q_8, Pope. *Hav'rford-West* Han. *Ha'rford-West* Cap. et seq.

13. *Name*] *name and mark* Coll. MS. *note and name* Walker (Crit., ii, 265).

reſort to him.] *reſort to him?* Qq F_4. *have made resort to him.* Anon. ap. Cam. *resort unto him there* Wordsworth.

14. *renowned*] *renowmed* Q_{2-5}.

---

5. **frankt**] See note on I, iii, 328.

5. **in hold**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* hold *subst.*): 4. Custody, confinement, imprisonment. Chiefly in phrases, *in hold* (*in holds, at, to hold*).

8–10. **So get thee gone . . . hir daughter**] MARSHALL: The Folio arrangement is, on the whole, the best [see *Text. Notes*]. Urswick wants Stanley to declare for Richmond. Stanley answers that he cannot do so openly at present, and then, before sending him off, communicates the important news of Elizabeth's consent to the proposed marriage of her daughter to Richmond. This announcement comes much more properly at the beginning of the scene than thrust in, as a mere after-thought, at the end.

13–17. **Der. What men . . . Chri, Sir Walter Herbert . . . a valiant Crew**] BOOTH arranges these lines as the opening speeches of V, iii, and there assigns them to Norfolk and Catesby.

14. **Sir Walter Herbert**] FRENCH (p. 238): Sir Walter was the second son of Sir William Herbert, a staunch Yorkist, created by Edward IV. Baron Herbert, and later Earl of Pembroke, and who is, no doubt, the nobleman of that title in *3 Hen. VI.*

Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, Sir *William Stanley*,
Oxford, redoubted *Pembroke*, Sir *Iames Blunt*,
And *Rice ap Thomas*, with a valiant Crew,
And many other of great name and worth:
And towards London do they bend their power,
If by the way they be not fought withall.

Der. Well hye thee to thy Lord : I kiſſe his hand,

15. *Sir* William] *and Sir William* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran.
16. *redoubted*] *doubted* Q_4.
17. *And*] Om. Qq.
Rice] *'rice* Cap.
ap] *vp* Qq.
18. *And*] *With* Qq.
many...name] *many moe of noble fame* Qq, Cam.+. *many more of noble fame* Q_7Q_8, Sta. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
18. *other*] *others* Warb. Johns. Var. '73.
19. *do...power*] *they do bend their courſe* Qq, Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *do they bend their course* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
21. *Well... Lord... hand*] Om. Qq, Var. '73. *Well... Lord...commend me to him* Var. '78, '85, Mal.
thy] *my* Q_{2-8}.

15. **Sir Gilbert . . . Stanley**] ABBOTT (§ 469): It may be remarked that great license is taken with the metre wherever a list of names occurs. In the present line, and in some others, the pause between two names seems to license either the insertion or omission of a syllable.

15. **Sir Gilbert Talbot**] WRIGHT: Sir Gilbert Talbot, called Sir George here by Hall, but afterwards Sir Gilbert, joined Henry at Newport. He was uncle to the young Earl of Shrewsbury.

16. **redoubted Pembroke**] FRENCH (p. 250): This is Jaspar Tudor, uncle of the Earl of Richmond. After the victory at Bosworth, to which he so greatly contributed, he was created Duke of Bedford, and obtained from Henry VII. many high appointments and valuable grants.

17. **Rice ap Thomas**] FULLER (iii, 522) says: 'Sir Rice ap Thomas was never more than a knight, yet little less than a prince in this his native county [Carmarthenshire], if the author of *Prœlia Anglorum* may not be believed—'Ricius Thomas flos Cambro-Brittanum.' King Henry the Seventh will himself witness his worth. To him, lately landed at Milford Haven with contemptible forces, this Sir Rice repaired with a considerable accession of choice soldiers, marching with them to Bosworth field, where he right valiantly behaved himself. That thrifty King, according to his cheap course of remuneration (rewarding gownsmen in orders, by him most employed, with church livings, and swordsmen with honour) afterwards made Sir Rice knight of the order; and well might he give him a garter, by whose effectual help he recovered a crown.' [FRENCH also quotes a portion of the above passage from Fuller.—ED.]

17. **Crew**] STEEVENS says this expression 'sounds but meanly in modern ears.' According to MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* I. i) it was originally applied almost exclusively to 'military reinforcements'; his earliest quotation of 'crew' used in this sense is from *Rolls of Parliament*, 1455. That the word was later used derogatively is shown by many examples (*Ibid., s. v.* 4), the earliest dated 1570. Shakespeare appears to have used 'crew' in both senses; but here it is, I think, used for military reinforcements.—ED.

My Letter will reſolue him of my minde.
Farewell. *Exeunt* 23

Actus Quintus. Scena Prima.

Enter Buckingham with Halberds, led to Execution.

Buc. Will not King *Richard* let me ſpeake with him? 4

22. *My Letter*] *Theſe letters* Qq, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii. *Thoſe letters* Cap.

1. Actus Quintus. Scena Prima.] Scene continued, Qq. ACT IV. SCENE VI. Johns. conj. Ran. Salisbury. Pope. An open Place. Cap. The Market Place. White.

2, 3. Enter...led] Enter Buckingham Qq. Enter the Sheriff, and Guard, with Buckingham led. Malone. Enter the Sheriff, and Buckingham, with halberds, led Cam.+.

1. **Actus Quintus. Scena Prima.**] JOHNSON: This scene should, in my opinion, be added to the foregoing Act, so the Fourth Act will have a more full and striking conclusion, and the Fifth Act will comprise the business of the important day, which put an end to the competition of York and Lancaster. Some of the Quarto editions are not divided into Acts, and it is probable, that this and many other plays were left by the author in one unbroken continuity, and afterwards distributed by chance, or by what seems to have been a guide very little better, by the judgement or caprice of the first editors.—MALONE: In Q_1 of this play there is no division into Acts and scenes. It is highly probable that the divisions in the Folio were made merely to suit the convenience of exhibition. The fourth scene of the present Act, being, I believe, the largest scene in any of these plays, it was perhaps thought expedient, on that account, not to lengthen the Act still farther; and hence the short scene between Shirley [Qu. Stanley?] and Sir Christopher was thrown into the Fourth Act. [In the Folio the present Act is divided into but two scenes; the first ending with the *exit* of Buckingham to execution. This note by Malone appears for the first time in the *Variorum* of 1821; it is therefore possible that the misprint is due to Boswell and not to Malone.—MARSHALL, rather than adopt Johnson's suggestion of any addition to Act IV suggests that: 'It would be better to have ended the Act before the entrance of Ratcliffe in scene iii, line 436.'—We may learn from l. 13 that the date of the present scene is All Soul's Day, that is, November 2; the year is, of course, 1483.—ED.]

2, 3. **Buckingham . . . led to Execution**] BLAKEWAY: There is great reason to believe that Buckingham's execution took place at Shrewsbury; but this is not the place for such a discussion.

4. **Will not . . . speake with him**] Buckingham 'made earnest sute to haue come into the presence of the same king Richard: which sute if he might haue obteined, he hauing a knife secretlie about him, would have thrust it into the bodie of king Richard, as he had made semblance to kneele downe before him.'—*Holinshed: Henry VIII.* iii, 864. BOSWELL-STONE, p. 439. STEEVENS quotes (under the present line) the passage from *Hen. VIII:* I, ii, 194–199, which is based upon the foregoing account in Holinshed.—ED.

Sher. No my good Lord, therefore be patient.
Buc. *Haſtings*, and *Edwards* children, *Gray* & *Riuers*,
Holy King *Henry*, and thy faire Sonne *Edward*,
Vaughan, and all that haue miſcarried
By vnder-hand corrupted foule iniuſtice,
If that your moody diſcontented ſoules,
Do through the clowds behold this preſent houre,
Euen for reuenge mocke my deſtruction.
This is All-ſoules day (Fellow) is it not?

5, 14. Sher.] Rat. Qq.
5. *my good*] *my* Qq. *good my* Rowe, +.
6. Gray &c Riuers] Ff, +, Knt, Coll. Dyce i, Wh. i, Hal. *Riuers, Gray* Qq et cet.
9. *vnder-hand*] Ff, +. *vnderhand* Qq et cet.
13. *Fellow*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. *fellowes* Qq et cet.

5. **Sher.**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 71): Another difference [will be here found] between the stage-directions of the Quarto and Folio in which, if either is to be ascribed to the players, it must be that of the Quarto. From Buckingham's addressing his conductor as 'fellow,' l. 12, I should infer that the reading of the Folio was the original: for considering Buckingham's relations with Ratcliffe, he would have called him by his name, but the company had Ratcliffe ready and could not spare another man, and the stage-direction represented the stage arrangement.

7. **Holy King Henry**] DOUCE (ii, 38): This epithet is not applied without good reason, King Henry the Sixth, though never actually canonised, was regarded as a saint, and miracles were supposed to have been performed by him. In some of our church service books before the Reformation there are prayers which are said to have been of his composition, and one in particular, that is addressed to him is entitled: 'A prayer to holy king Henry.'—WRIGHT, after quoting a portion of the foregoing note by Douce, adds: 'Henry VII. found the expense of canonisation too great.'

8. **miscarried**] SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.* 2) gives many examples of 'miscarry' used in the sense *to die, to perish;* compare I, iii, 20.

12. **for reuenge mocke my destruction**] VAUGHAN (iii, 136): This is a strange prayer, both as regards those invoked and the speaker of it himself. The thought of 'holy King Henry' mocking a sufferer from the clouds is incongruous. Nor is such a request of such a sufferer to be mocked in his last agonies verisimilar. Neither had Buckingham any hand in King Henry's or his fair son's deaths. He had refused consent to those of Edward's children. Why then 'revenge'? Why even 'for revenge'? For what else could it be, but for revenge, if they mocked at all? The poet wrote: '—for revenge *mark* my destruction.' That the victim should in his solitude, invoke spirits to mark that they might testify to the cruel end inflicted on him, is most natural; and that he should add 'even for revenge,' particularly if he meant revenge on Richard, is natural. But that excludes 'mock' and admits *mark*.

13. **Fellow**] DYCE: In the Qq the word *fellows* is addressed by the Duke to the Guard generally. It seems rather odd that, in the Folio, Buckingham should

Sher. It is.

Buc. Why then Al-ſoules day, is my bodies doomſday
This is the day, which in King *Edwards* time
I wiſh'd might fall on me, when I was found
Falſe to his Children, and his Wiues Allies.
This is the day, wherein I wiſht to fall
By the falſe Faith of him whom moſt I truſted.
This, this All-ſoules day to my fearfull Soule,
Is the determin'd reſpit of my wrongs:
That high All-ſeer, which I dallied with,
Hath turn'd my fained Prayer on my head,
And giuen in earneſt, what I begg'd in ieſt.
Thus doth he force the ſwords of wicked men
To turne their owne points in their Maſters boſomes.
Thus *Margarets* curſe falles heauy on my necke:

14. *It is.*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. *It is my Lord* Qq et cet.
15. *Why...doomſday*] Om. Pope, Han.
16. *which*] *that* Qq, Cam.+.
17. *on*] *one* Q_7.
18. *and*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Ktly. *or* Q_{1-7} et cet.
Wiues] *wife's* Rowe et seq.
20. *whom...truſted*] *I truſted moſt* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
21. *This, this*] *This is* Q_7Q_8.
21, 22. *this All-ſoules...Is*] Om. Pope, Han.
22. *reſpit*] *deſpite* Q_7Q_8. *respect* Warb.
23. *That*] *What* Q_8.
All-ſeer] *al-ſeer* Q_1Q_2. *allſeer* Q_4.
which] *that* Qq, Cam.+. *whom* Cap. Varr. Ran.
26. *ſwords*] *ſword* Q_{3-8}. (*ſowrd* Q_8).
27. *owne*] Om. Q_{3-8}.
in] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i. *on* Qq et cet.
boſomes] *boſome* Qq, Sta.
28. *Thus*] *Now* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
falles...necke] *is fallen vpon my head* Qq, Cam.+. *falls...head* Pope,+ (–Var.'73).

---

call the Sheriff 'fellow'; and as odd that the Sheriff, in his next speech, should reply so curtly.—MARSHALL: There seems no reason why Buckingham should address the question to all the guard. 'Fellow' is generally used by a superior to an inferior. It is quite possible that the Sheriff might resent that mode of address; in which case, in answering, he would not give Buckingham his title.

16. **This is the day**] See II, i, 38–46.

22. **the determin'd respit of my wrongs**] WRIGHT: That is, the fixed period to which the punishment of my wrong-doing is postponed.

22. **respit**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.*) quotes Cotgrave, '*respit*, a respit, a delay, a time or term of forbearance; a protection of one, three, or five years granted by the prince unto a debtor.' He then adds: 'The true original sense is regard, respect had to suit on the part of a prince or judge, and it is mere doublet of *respect*.'

22. **wrongs**] JOHNSON: 'Wrongs' here means, *wrongs done*, or *injurious practices*.

26, 27. **Thus doth he . . . Masters bosomes**] PLUMPTRE (p. 159): An allusion to *Psalm* xxxvii, 15: 'Their sword shall go through their own heart.'

28. **Margarets curse**] See I, iii, 313–315.

When he (quoth ſhe) ſhall ſplit thy heart with ſorrow,
Remember *Margaret* was a Propheteſſe:
Come leade me Officers to the blocke of ſhame,
Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of blame.
Exeunt Buckingham with Officers.

Scena Secunda.

Enter Richmond, Oxford, Blunt, Herbert, and others, with drum and colours.

Richm Fellowes in Armes, and my moſt louing Frends
Bruis'd vnderneath the yoake of Tyranny,
Thus farre into the bowels of the Land,
Haue we marcht on without impediment;
And heere receiue we from our Father S*tanley*
Lines of faire comfort and encouragement:
The wretched, bloody, and vſurping Boare,

29. *ſhall*] *will* F_3F_4, Rowe.
31. *leade me Officers*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Sing.Wh. i, Hal. Ktly. *ſirs, conuey me* Qq et cet.
33. Exeunt...Officers] Om. Qq.
1. Scena Secunda.] Scene continued, Qq. V, i. Ran.
The Camp. Pope. The Camp near Tamworth. Han. On the Borders of Leicestershire. A Camp. Theob.
2, 3. Oxford, Blunt, Herbert, and others,] Om. Qq.
3. colours.] trumpets. Qq.
4. *Fellowes*] *Fellowe* Q_5.
10. *wretched*] *recklesse* Coll. ii, iii (MS). *raged* Anon. ap. Cam. *wretchless* Anon. (Fraser's Maga., March, 1853; p. 252). *ruthless* Kinnear.

6. **bowels of the Land**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Bowel, 4) gives examples of this word used for 'the interior of anything; heart, centre.'

10. **wretched**] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 175) marks this word as 'palpably wrong'; but offers no emendation.—DYCE (*Gloss., s. v. wretched*). That is, vile, hateful, utterly bad. 'A wretched fellow, *Deplorate malus.*'—Coles's *Lat. and Eng. Dict.*—COLLIER (*Notes and Emend.*, p. 335): 'Wretched' is an epithet that has little comparative appropriateness, while the word recommended in manuscript [*reckless*] is especially adapted to the character of Richard, and we may readily believe it to have been that of the poet. *Reckless* was of old frequently spelt *wreckless*, and hence, perhaps, the misprint.—SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, 176): That 'wretched' is the word of the poet, and therefore the most 'appropriate' and undoubted, will appear from the use of it by Roderigo in *Othello*, v, i, 41, when he receives his death-wound and exclaims: 'Oh wretched villain.'—KINNEAR (p. 271): This [defence by Singer] is a misapprehension. Roderigo exclaims: 'O villain that I am,' V, i, 29, and later 'O wretched villain'—the dying confessions of *his own guilt*, and that his *miserable end* is deserved: this was *before* Iago stabbed him; he was only wounded by *Cassio*,

(That ſpoyl'd your Summer Fields, and fruitfull Vines)
Swilles your warm blood like waſh, & makes his trough
In your embowel'd boſomes : This foule Swine
Is now euen in the Centry of this Iſle,
Ne're to the Towne of Leiceſter, as we learne :
From Tamworth thither, is but one dayes march.
In Gods name cheerely on, couragious Friends,
To reape the Harueſt of perpetuall peace,

11. *ſpoyl'd*] *spoils* Cap.
Summer Fields] Ff, Cam.+. *ſomer-fieldes* Q_1. *ſommer-fields* Q_3Q_4. *ſommer fields* Q_5. *ſummer-fields* Q_6 et cet.
12. *Swilles...& makes*] *Swill'd...and made* Pope, Han.
13. *embowel'd*] *inbowеld* Qq.
boſomes] *boſome* Q_7Q_8.
14. *Is*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *Lies* Qq et cet.
euen] *e'en* Theob.+.
17. *cheerely*] *cheere* Q_6. *cheare* Q_{3-6}. *cheerly* Ff et seq.

---

whom he knew to be innocent.—SCHMIDT (*Lex., s. v.* 3), *hateful, abominable,* quotes the present line and also: 'Such wretched hands such wretched blood should spill.'—*Lucrece*, 999; where both the 'hands' and the 'blood' are Tarquin's. [Although 'wretched' may be open to criticism, it does not seem to be so far astray as to demand a change of text.—ED.]

11, 12. **spoyl'd . . . Swilles**] MALONE: For a like sudden change of tense compare: 'The same night he treacherously stealeth into her chamber, violently ravished her,' etc.—*Lucrece, Argument.*—WRIGHT compares also: 'She lifted the princess from the earth, and so locks her in embracing.'—*Wint. Tale*, V, ii, 83.

13. **embowel'd**] JOHNSON: That is, exenterated, ripped up, alluding, perhaps, to the Promethean vulture: or, more probably, to the sentence pronounced in the English courts against traitors by which they are condemned to be hanged, drawn, that is, 'embowelled,' and quartered. [Both TOLLET and BLACKSTONE find fault with Johnson's use of this word *drawn:* Tollet, on the ground that: 'Drawn in the sentence pronounced upon traitors only signifies to be *drawn by the heels* or *on a hurdle* from the prison to the place of execution.' Blackstone objects, on the ground that '*Drawn* in the sense of 'embowelled' is never used but in speaking of a *fowl.*' MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Draw III, 50): 'To draw out the viscera or intestines of; to disembowel (a fowl, etc., before cooking, a traitor or other criminal after hanging.' A note is added: 'In many cases of executions it is uncertain whether this or sense 4 [namely: to drag (a criminal) at a horse's tail to the place of execution] is meant. The presumption is that where drawn is mentioned after hanged, the sense is as here,' *i. e., embowelled.*—ED.]

14. **Is**] WRIGHT: The Quarto reading *lies*, suits better with the figure of the boar.

14. **Centry**] This is, possibly, not a mere misprint for *centre;* MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Centry, 1.) quotes, beside the present line, one other example of this word: 'This country is scituate as it were in the centrie or midst of others.—Stubbs, 1583, *Anatomy of Abuses*, II, 5.' It is, perhaps, noteworthy that in both passages it is used to designate a geographical position.—ED.

By this one bloody tryall of ſharpe Warre.
Oxf. Euery mans Conſcience is a thouſand men,
To fight againſt this guilty Homicide.
Her. I doubt not but his Friends will turne to vs.
Blunt. He hath no friends, but what are friends for fear,
Which in his deereſt neede will flye from him.
Richm. All for our vantage, then in Gods name march,
True Hope is ſwift, and flyes with Swallowes wings,
Kings it makes Gods, and meaner creatures Kings.
Exeunt Omnes.

20. Oxf.] 1. Lor. Qq. Dorset. Booth.
men] *ſwordes* Qq, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Sta. Cam. +, Huds.
21. *this guilty*] *that bloudie* Qq. *that bloody* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce i, Sta. Cam. +. *that guilty* Sing. Ktly.
22. Her.] 2. Lor. Qq.
turne] *flie* Qq (*file* Q_4). *fly* Pope, +, Cam. +.
23. Blunt.] 3. Lor. Qq. Ely. Booth.
23. *what*] *who* Q_{1-7}, Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Cam. +, Ktly.
24. *deereſt*] *greateſt* Qq, Pope, Han.
flye] *ſhrinke* Qq, Cam. +.
25. *vantage,*] *aduantage,* Q_7Q_8. *vantage.* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
26, 27. *True Hope ... Kings*] Om. Wordsworth.
27. *makes*] *make* Q_{1-5}.
28. Exeunt Omnes.] Exit. Q_1. Om. Q_{2-8}.

---

22. **doubt not but**] ABBOTT (§ 122): The variable nature of 'but' is illustrated by the fact that 'believe not but' and 'doubt not but' are used in the same signification. Compare: 'I'll not believe but they ascend the sky,' I, iii, 300.

23, 24. **He hath no friends ... will flye from him**] BOSWELL-STONE (p. 410): Holinshed copied Halle's mention of some who joined Richmond during the march between Lichfield and Tamworth, but altered the sense of the next passage. I quote this latter passage as it stands in Holinshed (iii, 754, Halle, 413): 'Diuerse other noble personages, which inwardlie hated king Richard woorse than a tode or a serpent, did likewise resort to him with all their power and strength, wishing and working his destruction; who otherwise would haue beene the instrument of their casting away.'—'Diverse . . . strength,' is Halle's translation of Polydore Vergil (561). Holinshed, not perceiving that, 'did . . . resort to him' refers to Richmond, added the words: 'wishing and working . . . away.' [Compare, for the same idea: 'Those he commands move only in command, Nothing in love.'—*Macbeth*, V, ii, 19, 20; also: 'And none serve with him but constrained things Whose hearts are absent too.'—*Ibid.*, V, iv, 13, 14. The Fifth Act of *Macbeth*, from the second scene to the climax, may, in general arrangement and situation, be compared to this earlier treatment of the subject of a usurper conquered by a foreign invader.—ED.]

24. **deerest**] For examples of 'dear' used in the sense of *extreme, urgent*, see Shakespeare *passim*.

[*Scene III.*]

Enter King Richard in Armes, with Norfolke, Ratcliffe, and the Earle of Surrey.

Rich. Here pitch our Tent, euen here in Boſworth field,
My Lord of Surrey, why looke you ſo ſad?
Sur. My heart is ten times lighter then my lookes.
Rich. My Lord of Norfolke.
Nor. Heere moſt gracious Liege.
Rich. Norfolke, we muſt haue knockes:
Ha, muſt we not?

Scene continued, QqFf. SCENE II. Ran. SCENE III. Pope et cet.
Bosworth Field. Pope.
1. in Armes, with] Om. Qq.
2. and...Surrey.] Catesbie with others. Qq. and Catesby. Pope, Han.
3. *Tent*] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, ii. *tents* Qq et cet.
Boſworth field] *Boſworth-field* F_4, Rowe, Dyce.
4. *My...you*] *Whie, how now Catesby, whie lookſt thou* Q_1, Pope, Han. (*lookeſt* Q_{2-8}).
4. *ſad*] *bad* Q_1.
5. Sur.] Cat. Qq, Pope, Han.
6, 7. As one line, Steev. et seq.
6. *My ... Norfolke*] *Norffolke, come hither* Qq (*hether* Q_2).
Norfolke.] Ff. *Norfolk!* Han. Knt. *Norfolk*— Theob. et cet.
7, 8. Nor. *Heere...Liege.* Rich.] Om. Qq.
8, 9. *Norfolke...not?*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

Scene iii] The COWDEN-CLARKES (*Sh. Key*, p. 157): We take occasion to point out the artistic manner in which Dramatic Time is conducted throughout [this scene] which commences with allusion to the setting sun, goes on with sequential references to 'supper time' and 'nine oclock,' to the stealing on of the hours to the approach of night, to the reaching 'midnight,' intermingled with frequent anticipations of to-morrow; then to the announcement of dawn and cock-crow time, with the advance of morning; and finally to the setting in of day, bringing on that animated summons to immediate attack: all together conducing to impress the imagination with the thorough naturalness whereby the time has sped from overnight to next day before the very eyes of the spectator.

2. **Earle of Surrey]** See DANIEL on *Text*, in *Appendix*.

3. **Tent]** DYCE: The Qq here have *tents*, and rightly, it would seem; Richard speaking of *the tents* for himself and his officers. Presently he speaks of his own particular tent; 'Up with *my* tent,' l. ii, and 'Up with *the* tent,' l. 18.

4. **My Lord of Surrey]** CAPELL (ii, 190): For a good entrance upon their critical office in it, by two of the moderns [Pope and Hanmer], the second line of the scene has a change in their copies, fetch'd from Quarto's, which debases Richard's majesty something, in making him address a dependant too familiarly: the motive seems to have been, to purge the play of a character that has but one single line in it, a motive most insufficient: nor have they effected their purpose if that were it, for the character stands in their *Dramatis Personæ*.

Nor. We muſt both giue and take my louing Lord.
Rich. Vp with my Tent, heere wil I lye to night,
But where to morrow? Well, all's one for that.
Who hath deſcried the number of the Traitors?
Nor. Six or ſeuen thouſand is their vtmoſt power.
Rich. Why our Battalia trebbles that account:

10. *louing*] *gracious* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.
11. *Tent,*] *tent there* Q_{1-6}, Cam.+.
[Tent set up. Cap.
12. *all's*] *all is* Qq.
[Aside. Coll. MS.
13. *Traitors*] *foe* Qq, Sta. Cam.+.
14. *vtmoſt power*] *greateſt number* Qq.
15. *Battalia*] *battalion* $Q_2Q_4Q_6$, Theob. Warb. Johns. Var. '73, Cam.+. *battailon* Q_3Q_5. *battalian* Q_7Q_8. *battailion* Pope, Han.
trebbles] *trebels* Qq. *trebble* F_3F_4.

12 **to morrow? Well, all's one for that**] HORN (iii, 157): How differently does the word 'tomorrow'—so full of gloom—affect the deeper nature of Macbeth! Both rulers had need to dread it; the fact alone that Richard begins to ask: 'But where tomorrow?' shows that he is half lost, there remains for him nothing more than the present moment, torn into a single fragment and only thus to be enjoyed. That alone must suffice him. But the words: 'all's one for that,' with which he silences his own speech, are paralysing—nay, deadly for him. His complete mental vigor is essential to his existence now, and a single moment of relaxation, in which he is not complete master of himself, is for him almost ghastly in its effect, and can lead only to an utter loss of self-control.

13. **descried**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* iii): 6. To catch sight of, especially from a distance, as the scout or watchman who is ready to announce the enemy's approach; to espy.

15. **Battalia**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 2. A large body of men in battle array, a marshalled force or host, whether constituting the whole of an army, or one of its great divisions or battalions. [The present line quoted as the earliest use of this word.]—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 113): If this word is the plural, can any one suppose that Shakespeare would have used this pedantic form [see *Text. Notes*]? If any one can, let him refer to *Hamlet*, IV, v, 78, where he will find that, as a matter of fact, Shakespeare preferred the plural in *s:* 'When sorrows come, they come not single spies, But in batallions.'—WRIGHT: In *Hamlet*, IV, v, 79, F_1 has: 'But in Battaliæs.' [From the fact that 'battalia' is here used with the verb in the singular, and Wright's reference to *Hamlet*, may we not hazard the conjecture that Shakespeare thought 'battalia' was the *singular* form of the word?—ED.]

15. **trebbles that account**] MALONE: Richmond's forces are said to have been only five thousand; and Richard's army consisted of about twelve thousand men. But Lord Stanley lay at a small distance with three thousand men, and Richard may be supposed to have reckoned on them as his friends, though the event proved otherwise.—CHURCHILL (p. 514): In *The True Tragedy*, Richmond asks Stanley: 'What number do you thinke the kings power to be?' to which Stanley replies: 'Mary some twentie thousand . . . *Richmond.* And we hardly fiue thousand' etc . . . . The passages may well be entirely independent of

Beſides, the Kings name is a Tower of ſtrength,
Which they vpon the aduerſe Faction want.
Vp with the Tent : Come Noble Gentlemen,
Let vs ſuruey the vantage of the ground.
Call for ſome men of ſound direction:
Let's lacke no Diſcipline, make no delay,
For Lords, to morrow is a buſie day. *Exeunt*

Enter Richmond, Sir William Brandon, Ox-

16. *the*] *that a* Q_7Q_8.
17. *Faction*] *partie* Qq, Cam. +, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
18. *the...Noble*] *my tent there, valiant* Qq. *my tent there / Valiant* Sta. Cam. +.
19. *of*] *or* Q_8.
19. *ground*] *field* Qq, Sta. Cam. +.
21. *lacke*] *want* Qq, Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam. +.
22,23. Exeunt Enter...] Scene changes to another part of Bosworth Field. Theob. Warb. Johns.

each other, yet it is not without some significance that both authors have given dramatic value to the bald statement of their source by making it reveal the natures of the leaders. As Shakespeare gives the passage to Richard, its artistic value is heightened by the 'dramatic irony' by which he is represented as thinking his name a name to conjure with.

16. **the Kings name is a Tower of strength**] DOUCE (ii, 39): Borrowed from *Proverbs* xviii, 10: 'The name of the Lord is a strong tower.'

20. **sound direction**] JOHNSON: That is, *true judgment, sound military skill.*

23. **Enter Richmond**] R. G. WHITE: It should be remembered that the field was represented by a platform about as large as the floor of a drawing-room in a modern full-sized house. The representatives of *Richard* and *Richmond* were actually within easy conversational distance of each other, and could almost have shaken hands; and the tents, of course, occupied the same relative positions. Such were the arrangements of our primitive stage. We now, by the aid of scene-painters and carpenters, and at the sound of the prompter's whistle, separate the representatives of York and Lancaster by certain yards of coloured canvas, and our stage ghosts address themselves to *Richard* only; and there are those who, forgetting that the stage does not, never can, and should not if it could, represent the facts of real life, think that we have gained greatly by the change.—MARSHALL: Grant White's note seems to us a very foolish one. Certainly the effect of the modern stage arrangement is that the ghosts 'address themselves to Richard only'; but we believe Shakespeare would have been the first to recognise the fact that the dramatic force of the situation is thereby increased, and that his poetry only suffered by being spoken amid surroundings which distracted, by their ridiculous incongruity, the minds of the audience from the language of the characters, and the incidents represented. It would be just as sensible to regret the time when perspective was unknown, and when painters necessarily represented objects, whether near or distant, in the same plane, as to affect to sigh over the times when the want of any stage machinery prevented the dramatist from having appropriate scenes for the action of his play.

ford, and Dorſet.

Richm. The weary Sunne, hath made a Golden ſet,
And by the bright Tract of his fiery Carre,
Giues token of a goodly day to morrow
Sir *William Brandon*, you ſhall beare my Standard:
Giue me ſome Inke and Paper in my Tent:
Ile draw the Forme and Modell of our Battaile,

23, 24. Sir William...Dorſet.] with the Lordes, &c. Q_1Q_2. with the Lords. Qq. Drums. Enter on the other Side of the Field, Soldiers of Richmond's Army, and set up his tent: Then enter Henry, Blunt, Oxford, Herbert, Sir William Brandon, and Others. Capell.

25. *ſet*] *ſete* Q_1. *ſeate* or *ſeat* Qq.

26. *Tract*] Ff,+. *tracke* Qq et cet.

27. *token*] *ſignall* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.

28. *Sir...you*] *Where is Sir...he* Qq.

In Qq Lines 29–32, preceded by: *Farewell good Blunt*, are transposed to follow l. 48; lines 33, 34, 49–51 are omitted. Rowe follows Ff. Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. Johns. follow the Qq, omitting line *Farewell*, etc. Varr. Ran. Mal. follow Qq in transposing these four lines, but retain ll 33, 34, 49–51, reading these last three as two lines, ending, *night... Gentlemen.* Steev. Varr. follow Ff, but read ll 49–51 as two lines, ending, *night ... Gentlemen.* This last is substantially the reading of the modern edd, with the exception of Sta., who transposes lines 29–34 to follow l. 50.

29, 30. *Paper...Tent: Ile*] *paper;... tent I'll* Pope,+.

30. *Battaile*] Ff. *battel* Rowe, Pope, Theob. i. *battle* Theob. ii et seq.

---

24. **Dorset**] MALONE: This is one of the numerous proofs that many of the alterations in F_1 were made by the players and not by Shakespeare [see *Text. Notes*]; for Shakespeare had been informed by Holinshed that *Dorset* was not at the battle of Bosworth: Richmond before his leaving Paris having borrowed a sum of money from the French King, Charles VIII., and having left the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bouchier as hostages for the payment.—DANIEL (*Introd.*, p. xix) after giving the substance of the foregoing note by MALONE, adds: 'I should suppose Dorset's name to be struck out when the Qto was prepared. All these variations, it seems to me, can only be regarded as alterations of the Folio version, and therefore, till evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, all the other textual variations in the two versions must be set down to the same cause, due allowance being, of course, made for error and corruption.' [See note by Daniel, III, i, 209.]

26. **Tract**] SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.* Track): Confused with 'tract' in old authors; also with *trace*, both in old and modern authors. Minsheu has: 'A *trace* or *tracke;* Cotgrave explains French *trac* by 'a track, tract, or trace.' In *Rich. II:* III, iii, 66 [and also in the present line] the Ff have 'tract' for *track;* and in *Timon*, I, i, 50, the word 'tract' is used in the sense of *trace*. These words require peculiar care, because *trace* and 'tract' are really connected, but *track* is not of Latin origin at all, and therefore quite distinct from the other two words. From French *trac*, 'a track, tract, or trace, a beaten way or path, a trade or course.' The sense of 'beaten track' is the right one: we still use that very phrase.

29–32. **Giue me . . . our small Power**] POPE: I have placed these lines as they stand in the Qq [See *Text. Notes*]. I think them more naturally introduced when he is retiring to his tent; and considering what he has to do that night.—

Limit each Leader to his ſeuerall Charge,
And part in iuſt proportion our ſmall Power.
My Lord of Oxford, you Sir *William Brandon*,
And your Sir *Walter Herbert* ſtay with me:
The Earle of Pembroke keepes his Regiment;
Good Captaine *Blunt*, beare my goodnight to him,
And by the ſecond houre in the Morning,
Deſire the Earle to ſee me in my Tent:
Yet one thing more (good Captaine) do for me:
Where is Lord *Stanley* quarter'd, do you know?
Blunt. Vnleſſe I haue miſtane his Colours much,
(Which well I am aſſur'd I haue not done)
His Regiment lies halfe a Mile at leaſt
South, from the mighty Power of the King.
Richm. If without perill it be poſſible,
Sweet *Blunt*, make ſome good meanes to ſpeak with him

32. *Power*] *ſtrength* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+.
34. *your*] *you* QqFf.
35. *Pembroke*] *Pembrooke* F_3F_4,Rowe.
keepes] *keepe* Qq, Pope,+, Sta.
39. *Captaine...me*] *Blunt, before thou go'ſt* Qq, Pope,+, Sta.
40. *do you*] *doeſt thou* Qq, Pope,+, Cam.+ (subs.)
know?] *know.* Q_1.
41. *Colours*] *quarters* Warb.
43. *lies*] *liet* Q_3Q_5. *lieth* Q_4Q_{6-8}.
46. *Sweet*] *Good captaine* Qq.
make...with] *beare my good night to* Qq, Cam.+.

STEEVENS: The Folio is by far the most correct copy of this play. I do not find myself much influenced by Pope's remark.—DYCE (ed. ii): If we here follow the Qq exactly, we lose two lines [33, 34] which seem to form a necessary portion of this speech; and if we only so far follow the Qq as to place these four lines lower down, that arrangement involves the awkwardness of the line: 'Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard,' being immediately succeeded by 'My Lord of Oxford,—you Sir William Brandon.' I have therefore adhered to the Folio.

31. **Limit**] That is, *assign, appoint.*

35. **Earle of Pembroke**] See IV, iv, 16.

35. **keepes**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* II. 33): To stay or remain in, on, or at (a place); not to leave; especially in, *to keep one's bed; to keep the house.*

35. **Regiment**] R. G. WHITE: 'Regiment' was used in Shakespeare's time to mean any considerable body of men, under the regiment or command of one leader, and without reference to the number or organization of the troops that composed it.—CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.*): A considerable body of troops, more or less permanently organized under the command of a superior officer, and forming a definite unit of an army or military force; since the seventeenth century the specific name of the largest permanent unit of the cavalry, infantry, and foot-guards of the British Army.

46. **Sweet Blunt**] R. G. WHITE: This affords a marked instance of the warm

And giue him from me, this moſt needfull Note.
Blunt. Vpon my life, my Lord, Ile vndertake it,
And ſo God giue you quiet reſt to night.
Richm. Good night good Captaine *Blunt*:
Come Gentlemen,
Let vs conſult vpon to morrowes Buſineſſe;
Into my Tent, the Dew is rawe and cold.
They withdraw into the Tent.

Enter Richard, Ratcliffe, Norfolke, & Catesby.

Rich. What is't a Clocke?
Cat. It's Supper time my Lord, it's nine a clocke.

47. *Note*] *ſcrowle* Qq. *scroll* Sta. Cam.+.
48. *life*] *ſelfe* Ff, Rowe.
51. [Exit Blu. Capell.
52. *Let vs*] *Come let us* Qq.
53. *Into my*] *In to our* Q_{1-5}, Pope,+, Cam.+. *Into our* Q_6Q_7. *in our* Q_8. *In to my* Cap. et cet.
Dew] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *aire* Qq et cet.
54. They...Tent.] Om. Qq.
ACT v. SCENE II. Irving.
55. Enter Richard] Enter King Richard Qq. Scene changes back to King Richards Tent. Enter...Theobald. Enter, to his tent, King Richard Capell.
55. Norfolke] Norff. Qq.
& Catesby] Catesbie, &c. Qq.
56–58. As two lines, ending: *Lord... night* Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt, Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. Cam.+.
56. *is't*] *is* Qq.
56, 57. *a Clocke*] *o'clock* Theob. et seq.
57. *It's Supper...clocke*] *It is ſixe of the clocke, full ſupper time.* Qq. (*of clocke* Q_1Q_2). *It is six o' clock: full supper time.* Var. '21.
nine] *ſixe* Qq, Dyce i, Sta.

simplicity of phrase with which men addressed each other in Shakespeare's time. Lieutenant General Scott, with all his courtesy, did not probably address General Worth as 'Sweet Worth,' on the eve of the Battle of Churubusco; and this difference in manners must be constantly borne in mind in reading Shakespeare's works—especially his *Sonnets*.

46. **make . . . meanes**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* mean. II. 10. c): To take steps, use efforts. [Compare l. 287, below.]

53. **the Dew is rawe and cold**] R. G. WHITE: To well-informed readers the reading of the Qq [*aire*] may seem preferable on account of its conformity to the facts of nature; but such conformity is not to be sought against authority, and in disregard of the belief of Shakespeare's time. Even now-a-days there are many people that would be offended if they were called ignorant, and who consider that the danger of exposure to the night-air is caused by the falling dews.

57. **Supper time . . . it's nine a clocke**] STEEVENS: I think we ought to read—*six* instead of 'nine.' A supper at so late an hour as *nine* o'clock, in the year 1485, would have been a prodigy.—DOUCE (ii, 39): It certainly would, and even at the time when this play was written, the period to which the criticism more justly belongs. In either instance there was a reason for preferring the text of the Qq, and yet the unnecessary alteration is retained.—VERPLANCK: Harrison tells us

King. I will not ſup to night,
Giue me ſome Inke and Paper:
What, is my Beauer eaſier then it was?

58, 59. *I will...Paper*] One line, Qq.
59. Om. Pope, Han. Cap.
60. *What,*] *What?* Q_1. *What* Q_7Q_8.
Beauer] *Beuer* Qq.

(*Preface* to Holinshed), 'the nobilitie, gentrie, and students doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or betweene five and six, at afternoone.' [Bk, ii, ch. vi; p. 166, ed. Furnivall.] From this reason, I do not doubt that the Poet wrote originally 'six o'clock.' But on revision he saw that the hour would not agree with the context. The Earls of Northumberland and Surrey are said [l. 80] to have gone through the army at twilight, which in August, in that part of England, when the sunset is after seven, would be much later than the time assigned for this scene. Besides, in l. 25 above, the 'weary sun' had already 'made a golden set'; and this scene therefore is long after six. It seems then that the Poet, perceiving that the whole conduct of this scene required a later hour, and wishing to preserve the incident of Richard's refusing to sup, altered the time to what—though not the common supper-hour of domestic life—might well be that of an army, which had just encamped after a march. The insertion of *six* confuses the time of all this act.—R. G. WHITE: It must be observed that the speech in the Folio is not merely that of the Quarto with 'nine' substituted for *six:* it shows that it was remoulded on the revision of the play. I think, with Verplanck, that the poet wrote originally *six* and that on revision he perceived that this hour would not agree with the context and the situation. [So radical a change as *six* to 'nine' is not easily explained; Verplanck is doubtless right that 'six confuses the time of all this act.' With all deference I suggest that the change is perhaps due to an interlinear alteration in the Quarto; thus: Assuming that the copy for the Folio was prepared from a printed copy of the Quarto, the hour in the former, which now erroneously appears as 'nine,' may have been written *ſix*, and the last two letters may have been mistaken by the copyist for the Roman numeral ix, and enlarged to 'nine.' Furthermore, as aiding the copyist's mistake, and somewhat accounting for the confusion, we have an *s* preceding the *ix* in the *s* of 'it's.' That numbers were sometimes thus printed is seen in a passage of the present play: II, iii, 24, where 'nine months' is printed in the Qq 'ix months.'—ED.]

59. **Giue me some Inke and Paper**] CAPELL (ii, 190): Words proceeding from printers in all likelihood, from having their eye caught by line opposite: useless they are, undoubtedly, to say no more of them; for the matters spoke of in them are enquir'd for afterwards, in fitter place, and with fitter expressions.

60. **Beauer**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 2): The lower portion of the face-guard of a helmet, when worn with a visor; but occasionally serving the purpose of both [derived from Old French *baviere*, a child's bib, from *bave*, saliva]. 'In the fourteenth century applied to the moveable face-guard of the basinet, otherwise called *viziere*, *ventaile*, or *aventaile*. In the early part of the fifteenth century the beaver appears formed of overlapping plates, which can be raised or depressed to any degree desired by the wearer. In the sixteenth century it again became confounded with the visor, and could be pushed up entirely over the top of the helmet, and drawn down at pleasure.'—*Planché.*

And all my Armour laid into my Tent? 61
Cat. It is my Liege : and all things are in readineſſe.
Rich. Good Norfolke, hye thee to thy charge,
Vſe carefull Watch, chooſe truſty Centinels,
Nor. I go my Lord. 65
Rich. Stir with the Larke to morrow, gentle Norfolk.
Nor. I warrant you my Lord. *Exit*
Rich. Ratcliffe.
Rat. My Lord.
Rich. Send out a Purſuiuant at Armes 70
To *Stanleys* Regiment : bid him bring his power
Before Sun-riſing, leaſt his Sonne *George* fall
Into the blinde Caue of eternall night.
Fill me a Bowle of Wine : Giue me a Watch, 74

63. *charge,*] *charge, away* Cap. *proper charge.* Wordsworth.
64. *Centinels*] *centinell* Qq.
68–70. As one line, Ktly.
68. Ratcliffe] *Catesbie* Qq, Pope, +, Cam. +, Coll. iii.
69, 70. As one line, Steev. et seq.
70. *Purſuiuant*] *Purſiuant* Q_1. *Purſeuant* Q_{2-8}.
73. [Exit Catesby. Cam. +.
74. *Watch*] *watch-light* Ktly.
[To Ratcliff. Pope. to Cat. Capell.

60. **easier then it was**] See note by GERVINUS, IV, iii, 200.

68–70. **Ratcliffe . . . Send out a Pursuiuant**] R. G. WHITE: Whoever was commanded by the King to 'send out a pursuivant,' most certainly went out and did it immediately; and we know from Richard's speeches afterwards, both in Qq and Ff, that Ratcliffe remained behind. Both Qq and Ff too, have the stage-direction, when the King retires: '*Exit Ratcliffe,*' only. It was Catesby, therefore, whom Richard sent out for a pursuivant; and the Quarto gives us the correct reading. The error was caused by a trifling error in the Qq, in which the abbreviated names used as prefixes to the speeches of these characters are *Cat.* and *Rat.*, so that the printing of *R* for *C* gave the reply to *Ratcliffe.* To correspond with this, some one who had to do with the Folio, either in the printing-office or before it went there, made the King call *Ratcliff.*—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 31) explains the discrepancy in the Qq, and its apparent correction in the Folio, in much the same way as does White.—PICKERSGILL (*Op. cit.* p. 97), after quoting part of Spedding's remark, adds: 'It is, of course, impossible to suppose that Shakespeare would amend the error of the Quarto as it is amended in the Folio; but there is no difficulty whatever in believing that a corrector other than Shakespeare might do so, when we observe that so judicious an editor as Malone adopts without comment the reading of the Folio. I cannot think that the printer of the Folio, not one of the most intelligent of his class (as we know from other evidence), would attempt an emendation of a reading which had passed muster with all the printers of the Qq.'

73. **blinde**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* III): 6. Enveloped in darkness; dark, obscure.

74. **Giue me a Watch**] JOHNSON: A 'watch' has many significations, but I

Saddle white Surrey for the Field to morrow: 75
Look that my Staues be ſound, & not too heauy. *Ratcliff.*
Rat. My Lord.
Rich. Saw'ſt the melancholly Lord Northumberland? 78

76. Ratcliff] *Ratliff* Qq (throughout). As separate line, Rowe ii et seq.

78. *Saw'ſt*] Ff, Rowe. *Sawſt thou* Q_1. *Saweſt thou* Q_{2-8}. *Saw'st thou* Pope et seq.

---

should believe that it means in this place not a sentinel, which would be regularly placed at the king's tent; nor an instrument to measure time, which was not used in that age; but a *watch-light*, a candle to burn by him; the light that afterwards 'burnt blue'; yet a few lines after, he says: 'Bid my guard watch,' which leaves it doubtful whether 'watch' is not here a sentinel. [Johnson does not include this signification of 'watch,' *i. e.*, a *watch-candle*, among others in his Dictionary published in 1755, about ten years before the notes on the present play.—ED.]—STEEVENS: The word 'give' shows, I think, that a *watch-light* was intended. I have seen these candles represented with great nicety in some of the pictures of Albert Dürer. The candle being marked out into sections, each of which was a certain portion of time in burning, it supplied the place of the more modern instrument by which we measure the hours. Barett (*Alvearie*, 1580) mentions *watching lights* or *candles*. [Steevens adds four quotations, but they are all of a date later than 1600, and in each example the words are 'watching-light' and not 'watch.' That Richard's camp-outfit included a clock which struck the hours, we are positively assured in l. 316; does it not seem, therefore, somewhat superfluous for him to ask for so primitive an instrument as a *candle* wherewith to measure the passage of the time? Johnson's second thought seems to me more just, that 'watch' here means a *sentinel*.—ED.]

75. **white Surrey**] 'Richard, (inuironed with his gard) with a frowning countenance and cruell visage, mounted on a great white courser, . . . entered the towne of Leicester after the sunne set.'—*Holinshed*.—W. STRUNK, JR. (MS note): White steeds have sacred associations (Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 10), are reserved for royalty, and are the best of three colors in times of need: see *Lady Maisry* (CHILD, iii, p. 116), and *Fair Mary of Livingston* (*Ibid.*, 20–22). Tam Lin, a favourite of the queen, too, rides, not the black nor the brown, but, a milk-white steed: 27–28. 'Dem Pabst is gesetzt' ran an old regulation, 'dass er reyte auf einem blanckem Pferde.' For a deeper glimpse, see Hehn: *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, pp. 44 f., 478.—Gummere, *Old English Ballads*, p. 351, note.

75. **Surrey**] BREWER (*Dict. of Phrase, &c., s. v.*): Surrey is the Syrian horse, as Roan Barbary in *Richard II.* is the Barbary horse or barb.

76. **Staues**] JOHNSON: That is, the *wood* of the lances.—STEEVENS: As it was usual to carry more lances than one into the field, the lightness of them was an object of some consequence. Hall says that, at the marriage of Mary Tudor with the King of France, 'a gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight. x. speres, that is to wyt. iii. speres set in every styroppe forward, and vnder euery thygh. ii. speres vpwarde, and vnder his lefte arme was on spere backeward, and the. x. in his hand.' [—p. 573, ed. 1809.]

78. **melancholly Lord Northumberland**] MALONE: Richard thus calls him

Rat. *Thomas* the Earle of Surrey, and himſelfe,
Much about Cockſhut time, from Troope to Troope
Went through the Army, chearing vp the Souldiers.
King. So, I am ſatisfied : Giue me a Bowle of Wine,
I haue not that Alacrity of Spirit,
Nor cheere of Minde that I was wont to haue.
Set it downe. Is Inke and Paper ready?

80. *about*] *like* Q_{5-8}.
82. *So, I am*] *I'm* Pope, Han. *I am* Theob. Warb. Johns. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr.
Bowle] *boule* Q_1.
84. *cheere*] *cleare* Q_2Q_8.
[Wine brought. Cap.
85. *Set*] *There, set* Pope, +. *So, set* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Var. '03, '13.

---

because he did not join heartily in his cause.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: Richard's calling Northumberland 'melancholy,' and his previously asking Surrey 'Why look you so sad?' conduce to show the downcast, unalert countenances of those around; who served him reluctantly, and because they were compelled to do so.—MARSHALL: Malone's explanation is not satisfactory. No similar use of the word occurs anywhere else. It looks very much as if it was not the epithet the author really used. It may possibly mean *suspicious*. [BRADLEY (*N. E. D.*) does not give any example wherein 'melancholy' means *suspicious*.—ED.]

80. **Cockshut time**] MURRAY (*N. E. D s. v.*) 1. Twilight. Perhaps the time when poultry go to roost, and are shut up; though some think it is equivalent to *cockshoot*, and refers to the time when wood-cocks 'shoot' or fly.—*Ibid.* (*s. v.* cock-shoot. A broad way, or glade in a wood, through which woodcocks, etc., might dart or 'shoot,' so as to be caught by nets stretched across the opening. The statements that the net itself was the *cockshoot*, and that the proper spelling is *cockshut*, appear to be dictionary blunders, founded on a misunderstanding of the word as something to 'shut' in or enclose the birds. [Whatever be the derivation, it is evident that 'cockshut *time*' here means *twilight*.—ED.]

82. **So, I am . . . Bowle of Wine**] MALONE: In speeches of this description, where minute orders are given about trifles, the poet appears to have paid little attention to metre, and to have interposed sentences of mere prose, of which I have given several examples in the course of this tragedy. [That Shakespeare again and again has disjointed lines we all know; but that they are 'mere prose' is not so evident. They are not invariably, but very frequently, disjointed rhythmic prose, as here: 'So I′ | am sat | isfied,' Then there is a pause, a *mora vacua*, and there follows: 'Give mé | a bowl | of wine.'—ED.]

83. **I haue not that Alacrity of Spirit**] '—he pronosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battayle to come, not vsing the cheerefulnesse and mirth of minde, and of countenance as he was accustomed to doe before he came towarde the battayle.'—Grafton, ap. More, p. 219. This depression on the part of Richard is, however, mentioned as following, not preceding, his 'dreadfull' and 'terrible dreame.' BOOTH (p. 94) gives, after this line, the following stage-direction: '*The drum-roll and trumpets cease gradually: tremulo music pianissimo begins and is kept up through the dream. After a few vivid flashes of light the scene becomes illuminated and shows the ghosts and the distant tents of Richmond.*'—ED.

Rat. It is my Lord.
Rich. Bid my Guard watch. Leaue me.
Ratcliffe, about the mid of night come to my Tent
And helpe to arme me. Leaue me I ſay. *Exit Ratclif.*

Enter Derby to Richmond in his Tent.

Der. Fortune, and Victory ſit on thy Helme.
Rich. All comfort that the darke night can affoord,
Be to thy Perſon, Noble Father in Law.

87, 88. *Bid*...Ratcliffe] One line, Dyce, Cam.+, Huds.
87. *Leaue*] *and leave* Pope,+, Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran. *Now leave me* Ktly. *So leave me* Ktly conj.
88. Ratcliffe] Om. Mal. Steev. Varr.
89. *arme me*] *arme* F_3F_4 (subs.) *arm me, Ratcliff* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.
Leaue me] *Leave me now* Pope,+.
Exit Ratclif.] King Richard retires into his Tent. Exeunt Ratcliff and Catesby. Malone. Exeunt Ratcliff and the other attendants. Cam.+.
SCENE III. Pope i. SCENE IV. Richmond's Tent. Pope ii,+ (– Var. '73). Richard lies down and sleeps. Enter... (couch). Coll. (MS).
90. Enter...Tent.] Richmond's Tent opens; discovering him, and his friends conferring: to them Stanley. Capell et seq. (subs.)
Derby] Stanley Pope,+, Cap. Var. Mal.
91. *ſit*] *ſet* Q_2.
93. *Father in Law*] *Father-in-Law* F_3F_4.

87. **Bid my Guard watch**] ROLFE: If this is not the order for the guard, it is a message to the guard that would be set at the royal tent, as a matter of course, admonishing them to be vigilant.

89. **Leaue me I say**] HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, p. 150): Kean's manner of bidding his friends 'Good night,' after pausing with the point of his sword, drawn slowly backward and forward on the ground, as if considering the plan of the battle next day, is a particularly happy and natural thought.

92, 93. **All comfort . . . Be to thy Person**] STEEVENS: Compare: 'The best and wholesomest spirits of the night Envelop you.'—*Meas. for Meas.*, IV, ii, 76.

93. **Father in Law**] FRENCH (p. 230): Shakespeare, who like other writers was not particular in applying correct terms of relationship, makes Richmond speak of Stanley as his 'father-in-law,' whereas he was step-son to him, and became son-in-law to Edward IV. at his marriage with Elizabeth of York. [Shakespeare is, however, in this respect no more careless than many writers both of his time and later. According to MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* father-in-law), this term was used equally to designate the father of a husband or wife, and the relationship resulting from marriage of a mother, known as *step-father*. Compare, for example, in the present play, where Clarence speaks of Warwick as his 'great father-in-law' (I, iv, 50). 'The *step-* in *stepson* and the like is the adjective *steðp*, "destitute," "bereaved," so that *stepson* or *stepchild* is the same as *orphan*, which comes from the Greek for "bereaved." *Stepfather* and *stepmother* are therefore terms which could only have arisen after the *step-* had lost its proper sense.'—GREENOUGH & KITTRIDGE (p. 211).—ED.]

Tell me, how fares our Noble Mother?
Der. I by Attourney, bleſſe thee from thy Mother,
Who prayes continually for Richmonds good:
So much for that. The ſilent houres ſteale on,
And flakie darkeneſſe breakes within the Eaſt.
In breefe, for ſo the ſeaſon bids vs be,
Prepare thy Battell early in the Morning,

94. *how fares*] *how fares it with* Han. Cap. *I pray how fares* Coll. ii, iii (MS). *how now fares* Vaughan (iii, 144).
Noble] Q_{3-8}, Ff, Rowe, Knt. *louing* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
Mother?] *mother now?* Ktly conj.
97. *that. The*] *that the* Q_1Q_2. *that: the* Q_{3-8} (*that, the* Q_4). *that—The* Pope, +, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. (subs.)
98. *And*] *A* Q_7Q_8.

94. **Tell me . . . Noble Mother**] CHURCHILL (p. 514): In *The True Tragedy*, 'Enters a Messenger' from the 'mother queene' with a letter from Richmond's mother, Margaret. Richmond's first words are: 'Welcome my friend, how fares our mother & the rest?' Is it mere chance that makes Richmond's greeting in *Richard III:* 'Tell me,' etc.? There is nothing in the chronicle story to hint at this solicitude on Richmond's part for his mother.

97. **The silent houres steale on**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: This is one of Shakespeare's expedients for marking dramatic time. The present allusion to approaching dawn, just between Richard's late words: 'about the mid of night,' and Richmond's subsequent words: 'lest leaden slumber peize me down tomorrow' serves to prepare the spectator's imagination for the supposed passing of the period, during this scene, from sunset to sunrise.

98. **flakie darkenesse breakes within the East**] MARSHALL: The accuracy of this description will be recognised by any one who has ever watched the break of dawn, in the country, long before the sun rises above the horizon after a starless night. The mass of darkness begins to break into irregular pieces shaped like snow-flakes.—[It is, perhaps, interesting to compare other descriptions of sunrise, by Shakespeare: 'look, the gentle day Before the wheels of Phœbus round about Dapples the drowsy east with spots of grey.'—*Much Ado*, V, iii, 25; 'The grey-eyed morn smiles on the frowning night, Chequering the eastern clouds with streaks of light, And fleckeld [Qq.] darkness like a drunkard reels From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, II, iii, 1; 'look, love, what envious streaks Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east: Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops.'—*Ibid.*, III, v, 7; 'yon gray lines That fret the clouds are messengers of day.'—*Jul. Cæs.*, II, i, 103; 'look, the morn, in russet mantle clad, Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastward hill.'—*Hamlet*, I, i, 166; 'Full many a glorious morning have I seen Flatter the mountain tops with sovereign eye, Kissing with golden face the meadows green, Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy; Anon permit the basest clouds to ride With ugly rack on his celestial face, And from the forlorn world his visage hide, Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace.'—*Sonnet*, xxxiii. 'The sun ariseth in his majesty; Who doth the world so gloriously behold That cedar-tops and hills seem burnish'd gold.'—*Ven. & Ad.*, l. 856.—ED.]

And put thy Fortune to th'Arbitrement
Of bloody ſtroakes, and mortall ſtaring Warre:
I, as I may, that which I would. I cannot,
With beſt aduantage will deceiue thet ime,
And ayde thee in this doubtfull ſhocke of Armes.
But on thy ſide I may not be too forward,
Leaſt being ſeene, thy Brother, tender *George*
Be executed in his Fathers ſight.
Farewell: the leyſure, and the fearfull time
Cuts off the ceremonious Vowes of Loue,
And ample enterchange of ſweet Diſcourſe,
Which ſo long ſundred Friends ſhould dwell vpon:
God giue vs leyſure for theſe rites of Loue.
Once more Adieu, be valiant, and ſpeed well.
Richm. Good Lords conduct him to his Regiment:
Ile ſtriue with troubled noiſe, to take a Nap,

101. *th'*] Ff,+, Cap. *the* Qq et cet.
Arbitrement] *arbritrement* Q_{3-5}. *arbiterment* Q_{6-8}.
102. *mortall ſtaring*] Ff,+, Varr. Mal. *mortal-fearing* Cap. *mortal-scaring* Mal. conj. *mortal-stabbing* Sta. conj. *mortal--daring* Anon. ap. Cam. *mortal-baring* Cartwright. *mortal-staring* Steev. et cet.
103. *I, as*] *I as* Qq.
107. *Brother, tender*] *brother tender* Q_{1-5}. *tender brother* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
108. *his Fathers ſight*] *thy fathers fight* Q_4.
109. *the leyſure*] *The lack of leisure* Anon. ap. Cam.
112. *ſo long ſundred*] Ff,Q_7Q_8, Rowe. *ſo long ſundried* Q_1Q_2. *ſo long ſundired* Q_3Q_4. *so long-sundred* Pope, Han. Warb. *so-long-sundred* Theob. Johns. Var.'73, Dyce, Huds. *ſo long ſundered* Q_5Q_6 et cet. (subs.)
113. *vs...for*] *on...of* Q_7Q_8.
rites] *rights* Qq.
115. *Lords*] *Lord* Q_4.
116. *with troubled noiſe*] Ff, Rowe. *troubled with noise* Wh. i. *with busied thoughts* Kinnear. *with troubled thoughts* Qq et cet.

102. **mortall staring**] STEEVENS: I suppose by this is meant: war that looks big or stares fatally on its victims.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: 'Mortal-staring war' includes the effect of War staring or glaring fatally upon its victims, and of their deadly stare when killed.

104. **With best aduantage will deceiue the time**] JOHNSON: I will take the best opportunity to elude the dangers of this conjuncture.—VAUGHAN (iii, 146): Lady Macbeth says to her husband: 'To beguile the time Look like the time.'—I, v, 64; that is: to deceive everybody about you, look as everybody about you looks. The expression here 'deceive the time,' then is, possibly: I will, on the first opportunity, trick those who are about me, and give you my help.

107. **tender George**] WRIGHT: 'Tender George' was at this time a married man, and had been summoned to Parliament since 1482. But the dramatist followed the chroniclers; for Hall, and Holinshed after him, both speak of Lord Strange as a child.

109, 113. **leysure**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 2 b): Duration of opportunity; time allowed before it is too late. [Compare l. 277 below.]

116. **Ile striue with troubled noise**] R. G. WHITE: The reading of the Qq has

Left leaden ſlumber peize me downe to morrow, 117
When I ſhould mount with wings of Victory:
Once more, good night kinde Lords and Gentlemen.
Exeunt. Manet Richmond. 120
O thou, whoſe Captaine I account my ſelfe,

117. *peize*] F_2. *poize* F_3F_4, Rowe, Pope, Warb. Johns. *poise* Han. *peiſe* Qq et cet.
119. *Gentlemen*] *gentilemen* Q_1.
120. Exeunt.] Exunt. Q_1Q_2.
Manet Richmond.] Om. Qq.
121. [going towards a couch and kneeling. Capell.

hitherto been given in all modern editions as poetically preferable; but we need not be very careful about the poetic diction of a man who announces his intention to 'take a nap.' A dramatic poet must, however, preserve the consistency of his characters; and if Shakespeare first wrote 'troubled *thoughts*,' which is possible, he seems to have remembered, on the revision of the play, that he had represented Richmond as entirely untroubled in mind, and sure of victory from the time when he first appears upon the scene. (see his principal speeches in Sc. ii, and the early part of this scene), being on this point consistent with the chroniclers. The contrast between Richmond's assurance and calm confidence in his right, and Richard's anxious and even nervous solicitude, is of high dramatic value; and this would be, in a great measure, destroyed if Richmond, on his own confession, retired to rest with troubled thoughts. The transposition in the Folio [see *Text. Notes*] is the mere result of a misplacement, or perhaps the omission of the *caret* for 'noise,' on the revision. [This sentence is literally transcribed; but I cannot say I quite comprehend it.—ED.]—DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, p. 163) agrees with WHITE that *troubled thoughts* is not in keeping with Richmond's present state of mind; in corroboration, Delius calls attention to that which the Ghost of Hastings says to Richmond: 'Quiet untroubled soul, awake, awake,' and adds: 'In the manuscript, the "with" may have been inserted in the wrong place, so that the Anonymous corrector of the Quarto was induced to change the meaningless "with troubled noise" to *with troubled thoughts*.' [Compare l. 212 *supra*.]—PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 98): The Folio change seems at all events deliberate, and I think it may have been made in consequence of a fancy of the corrector that something of dramatic contrast was sacrificed by attributing to Richmond 'troubled thoughts' which were proper only to Richard. This idea would not be inconsistent with that pedantic over-carefulness which is characteristic of him.—VAUGHAN (iii, 147): I think this line to have been universally misinterpreted. It means, I will strive against the entertainment of troubled thoughts, so as to take a nap; *not*, as the punctuation now prescribes, I will endeavor to take a nap, although entertaining troublesome thoughts. I would punctuate thus: 'I'll strive with troubled thoughts, to take a nap.' [In this punctuation Vaughan has been anticipated by F_1.—ED.]

117. **leaden slumber**] MALONE compares: 'Now leaden slumber with life's strength doth fight.'—*Rape of Luc.*, l. 124; and WRIGHT adds: 'O murderous slumber Lay'st thou thy leaden mace upon my boy?'—*Jul. Cæs.*, IV, iii, 268.

117. **peize**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v. Peise*): 4. To put a weight upon, add weight to; to weight, load, burden; to weigh down; to oppress; to furnish with weights. [The present line quoted.]

121. **O thou, whose Captaine**] HORN (iii, 158): Words can hardly be more

Looke on my Forces with a gracious eye:
Put in their hands thy bruiſing Irons of wrath,
That they may cruſh downe with a heauy fall,
Th'vſurping Helmets of our Aduerſaries:
Make vs thy miniſters of Chaſticement,
That we may praiſe thee in thy victory:
To thee I do commend my watchfull ſoule,
Ere I let fall the windowes of mine eyes:

122. *on*] *one* Q_7.
Forces...a...eye] *force...thy...eyes* Q_7Q_8.
124. *a*] Om. Q_7Q_8.
125. *Th'*] Ff,+, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *The* Qq, Var.'73 et cet.
125. *Helmets*] *helmet* Q_{5-8}.
127. *thy*] *the* $Q_1Q_{2^*}$ Cap. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.

powerful or more tender than in this passage. It is thus heralded that the Ghosts should appear, bringing blessings and curses; when we behold all of Richard's victims: Edward, Henry, Clarence, Rivers, Grey, the two princes, Anne, and Buckingham, the whole dread tragedy is once more enacted before our eyes. For the very purpose that every fear may be exalted to the supreme idea of love and justice.

123. **bruising Irons of wrath**] TAWNEY: Compare *Psalm*, ii, 9: 'Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron, and break them in pieces like a potters vessel.'

127. **thy victory**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 155): Richmond has already called himself God's 'captain,' and even as the final overthrow of the enemy is to be regarded as divine justice, in the same degree Richmond's victory is God's victory. The anonymous corrector of the Quarto has quite misunderstood this when he alters 'thy' to *the*.

129. **the windowes of mine eyes**] VAUGHAN (iii, 148): The ancient 'window' was primarily the fence to exclude wind, not the transparency to admit light, and this fence excluded light because it was opaque. So Richmond calls his eyelids, which exclude light, 'windows.' [Neither SKEAT (*Dict.*) nor WHITNEY (*Cent. Dict.*) record such a restricted use of the word 'window'; SKEAT gives as its derivation, '*wind-eye*, the hole or aperture through which wind and air were admitted'; the direct opposite of Vaughan's explanation. Shakespeare uses the word apparently indiscriminately for both the *shutter* and the *aperture* itself, as thus: 'these windows that let forth thy life.'—I, ii, 15; 'It [the soul] would not out at windows nor at doors.'—*King John*, V, vii, 29. In these examples, which might easily be multiplied by reference to BARLETT, 'window' can mean only an *opening;* just as in the two following it seems to designate the *shutter*: 'Shuts up his window, locks fair daylight out.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, I, i, 145; 'Pluck down forms, windows, anything.' —*Jul. Cæs.*, III, ii, 264. Shakespeare also uses 'window' metaphorically both for the *eyelid* and the *eye* itself. As an example of the former use compare: 'thy eyes windows fall Like death when he shuts up the day of life.'—*Rom. & Jul.*, IV, i, 100; which is also quoted by STEEVENS as parallel to the present line. Compare also: 'the enclosed lights, now canopied Under these windows. [the lids].'—*Cymb.*, II, ii, 22. And for 'window' used for the eye itself compare: 'the window of my

Sleeping, and waking, oh defend me ſtill. *Sleeps.* 130
Enter the Ghoſt of Prince Edward, Sonne to

130. Sleeps.] Om. Qq.

SCENE IV. Between the Tents of Richard and Richmond: They sleeping. Enter...sixth. Pope i. SCENE V. Pope ii,+. throws himself upon the couch and sleeps. Lightning and Hollow Sounds. Suddenly is seen rising between the Tents the Ghost...sixth. Cap.

131. Prince] young Prince Q_1. yoong Prince Q_2.

131, 132. to Henry] Harry Q_1.

---

heart, mine eye.'—*Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 848, and 'thine [eyes] for me are windows to my breast.'—*Sonn.*, xxiv, 10.—ED.

131. **Enter the Ghost**] STEEVENS: This circumstance is likewise found in Nichols's *Legend of King Richard III.* (inserted in the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, ed. 1610), and was apparently imitated from Shakespeare: 'As in my tent on slumbering bed I lie Horrid aspects appear'd unto mine eye: I thought that all those murder'd ghosts, whom I By death had sent to their untimely grave, With baleful noise about my tent did crye, And of the heavens, with sad complaint did crave That they on guilty wretch might vengeance have.' His terror on waking is likewise very forcibly described. Drayton may likewise have borrowed from our author: 'Where to the guilty King, that black fore-running night, Appear the dreadful ghosts of *Henry* and his son, Of his own brother *George*, and his two nephews done Most cruelly to death; and of his wife, and friend Lord *Hastings*, with pale hands prepar'd as they would rend Him piece-meal; at which oft he roareth in his sleep.'—*Polyolbion, Song* xxii. [ll. 1420–1425. The foregoing note is from the *Variorum* of 1821. In a former edition STEEVENS added a remark about tracing the growth of a poetic idea, and how, in the present instance, Nichols had but sketched the incident of the ghosts, Drayton had added to that sketch, and finally Shakespeare gave us the finished picture. This drew from MALONE a note in which he showed that Steevens's train of poetic suggestion should be reversed; since both Nichols and Drayton must have been indebted to Shakespeare, as Nichols's account was written thirteen years after, and Drayton's twenty-second song twenty-five years after the date of *Richard III.*—ED.]—CAPELL (ii, 191): Nothing is found in any edition to impress a reader with awfulness, and introduce properly the train of spectres that follow: *Enter the Ghost* of this person, and *Enter* that of another, is all we are favour'd with; and after much the same sort runs every stage-direction in general, from one end of the poet's work to the other, and that in every edition: he himself either pay'd no attention to this most necessary article, or thought it wrongly within a manager's province: but 'twas equally within his own, and that of subsequent setters-out of his plays in print; what they suffer upon the stage and in reading by this neglect of himself and of others after him judges will apprehend without much enforcing. Exclusive of the direction which occasion'd this note, the *rising* should be supposed instantaneous, and the phænomena of some duration.—MRS GRIFFITH (p. 320): The ghosts here are not to be taken literally; they are to be understood only as an allegorical representation of those images or ideas which naturally occur to the minds of men during their sleep, referring to the actions of their lives, whether good or bad. That this is the sense in which our Poet meant this scene to be accepted is fully evident from his representing both Richard and Richmond to have been asleep during the apparition,

[131. Enter the Ghost]

and therefore capable of receiving those notices in the 'mind's eye' only; which entirely removes the seeming absurdity of such an exhibition.—HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, p. 154): The introduction of the ghosts through the trap-doors of the stage should be altogether omitted. The speeches which they address to Richard might be delivered just as well from behind the scenes. These sort of exhibitions might have been very proper for a superstitious age, but in an age not superstitious they excite ridicule instead of terror.—DUPORT (i, 347): The appearances of all these ghosts is not so unaccountable as that two individuals should experience the same dream at the same time.—HARTLEY COLERIDGE (ii, 175): There is an apparent absurdity in either painting or acting a dream, which no beauty of execution can conceal. Jacob's dream has been painted by Rembrandt and by Alston—beautifully, I dare say, by both; but both make the mistake, as it appears to me, of introducing the sleeping Jacob in a corner. Who has not seen Joseph's dream and his sheaves? I am not forgetful that, according to the speculations of Shakespeare's day, separate spirits did converse with souls in sleep—indeed, the opinion is older than Homer—must have been as old as the belief in prophetic dreams; but then the spirits were not supposed to be visible or audible to men awake. The best defence that can be made for Shakespeare in this case is that the audience are to be identified with the personages of the drama; to know, and feel, and see, whatever is known, or felt, or seen by any one whom the poet introduces, and should always sink their own presence and existence. Thus does Campbell, in his life of Mrs Siddons, justify the actual appearance of Banquo's ghost on the stage when none but Macbeth is supposed to behold it. But the cases are not exactly similar. Ghosts were, in popular faith, objective existences whose visibility depended on their own volition. Not so dreams.—VERPLANCK: 'Enter' is the stage direction in Qq and Ff, though Collier informs us that at that date there were trap-doors in the stage by which spirits and fiends sometimes ascended. Modern editors, without authority, make the ghosts severally rise, according to the custom of the stage, which, I believe, the reform of Macready has here altered to the old mode.—SNIDER (ii, 441): This scene will aid us in arriving at a judgement concerning Shakespeare's employment of ghosts and supernatural appearances. The conscious intention of the Poet is here so manifest that nobody can deny it, for the ghosts only reiterate what has been fully given in the play without this unreal form. Richard's overthrow and Richmond's victory have been amply motived; here it is cast into the unconscious presentiment of both leaders. In sleep the foreboding of the soul moulds itself into the distinct image, and there results the dream. The subjective nature of both men is thus shown—one buoyed up with a just cause, the other weighed down with his crimes. What Richard really is, comes out in the vision; he might be able to suppress himself when awake. Now he is for the first time frightened; the dream has fully revealed, not merely his character to himself,—that he knew before,—but the certainty of his punishment. It is the revelation of his own soul concerning his destiny, for Richard hitherto had no faith in retribution; his belief was in successful villainy. Hence his terror.—O. T. PERKINS (p. 208, *Note*): A word of explanation is necessary as to the reasons why the visions in *Richard III.* and *Cymb.* have been excluded from the category of Ghosts proper. As to their genuineness I say nothing, though very likely a strong case might be made out against them, both on the general evidence of style—misleading as it often is—and on the general disposition to foist in sensational

Henry the ſixt. 132

Gh.to Ri. Let me ſit heauy on thy ſoule to morrow:

132. the ſixt.] the ſixt, to Ri. Q_1Q_2. Qq. Edw. Capell. Ghost. Rowe et cet.
133. Gh. to Ri.] Ff. Ghoſt to K. Ri. 133. [To K. Rich. Rowe et seq.

matter for stage effect. It is sufficient for the present purpose to point out two things. In the first place the ghosts in both plays are dreams; they have no waking existence. Richard's: 'Methought the souls of all that I had murdered came to my tent'; Posthumus's 'Sleep thou hast been a grandsire,' are very different from Macbeth's: 'As I live I saw him'; Hamlet's: 'My father in his habit as he lived.' And secondly, in both cases their appearances might be expunged from the play without plot, or interest, or dramatic action suffering in the slightest degree. Beyond this the *Cymbeline* Ghosts essentially differ from the rest in that, firstly, they are ghosts to cheer, not to appal; while, secondly, in large part they are no ghosts, but simply an adaptation of the pagan mythology for miraculous purposes.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Einführungen*, etc., p. 160): In regard to the appearance of the ghosts, I recommend the following arrangement, which corresponds in part with that adopted by Dingelstedt. The stage shows the interior of Richard's tent, which should not be of great depth; wherever possible, the sides and top should be closed, in fashion of a tent. Richard lies to the left on a couch placed somewhat at an angle, the head towards the audience, the foot almost touching the back wall of the tent. The first vision consists of those ghosts who prophecy destruction to Richard. They appear in three groups, each of which has its own spokesman; the speeches are substantially shortened. On the abrupt disappearance of the first vision, a second should at once appear behind another part of the tent. In the deeper part of the stage, perhaps at a slight elevation, Richmond is seen sleeping in his open tent. The ghosts are grouped around the head of the couch, King Henry in the middle, holding out his hand in the act of blessing the sleeper (perhaps holding also a laurel-wreath), Anne and the princes kneeling and praying at the side, the other ghosts with countenances and bearings expressive of felicitations are ranged round these. As this group is quickly and easily arranged there need be but a short interval between the disappearance of the first vision and the appearance of the second. In regard to the costumes, it seems to me that all the ghosts should wear the same costumes as they wore in the play, but at the same time enveloped in long white or gray mantles. The outward signs of murder, such as wounds, blood, etc., should be visible and in the first vision could be made more marked than in the second.—B. WARNER (p. 237): These ghosts truly represent the moral attitude of the two leaders in the last struggle between the houses of York and Lancaster. No use of soliloquies could here accomplish the end aimed at, to place the moral strength and weakness of this struggle before us. The speech beginning: 'Give me another horse,' is wretched as compared with former soliloquies. It seems a poor bit of actor's fustian. The ghosts, on the other hand, may be inartistic, as is often objected; but they are powerful dramatic auxiliaries. Through their wailing moans we hear the last note of cold despair beginning to sweep across the soul of Richard.

133. **sit heauy on thy soule**] STEEVENS: Compare: 'Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his breast.'—*Rich. II:* I, ii, 50.

Thinke how thou ſtab'ſt me in my prime of youth
At Teukesbury : Diſpaire therefore, and dye.
Ghoſt to Richm. Be chearefull Richmond,
For the wronged Soules
Of butcher'd Princes, fight in thy behalfe :
King *Henries* iſſue Richmond comforts thee.
Enter the Ghoſt of Henry the ſixt.
Ghoſt. When I was mortall, my Annointed body
By thee was punched full of holes ;

134. *ſtab'ſt*] QqF$_2$. *ſtabb'ſt* F$_3$F$_4$. *stabb'dst* Rowe, Knt, Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Sta. *stab'd'st* Theob. et cet. (subs.)
my] *the* F$_3$F$_4$, Rowe, Pope,+, Varr. Ran.
135. *Teukesbury*] *Tewksbury* F$_3$F$_4$.
Diſpaire therefore] *therefore despair* Pope,+.
therefore] Om. Q$_7$Q$_8$.
136. Ghoſt] Ff. Om. Qq et cet.
136, 137. *Be...Soules*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
138. *butcher'd*] *butchred* Q$_{3-5}$. *butchered* Q$_1$Q$_2$,Q$_{6-8}$.
140. Enter] rises Cap. and throughout.
141. Ghoſt] Ghoſt to Ri. Q$_1$Q$_2$. Ghoſt to K. Ri. Qq et seq. (subs.)
142. *holes*] Q$_{2-8}$,Ff, Rowe, Pope. *deadlie holes* Q$_1$ et cet.

---

134. **prime of youth**] Compare I, ii, 274.

135. **therefore**] For examples of this word accented 'therefóre,' see WALKER (*Vers.*, 112).

136. **Ghost to Richm.**] BATHURST (p. 31): I cannot but think that all the encouraging and blessing of Richmond by the ghosts would never have been thought of if it had not been an object to exalt the Tudor family. It is dull, it breaks the spirited scene, and the effect of it upon Richard: and the ghosts after all, have nothing to do with Richmond.

142. **punched**] STEEVENS: This word, which sounds but meanly in our ears, is also employed by Chapman: '—with a goad he punch'd each furious dame.'—*Iliad*, vi [l. 126].—MARSHALL: This line is one of the worst in all Shakespeare. One can scarcely believe he ever wrote it; for even admitting that 'punched' did not bear, at that time, the more vulgar sense that it has now, the whole expression is strikingly unpoetical. [SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.* punch, 2.) states that this word in the phrase 'to punch one's head,' is 'a mere abbreviation of *punish*.' Under '*punch*' (1), to *pierce*, or *perforate*, he quotes the present line and adds: 'This verb is a mere coinage from the older substantive *punction* or *punchon*, spelt *punchon* in *Prompt. Parv.*, denoting the kind of awl used for punching or perforating.' MARSHALL says, in continuing his note, 'The only instances that seem to have been found of a similar use of this word are in Chapman's Homer, *Iliad* [as quoted by Steevens]; also in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge:* "The ox's breast seem'd fresh pauncht with bleeding wounds."—I, iii, *Works*, i, p. 80. Barett (*Alvearie*, *s. v.* punch) gives "see To punish." Palsgrave: "I PUNCHE. *Je boulle, je pousse*, prim. conj. Whye punchest thou me with thy fyste on this facyon?"' Is it not somewhat strange that Marshall should have failed to notice that in these quotations, from Barett and from Palsgrave, the word 'punch' bears a meaning quite different from that in the present line?—ED.]

Thinke on the Tower, and me: Diſpaire, and dye,
Harry the ſixt, bids thee diſpaire, and dye.
To Richm. Vertuous and holy be thou Conqueror:
Harry that propheſied thou ſhould'ſt be King,
Doth comfort thee in ſleepe: Liue, and flouriſh.

Enter the Ghoſt of Clarence.

Ghoſt. Let me ſit heauy in thy ſoule to morrow.
I that was waſh'd to death with Fulſome Wine:
Poore *Clarence* by thy guile betray'd to death:
To morrow in the battell thinke on me,
And fall thy edgeleſſe Sword, diſpaire and dye.

144. Harry] Henry Ff, Rowe,+, Cap. Varr. Ran.

147. *Doth...in ſleepe*] *Thee in thy sleep doth comfort* Marshall.
in ſleepe: Liue] *in thy ſleepe liue* Q_1. *in thy ſleepe, liue* Q_{2-8}, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Sta. *in sleep; live thou* Rowe ii,+ (−Var.'73), Cap. Coll. (MS), Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *in thy sleep; live* Cam.+. *in sleep now; live* Ktly. *in sleep live, live* Anon. ap. Cam. *in slumber; live* or *in thy sleep; now live* Ktly (Exp., p. 265).

148. Ghoſt] Ghoaſt Q_1Q_2.

149. *ſit*] *ſet* Q_1.

149, 158. *in*] Q_{1-4},Ff. *one* Q_7. *on* Q_5 et cet.

150. *to death*] *in death* Dyce conj.
with] *in* F_3F_4, Rowe,+ (−Var. '73).

---

142. **full of holes**] SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 32): The Folio, and all Qq, except the first, omit the word *deadly*. From this we may gather that one of the later Qq was used for copy [from which the Folio was printed].

146. **Harry that prophesied**] For this incident, see *3 Hen. VI:* IV, vi, 70–76.

150. **wash'd to death with . . . Wine**] STEEVENS: Shakespeare seems to have forgot himself. The Duke was killed before he was thrown into the Malmsey butt, and consequently could not be 'washed to death.' See I, iv, 270.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: If the scene here referred to by STEEVENS be carefully perused, it will be seen that the Murderer stabs Clarence twice, saying: 'If all this will not do, I'll drown you in the malmsey butt within'; and immediately carries off his victim. Therefore, if we are to scan these points thus literally, it may be supposed that the dying man hears these words, and is flung into the wine to be finally 'wash'd to death.' But surely the traditional incident of Clarence's being thrown into a malmsey-butt sufficed as a warrant for the poetical words here put into his ghost's mouth. [Compare IV, iii, 138, where the Duchess of York is made to mention the manner of the death of the two Princes, which she could not possibly have known, as it was not divulged until after Richard's death. The audience, however, knew that they had been smothered, and also that Clarence had been 'washed to death' in malmsey, and this was all sufficient.—ED.]

150. **Fulsome**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* 3 b) [Of food]: Having a sickly or sickening taste; tending to cause nausea.

153, 190. **fall**] Compare I, ii, 202, stage direction; and I, iii, 371. ABBOTT suggests (§ 291) that in the present line 'fall' may be the subjunctive. It will be noticed, on referring to the above section, that ABBOTT quotes this line thus: 'Think

To Richm. Thou off-ſpring of the houſe of Lancaſter
The wronged heyres of Yorke do pray for thee,
Good Angels guard thy battell, Liue and Flouriſh.

Enter the Ghoſts of Riuers, Gray, and Vaughan.

Riu. Let me ſit heauy in thy ſoule to morrow,
Riuers, that dy'de at Pomfret : diſpaire, and dye.

Grey. Thinke vpon *Grey*, and let thy ſoule diſpaire.

Vaugh. Thinke vpon *Vaughan*, and with guilty feare
Let fall thy Lance, diſpaire and dye.

All to Richm. Awake,
And thinke our wrongs in *Richards* Boſome,

154. *off-ſpring*] *offſpring* $Q_1Q_3Q_4$. *offpring* Q_2. *offſpring* Q_5.
155. *heyres*] *Heirs* F_4.
157. and] Om. Qq.
158. Riu.] King. Q_1Q_2.
162. *Lance*] *hurtless lance* Cap. *pointless lance* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
162. *diſpaire*] *Richard, despair* Pope, +.
163, 164. *Awake,...Boſome*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
164. *our*] *out* Q_4.
Richards] *Ri.* Q_{2-5}. *Ric.* Q_6. *Rich.* Q_7. Richard's F_3F_4.

---

on me, and fall thy edgeless axe'; a variation in text, hitherto unrecorded. *Aliquando dormitat*, etc. FRANZ (§ 476 c) explains this conversion of transitive to intransitive, by detecting in the verb a causative force. See, also, *Ant. & Cleo.*, III, xi, 78, this ed.—ED.

162. **Let fall thy Lance**] SINGER (*Sh. Vind.*, p. 176): The interpolation of *pointless* [by Collier's MS corrector] is gratuitous interference. Why *pointless* lance? Lines of eight syllables are frequent in the poet, to vary the measure. [A partial answer to Singer's query may perhaps be found in the use of 'edgeless' applied to a sword in lines 153 and 190. WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 176) calls attention to the lack of an epithet before 'lance' to correspond with 'edgeless sword,' but makes no suggestion.—ED.]—R. G. WHITE: It is highly probable that an epithet before 'lance' has been accidentally dropped; and equally so that this line was written as a counterpart to l. 153. [Collier's MS correction] is so obvious that it must have occurred to every intelligent and sufficiently observant reader of Shakespeare on the perusal of this passage.—MARSHALL: It is possible that this line, as well as l. 168, is intentionally defective. These lines are the last lines spoken by the ghosts to Richard before turning to Richmond. It will be also noticed that the words 'despair, and die' are repeated by every ghost as the last words said to Richard. These would be preceded or accompanied, doubtless, by a solemn and menacing gesture, which would serve to fill up the hiatus in the line—as a rest in music. It is in favour of the theory that the omission of the epithet was intentional, that neither the Qq nor Ff should have attempted to supply it. There is another way in which the line might be rendered complete, viz., by the repetition of the word 'despair.' [See, if needful, ABBOTT, § 508; for examples of omission of a foot or syllable where there is a 'marked pause arising from emotion, antithesis, or parenthesis.']

Will conquer him. Awake, and win the day.
Enter the Ghoſt of Lord Haſtings.
Gho. Bloody and guilty : guiltily awake,
And in a bloody Battell end thy dayes.
Thinke on Lord Haſtings : diſpaire, and dye.
Haſt. to Rich. Quiet vntroubled ſoule,
Awake, awake :
Arme, fight, and conquer, for faire Englands ſake.
Enter the Ghoſts of the two yong Princes.
Ghoſts. Dreame on thy Couſins
Smothered in the Tower :
Let vs be laid within thy boſome *Richard*,

165. *Will*] *Wel* Q_1.
him] Om. Ff, Rowe.
166–172. Transposed in Q_1Q_2 to follow l. 183.
166. Lord Haſtings.] Ff, Rowe. L. Haſtings. Q_{3-6}. Haſtings Q_1Q_2 et cet.
167. *guiltily*] *guilty* Ff, Rowe.
169. *diſpaire*] *and despair* Pope,+, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt. *So despair* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
170. Haſt. to Rich.] To Richm. (after *ſoule*) Rowe,+ (subs.)
170, 171. *Quiet...awake :*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
173. Ghoſts] ghoaſts Q_2.
Enter...Princes.] The Ghosts of the two young Princes rise. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
174, 175. *Dreame... Tower*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
175. *Smothered*] *ſmoothred* Q_3Q_5. *ſmothred* Q_4. *ſmoothered* Q_6. *ſmother'd* F_4.
176. *laid*] Q_{2-6}Ff, Rowe, Pope, Knt. *lay'd* Cap. *lead* Q_1 et cet.

---

166. **Enter the Ghost of Lord Hastings**] CAMBRIDGE EDD (*Note* xxiv): In Q_1 and Q_2 the Ghosts of the two young Princes enter and speak, before the Ghost of Hastings. The Ff and other Qq make the Ghost of Hastings enter first. As a chronological order is observed in the appearance of the other Ghosts, we have thought it best, in this case, to follow the latter authorities. This discrepancy between the two earliest editions and the rest seems to have escaped the notice of Capell and of all other editors. [For a somewhat similar change, compare I, ii, 201–203.]

174, 178. **Cousins . . . Nephewes**] For 'Cousins,' used in the sense of *kinsmen*, see II, ii, 11, and notes.

176. **Let vs be laid**] THEOBALD: This is a poor, feeble reading. The line as in Q_1, 'Let us be *lead*,' corresponds with what is said in the next line. [Compare, also, what both the ghosts of Clarence and Rivers say: 'Let me sit heavy in thy soul tomorrow.'—ED.]—MARSHALL: No doubt instances occur in Shakespeare of the use of *lead* in a similarly figurative sense. . . . But still there is something commonplace in the expression here; and though it may seem a very fanciful idea, one cannot help remembering that the question of where the bodies of the young princes were 'laid' remained a mystery for some time after their deaths. Surely the wish that their murderer might be compelled to bear the burdens of their murdered bodies in his bosom, the moral weight of which would weigh him 'down to ruin, shame,

And weigh thee downe to ruine, ſhame, and death,
Thy Nephewes ſoule bids thee diſpaire and dye.
Ghoſts to Richm. Sleepe Richmond,
Sleepe in Peace, and wake in Ioy,
Good Angels guard thee from the Boares annoy,
Liue, and beget a happy race of Kings,
Edwards vnhappy Sonnes, do bid thee flouriſh.
Enter the Ghoſt of Anne, his Wife.
Ghoſt to Rich. *Richard*, thy Wife,
That wretched *Anne* thy Wife,
That neuer ſlept a quiet houre with thee,
Now filles thy ſleepe with perturbations,
To morrow in the Battaile, thinke on me,
And fall thy edgeleſſe Sword, diſpaire and dye:
Ghoſt to Richm. Thou quiet ſoule,

177. *thee*] *the* Q_6F_3.
178. *ſoule bids*] *ſoules bid* QqF_4 et seq.
179. Ghoſts] Om. Qq, Rowe.
179, 180. *Sleepe...Ioy*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
184. Enter...Anne, his Wife.] Ff,+. Enter...Ladie Anne, his wife. Q_1Q_2, Cam. +. Enter...Queene Anne his wife. Q_{3-6}. Ghost of Lady Anne rises. Cap. Mal. Enter...Lady Anne. Var.'78, '85, Ran. The Ghost of Queen Anne rises. Steev. et cet.
185. Ghoſt to Rich.] Om. Qq.
185, 186. Richard...Anne *thy Wife*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
188. *perturbations*] *preturbations* Q_1.
190. *fall thy edgeleſſe Sword*] *fall thy powerless arm* Coll. ii, iii (MS).
191. Ghoſt to Richm.] to Richm. (after *ſoule*) Rowe et seq. (subs.)
191, 192. *Thou...ſleepe*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

---

and death' is at least as poetical as that they might turn to a lump of lead, which is suggestive rather more of indigestion than of remorse. *Lead* seems to be exactly one of those corrections which a too hasty emendator might make. [The confusion between 'laid' and *lead* may have arisen from the compositor's inability to distinguish any difference when the word was pronounced by the reader in the printing-office. ELLIS (iii, 981) gives the pronunciation of *ea*, in Shakespeare's time, as that of *a* in *mare*, *Mary*, and rarely as that of *e* in *met;* of *ai*, he says, that it is equivalent to *ey* in *eye*, and rarely as *a* in *mare*.—ED.]

181. **annoy**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Annoy, *subst.*): 2. That which causes discomfort; a troubling thing, circumstance, or action; annoyance. [The present line quoted.]

187. **That neuer slept**, etc.] See IV, i, 95, and note.

190. **edgelesse Sword**] COLLIER (*Emend.*, p. 337): This emendation [*powerless arm*, see *Text. Notes*] . . . avoids the strong objection to making the Ghosts of Clarence and Anne use precisely the same form of imprecation when threatening Richard.—LETTSOM (ap. WALKER, *Crit.*, iii, 176, *foot-note*): Here two lines appear to have been lost, and their place supplied by two that had done duty in a former speech. In such a case it was futile in the MS Corrector to alter two words. He should have written two new lines or done nothing.

Sleepe thou a quiet ſleepe:
Dreame of Succeſſe, and Happy Victory,
Thy aduerſaries Wife doth pray for thee.
Enter the Ghoſt of Buckingham.
Ghoſt to Rich. The firſt was I
That help'd thee to the Crowne:
The laſt was I that felt thy Tyranny.
O, in the Battaile think on Buckingham,
And dye in terror of thy guiltineſſe.
Dreame on, dreame on, of bloody deeds and death,
Fainting diſpaire; diſpairing yeeld thy breath.
Ghoſt to Richm. I dyed for hope

195. Enter...Buckingham.] The Ghost of Buckingham rises. Cap. et seq. (subs.)
Ghoſt] Ghosts F_3.
196. Ghoſt to Rich.] Om. Qq.
196, 197. *The firſt ... Crowne*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
198. *thy*] *the* Q_7.
203, 204. *I dyed...Ayde*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
203. *for hope*] *for holpe* Theob. *forsoke* Han. *forsook* Cap. *foredone* Tyrwhitt. *my hope* Cartwright.

194. **Thy Aduersaries Wife doth pray for thee**] MARSHALL: This is not a happy line. If Anne had been alive, her natural anxiety to become a widow would have given it greater point.

203. **I dyed for hope**] THEOBALD: I restore, with the addition of a single letter: 'I dy'd for *holpe*,' *i. e.*, I perish'd for that *Help*, which I had intended and was preparing to lend Thee; tho I could not effectually give Thee any assistance. —HANMER, in support of his conjecture, *forsoke*, says: 'This, as appears from history, was the case of the Duke of Buckingham: that, being stopped upon the banks of Severn, he was deserted by his soldiers, . . . who disbanded themselves and fled.'—WARBURTON: That is, I died for wishing well to you. But Theobald's conjecture gives a fine sense to the line.—STEEVENS: May not the meaning be: I died for only having *hoped* to give you that assistance which I never had it in my power to afford you in reality. [STEEVENS also suggests that we should read: 'I died *forholpe*,' and gives the meaning of this new word as *deserted, unhelped*, on the principle that *forbid*, accursed, is the opposite of *bid*, blest; but, I believe, an example of the word *forholpe* has yet to be found.—ED.]—MALONE: Buckingham's hopes of aiding Richmond induced him to take up arms; but being unsuccessful, he lost his life *in consequence of the hope* which led him to engage in the enterprise.—DYCE (*Few Notes*, p. 104): The reading 'died for hope,' has been questioned: but (however we are to understand it) the following in Greene's *James the Fourth* seems to determine that it is right: 'Warre then will cease, when dead ones are reuiued; Some then will yeelde, when I am dead for hope.' [V, vi, l. 2220, ed. Collins.]—R. G. WHITE: In my opinion, the passage has been misunderstood only because explanation has been sought too remotely. Does it not clearly mean, both here and in the passage from Greene, quoted by Dyce, I died to hope? 'to' and 'for,' as the sign of the dative, having been used almost interchangeably. (Compare: 'no pity *to* myself,' l. 235). An examination of the context in Greene's play

Ere I could lend thee Ayde;
But cheere thy heart, and be thou not diſmayde:
God, and good Angels fight on Richmonds ſide,
And *Richard* fall in height of all his pride.

Richard ſtarts out of his dreame.

Rich. Giue me another Horſe, bind vp my Wounds:

206. *Richmonds*] *Richmons* Q_1. *Richmond's* F_4.

207. *fall*] Ff, Rowe ii, Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Sta. *fals* Qq. *falls* Rowe i et cet.

[lightning, and the Ghosts vanish. Cap. The Ghosts vanish Rowe et cet.

208. Richard ſtarts ... his] Richard ſtarteth vp...a Q_1Q_2. King Richard ſtarteth...a Q_{3-6}. Richard ſtarted...his Q_7Q_8. starting wildly out of his sleep. Cap. K. Richard starts...his Rowe et cet.

---

and of the situation of the speaker justifies a similar interpretation of that passage. The King sees that when his case becomes hopeless, then war will cease.—KINNEAR (p. 272): That is, *I died for* hope in your cause, *for hope in you.* Buckingham refers to Henry's prophecy: 'Come hither England's hope.'—*3 Hen. VI;* IV, vi, 68. So Somerset says: 'As Henry's late presaging prophecy Did glad my heart with hope of this young Richmond.'—*Ibid.*, line 92. 'For hope'—like this—Buckingham says, 'I died'; not '*for loyalty*—for England's *hope* was not yet her *king;* Richmond, as yet, had but, as Macbeth, 'great prediction of noble having, and of royal hope' (I, iii, 56). The meaning is the same as in *3 Hen. VI;* V, iv, 55: 'And he that will not fight for such a hope,' *i. e.*, conquer or *die for.*—WRIGHT: 'For hope,' that is, as regards hope; and hence it is almost equivalent to for want of hope. Compare: 'almost dead for breath.'—*Macbeth*, I, v, 38; also, 'faints for succor.'—*As You Like It*, II, iv, 75; and: 'I die for food.'—*Ibid.*, II, vi, 2.—FRANZ (§ 328): The causal 'for' takes the meaning *for want of*, when the condition of want or grief, expressed in the predicate, is represented as consequent on the cause connected with 'for,' which is at the same time the object of desire; *e. g.*, 'to faint for succour' means *to faint for want of succour.* This pregnant use of the preposition leads, at times, to a very bold style of expression, like 'dead for breath.' *To die for* was a stereotyped phrase for *yearn, languish;* it still survives in a more restricted sense in modern speech (*she dies for him* means 'she is over head and ears in love with him'). [See note on 'Weeping-ripe for a good word.'—*Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii, 307, this edition.—ED.]

206, 207. fight . . . fall] WALKER (*Crit.*, iii, 176): I think *falls* [the Quarto reading] is more in the manner of the later English poetry than of that of Shakespeare's time. F_1 has 'fall'—I think rightly; *pugnent—cadat.* [Without wishing to criticise my betters, may not 'fall' here be used causatively as in line 153 and line 190? the sense would then be: May God and good angels fight on Richmond's side, and *cause* Richard to fall in height, etc. With the Quarto reading *falls*, as KINNEAR, remarks, p. 273, the passage becomes 'a prophecy and not a prayer,' as in the case of the other speeches.—ED.]

209. Giue me another Horse, etc.] CAPELL (ii, 192): The genuineness of these lines is but too well proved by many others their fellows: Nor are all of them faulty—indeed, few; the shortness and the abruptness in most of them paint dis-

Haue mercy Ieſu. Soft, I did but dreame. 210
O coward Conſcience! how doſt thou afflict me?

211. *doſt*] *doeſt* Qq.

traction, and are images of a mind scarcely settl'd; this abruptness goes off as the speech advances, and its owner settles through time.—JOHNSON: There is in this, as in many of our author's speeches of passion, something very trifling, and something very striking. Richard's debate, whether he should quarrel with himself, is too long continued, but the subsequent exaggeration of his crimes is truly tragical. —SKOTTOWE (ii, 202): The first six lines of this soliloquy are deeply expressive of the terrors of a guilty conscience; but the conceits and quibbles which disfigure the remainder, completely destroy the moral impression.—RÖTSCHER (p. 46): Shakespeare here shows us the marked contrast between these two leaders: Richard, the tyrant, utterly broken and unstrung, and Richmond, upon whom there seems to us to shine the hope of better days. This contrast should also attain its fullest counterpart in the tones of the voice of each. Richard flings out only hoarse words—even his orders only make upon us the impression of a dull despair, which strives but half-heartedly not to recognise itself as such. The timbre of the voice is cracked; the voice itself, upon which Richard once could call for the expression of every effect, is now powerless; there remains but a toneless sound as the reflection of a spirit broken down and approaching utter chaos. In the ringing tones from the courageous soul of Richmond, we must on the other hand, recognise the reflection of a confidence founded upon the justice of his cause. His voice cannot ring too clearly, because in it there should be for us the full rhythm of an inspired soul striving for the right.—HORN (iii, 159): Even the dullest and most inert auditor can hardly fail to be roused and stirred by the weird and tragic force of this soliloquy; at the same time it is so thoroughly complete that we can only get the full benefit of it by paying the strictest attention to the force of every word. That, however, I do not intend to do; it is sufficient to call attention to the main point: for the last time there is here put in words that fearsome duality which Richard made use of in daily life, and wherein he portrayed himself to himself; but that witty manner of consoling, whereof he had heretofore made use, is now lacking. It no longer helps Richard that Richard loves Richard, and the mystical sense wherein 'I am myself alone' is now powerless to bring solace, since this single loveless *I* no longer pities itself.—LLOYD: Each Ghost threatens as it rises, and Richard afterwards recalls their threats; but as he suddenly wakes, his exclamation, true to the nature of dreams, shows him already transported into the heady fight. But deep as the apprehension of the predicted defeat may be, it is overmastered for the time by the still deeper sense of misery, hatefulness, and desolation. The horrors of his soul and the bitterness of his punishment are heightened, or rather weakened, by no vulgar resort to furies and torments, which prey on the spirits of the weaker and meaner culprit, Clarence. Guilty condition of being is to Richard the present hell that Clarence looks forward to with terror as a consequence.—HUDSON: In this strange speech there are some ten lines in or near the Poet's best style; the others are in his worst; so inferior, indeed, that it is not easy to understand how Shakespeare could have written them at all.

211. **coward Conscience**] WARBURTON: Conscience takes advantage of his sleep and frights him in his dreams. Therefore he is made to call it 'coward conscience,' which dares not encounter him while he is himself awake. [With

The Lights burne blew. It is not dead midnight. 212
Cold fearefull drops ſtand on my trembling fleſh.
What? do I feare my Selfe? There's none elſe by, 214

212. *It is not*] Q_{2-8},Ff, Rowe i. *Is it not* Rowe ii, Cap. Varr. Mal. *It is now* Q_1 et cet.

dead] *dread* Ktly (Exp. 265.—misprint?)

213. *ſtand*] *ſtands* Q_5.

214. *What? do I feare my Selfe?*] *What do I feare? my ſelfe?* Q_1, Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Hal. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds. Ktly. *What do I feare my ſelfe?* Q_{2-8}, Knt, Dyce i, Wh. i, Sta.

214–223. *What? do I feare...I am not*] Om. Coll. (MS).

Cibber's reading] '*tyrant conscience*' not only a great beauty is lost, but a great blunder committed. For Richard had entirely got the better of his Conscience; which could, on no account, therefore, be said to play the *tyrant* with him.—M. MASON (p. 231): I cannot think that Shakespeare had any of those refined ideas in his head when he wrote this passage, which Warburton gives him credit for. Richard calls his conscience 'coward,' because it inspired him with fear; considering it as a part of himself, not as a distinct personage, whom he was to encounter. It is plain from the lines: 'My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,' etc. (225 *et seq.*), that Richard had not entirely got the better of his conscience, even in his waking thoughts: nor do I believe that any bad man ever did. [See I, iv, 134, and note.]

212. **The Lights burne blew**] STEEVENS: Compare Lyly, *Galathea*, 1592: 'I thought there was some spirit in it [brimstone] because it burnt so blew. For my mother would often tell mee when the candle burnt blew, there was some ill Spirit in the house.' [—II, iii, 63, ed. Bond.]—WRIGHT: So when the Ghost of Cæsar appears Brutus exclaims: 'How ill this taper burns!'—*Jul. Cæs.*, IV, iii, 275.

212. **It is not dead midnight**] MALONE refers to the reading 'Is it not dead midnight?' which he assigns to F_1, and observes: 'This reading has been followed by all subsequent editors. And here we have a decisive proof of the progress of corruption, and of the licentious and arbitrary manner in which emendations were made, even in F_1, when a passage in the Q. that was printed from, appeared corrupt. Some idle conjecture was formed and adopted, instead of resorting to the original copy, where the true reading would have been found.' Malone has not followed his own instructions in resorting to the original copies. Had he done so, he would have seen that the reading he decries appears first, not in the Ff, but in Rowe's edition ii.—ED.—STEEVENS: The reading of Q_1, could it be supposed to need support, might meet with it in: 'Tis now the very witching time of night.'—*Hamlet*, III, ii, 406.—THOMPSON: This is one of several cases where the editor of F_1 seems, at this point in the play, to have been without MS guidance, and to have relied on the later Qq alone. Another example follows at l. 214: 'what do I feare.' In these cases Q_1 supplies us with the right reading. Pope was perhaps justified in rejecting the feeble line [215] to the margin. But the words: 'I am I' bring out in Richard's extremity his unfailing belief in the doctrine 'I am myself alone,' already enunciated in *3 Hen. VI:* V, vi, 83.—MARSHALL: It is interesting to compare with this speech that of the King in *Hamlet*, III, iii, ll 51–56 and 64–72. Of course, there is not any absolute resemblance between the two speeches; but, in each case, it is a guilty man communing with his own conscience, while suffering from a momentary paroxysm of remorse.

Richard loues *Richard*, that is, I am I.
Is there a Murtherer heere? No; Yes, I am:
Then flye; What from my Selfe? Great reaſon: why?
Leſt I Reuenge. What? my Selfe vpon my Selfe?
Alacke, I loue my Selfe. Wherefore? For any good
That I my Selfe, haue done vnto my Selfe?
O no. Alas, I rather hate my Selfe,
For hatefull Deeds committed by my Selfe.
I am a Villaine: yet I Lye, I am not.
Foole, of thy Selfe ſpeake well: Foole, do not flatter.
My Conſcience hath a thouſand ſeuerall Tongues,
And euery Tongue brings in a ſeuerall Tale,
And euerie Tale condemnes me for a Villaine;
Periurie, in the high'ſt Degree,
Murther, ſterne murther, in the dyr'ſt degree,
All ſeuerall ſinnes, all vs'd in each degree,

215. Richard.../] Om. Pope, Han.
am] *and* Q_1.
217–223. In margin, Pope, Han.
217. *ſlye;*] *ſlie*, Qq. *ſlye?* Ff, Rowe. *reaſon: why?*] *reaſon whie?* Q_1 Q_2. *reaſon why*, Q_{3-8}. *reason; why* Pope,+. *reason: Why?* Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sta. Cam.+. *reason why,*— Dyce. *reason. Why* Ktly.
218. *Reuenge. What...Selfe?*] *revenge myself...myself.* Lettsom, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
What?] *What* Qq. Om. Cap. *What*, Cam.+.
vpon] *on* Pope,+, Steev. Varr.
219. *Alacke*] Om. Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Ran. Steev. Var. '03, '13.
220. */*] Om. Q_{6-8}.
haue] *hath* Q_7Q_8.
vnto] *upon* F_3F_4, Rowe i.
223. *yet*] *yea* Q_8.
224. *ſpeake well:*] *speak—well* Rowe i.
228. *Periurie,*] Q_{3-8},Ff, Rowe. *Periurie, periurie* Q_1Q_2. *Perjury, foul perjury* Coll. ii (MS). *Perjury, perjury* Pope et cet.
the] Om. Pope,+ (—Var. '73).
high'ſt] *higheſt* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal.
229. *Murther...murther,*] *Murder... murder*, Q_{6-8}.
dyr'ſt] *dyreſt* Qq.

215. I am I] MALONE: I am not sure that the reading of Q_1, *I and I*, is not right.—VON FRIESEN (ii, 136): I cannot consider it as the chance work of a lucky inspiration that the very same thoughts upon which Richard based his whole course of action are again heard in this monologue; but in opposition to a daring design of an insolence devoid of conscience they now obtrude as the most overwhelming reproof of that conscience itself. Thus the words: 'Richard loves Richard, that is I am I,' belong here. Even more noteworthy are the other words: 'I am a villain.' It is as though in the former we should recognise: 'I am myself alone'; in the latter: 'I am determined to become a villain'; and therein comprehend that the consciousness of having attained his goal is to be used by his conscience as the flaming sword of justice for the annihilation of this accomplished villain, who had based his life on the power of the Ego.

Throng all to'th'Barre, crying all, Guilty, Guilty.
I ſhall diſpaire, there is no Creature loues me;
And if I die, no ſoule ſhall pittie me.
Nay, whereſore ſhould they? Since that I my Selfe,
Finde in my Selfe, no pittie to my Selfe.
Me thought, the Soules of all that I had murther'd
Came to my Tent, and euery one did threat
To morrowes vengeance on the head of *Richard.*

231. *all*] Q_{3-8},Ff, Rowe. Om. Q_1Q_2 et cet.
th'] Ff, Rowe, Wh. i, Sta. *the* Qq et cet.
Barre] *barrre* Q_6. *Boare* Q_8.
crying all] *all crying* Pope,+.
232. */ſhall*] *will* Pope.
Creature] *creatuees* F_2. *creatures* F_3.
233. */ſhall*] *will* Q_1Q_2, Pope, Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Ktly.
234, 235. In margin, Pope, Han.
234. *Nay*] *And* Qq.
they?...my Selfe,] *they,...my ſelfe.* Q_1. *they?...my ſelfe.* Q_{2-8}. *they,—...myself?* Dyce. *they,...myself?* Cam. +. *they?...myself.* Rowe et cet.
236–238. Transposed to follow l. 245. Mason, Ran. Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
236. *had murther'd*] *had murtherd* Q_1. *murtherd* Q_2. *murthred* Q_{3-5}. *murthered* Q_6. *haue murthered* Q_7. *haue murdred* Q_8. *had murder'd* Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Sing. Dyce, Cam. +, Ktly. *have murther'd* Cap.
237. *Came*] *Came all* Q_{3-6}.
and] Om. F_4.
one] *on* Q_4.

---

231. **Barre**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* III): 22. The barrier or wooden rail marking off the immediate precinct of the judge's seat, at which prisoners are stationed for arraignment, trial, or sentence. (*b*) A tribunal, *e. g.*, that of reason, public opinion, conscience. [The present line quoted. In Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*, plate x, there is a good representation of the 'bar' with prisoners and witnesses thronging to it.—ED.]

232. **there is no Creature loues me**] BOAS (p. 155): As Richard starts from his slumber, there is wrung at last from his lips the agonized cry of homage to the might of moral law. The horror of his isolation from humanity falls upon him, echoing, as it were, the grim burden of the spectral chorus; he shrieks aloud: 'There is no creature loves me.' He to whom love had been only foolishness clutches at it convulsively as he hangs over the darkness of the abyss, and with the imploring cry for pity from his fellows, his scheme of self-centred life crumbles into the dust. That is the 'true tragedy' of Richard III, the real and significant Nemesis of which his death in battle at the hands of Richmond, God's representative, is only the outward, though dramatically and historically imperative, confirmation.

233. **no soule shall pittie me**] Compare: 'Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,' etc., IV, iii, 309; or see, if needful, ABBOTT, § 315.

236–238. **Me thought . . . the head of Richard**] JOHNSON: These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech, that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced. Perhaps they should be inserted after: 'Fool do not flatter,' l. 224.—M. MASON (p. 231): In my opinion these lines might be introduced with the most propriety after: 'O Ratcliffe, I fear, I fear,' l. 248. And then Ratcliff's reply: 'Nay, good my Lord, be not afraid of shadows,' would be natural; whereas, as

Enter Ratcliffe.

Rat. My Lord. 240

King. Who's there?

239. Ratcliffe.] Catesby. Irving. Cam.+.
241. *Who's*] *Zoundes, who is* Q_1Q_2. *'Zouns, who is* Cap. *'Zounds! who is there*] *heare* Q_4. 241. [starting. Cap.

the text is now regulated, Ratcliff bids him not to be afraid of shadows, without knowing that he had been haunted by them: unless we suppose that the idea of shadows is included in what Richard calls a 'fearful dream,' l. 245.—RITSON: Either lines 214–235 are not Shakespeare's, or are so unworthy of him that it were to be wished they could with propriety be degraded to the margin. I wonder that Johnson, who thought the three lines following misplaced, did not perceive that their connection with the preceding part of the soliloquy, ending at 'trembling flesh,' was interrupted solely by this apparent interpolation, which is in the highest degree childish and unnatural.—STEEVENS: I rather suppose the lines, referred to by Ritson, though genuine, to have been crossed out of the stage manuscript by Shakespeare himself, and afterwards restored by the original, but tasteless, editor of this play.—R. G. WHITE: Were I to print a Shakespeare for myself alone, I should adopt Mason's emendation without a doubt. But as the passage in question stands in all the old editions, and we know that the Quarto version was carefully revised, such a change would be altogether beyond the proper limits of editorial prerogative. . . . The twenty-two lines, mentioned by Ritson, are surely very much inferior to the rest of the play, and—what is of more consequence—not in the style in which Shakespeare wrote at any period of his life.—The COWDEN-CLARKES: We think that Ratcliff's word 'shadows,' l. 249, is used in reference to Richard's half-expressed 'fear' lest his apparent 'friends' should not 'prove all true'; which fear Ratcliff treats as unsubstantial and unreal: while Richard's consciousness starts at the word 'shadows,' and he uses it in his rejoinder, with reference to the apparitions which have crowded his dreams. To make these three lines in question uttered *after* the entrance of Ratcliff appears to us sheer misapprehension of the Poet's meaning. As if Richard would have spoken *to another* of 'the souls of all that I had murdered.' But at the close of the soliloquy the lines come in thorough consonance with Shakespeare's principles of dramatic art: giving emphasis to the vision just beheld, marking vividly its impression on the mind of the speaker, and giving reason for the previous words, 'I myself find in myself no pity to myself.' Moreover, they perfectly consist with the tone of Richard's former soliloquies, where he freely canvasses with himself his own villanies.—VAUGHAN (iii, 153) suggests that these three lines be inserted between the lines: 'O Ratcliff I have had a fearful dream,' and 'What thinkest thou? will all our friends prove true?'

237, 238. **euery one did threat . . . vengeance**] SKOTTOWE (i, 207): From the old play, *The True Tragedie*, etc., Shakespeare got the idea of the ghosts: 'Sleep I, wake I, or whatsoever I do, Mee thinkes their ghosts come gaping for revenge Whom I have slain in reaching for a crown: Clarence complains and crieth for revenge, My nephews bloods revenge, revenge doth cry: The headless peers comes pressing for revenge; And every one cries, let the tyrant die.' [VERPLANCK, LLOYD, and BARRON FIELD also call attention to this similarity; see for a further comparison, CHURCHILL, on *The True Tragedie*, in *Appendix*.]

Rat. *Ratcliffe* my Lord,'tis I : the early Village Cock 242
Hath twice done ſalutation to the Morne,
Your Friends are vp, and buckle on their Armour.
**King.* O Ratcliffe I haue dreamd a fearfull Dreame. 245
*What thinkſt thou will our friends proue all true.
**Rat.* No doubt, my Lord.*
King. O *Ratcliffe*, I feare, I feare.
Rat. Nay good my Lord, be not affraid of Shadows.
King. By the Apoſtle *Paul*, ſhadowes to night 250
Haue ſtroke more terror to the ſoule of *Richard*,
Then can the ſubſtance of ten thouſand Souldiers 252

242. Ratcliffe] Om. Q_7Q_8, Thompson. *'tis I'*] Om. Pope,+(−Var.'73).
243. *twice*] *thrice* Q_7Q_8.
245. *O*] Om. Cap.
245–247. *King. *O...my Lord.**] Om. F_1,Ff,+.
246. *thinkſt*] *thinkest* Cap. et seq.
248. *O*] Om. Pope,+, Cap. Varr. Steev. Varr. Knt.
I feare, I feare.] *I have dream'd a fearful dream* Coll. (MS).
feare.] *feare*, Q_7Q_8. *fear*— Rowe et seq. (subs.)
251. *ſtroke*] *ſtrooke* Qq. *ſtruck* F_4.

242, 243. **Cock . . . done ſalutation to the Morne**] HARRISON (*Description of England*) says: '—for the night we have none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing.'—Bk, iii, ch. xiv: *Time and its Parts*, p. 89, Ed. Furnivall. Compare also: 'The country cocks do crow, the clocks do toll And the third hour of drowsy morning name.'—*Hen. V:* IV, Prol. 15, 16.—ED.

245–247. **O Ratcliffe . . . my Lord**] DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 168): Objection has been made to the omission of these lines in F_1, since Ratcliffe's reply: '—be not afraid of shadows,' is thus made irrelevant, but in the bare mention of 'a fearful dream,' as in the Qq, there is actually no direct reference to the shadows, which had appeared to the king. It is much better to imagine that Ratcliffe overheard the three last lines of Richard's monologue: 'Methought the souls,' etc., before he addressed him with: 'My Lord.' There is reasonable likelihood that the anonymous corrector of the Quarto missed the connection of Ratcliffe's line: 'Nay, good my Lord,' etc., with some speech of Richard's in the original text, and filled up the gap with these three lines of his own composition. He has dealt unfairly with the design of the poet, who later makes Richard say, in no uncertain words, that his fear is not the fear of the strength of his foes, or the desertion of his friends, but fear of 'shadows.' The thought of spying upon his soldiers to ascertain whether they were faithful was an after thought, which the line, supplied by the anonymous corrector, 'What think'st thou, will our friends prove all true,' unnecessarily anticipates.—SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; p. 32): Here we have a considerable error peculiar to F_1, but still it is one with which no corrector had anything to do. These lines are omitted, no doubt, by one of the most ordinary accidents of the press Of the two lines beginning: '*King.* O Ratcliffe,' the compositor's eye had lighted on the last. Or it may have been the transcriber's mistake. Every practised transcriber knows how easily such an accident may occur.

250. **By the Apostle Paul**] Compare I, ii, 40, 46; and III, iv, 85.

Armed in proofe, and led by ſhallow *Richmond.*
'Tis not yet neere day. Come go with me,
Vnder our Tents Ile play the Eaſe-dropper,
To heare if any meane to ſhrinke from me.
Exeunt Richard & Ratliffe,

Enter the Lords to Richmond ſitting in his Tent.

Richm. Good morrow Richmond.
Rich. Cry mercy Lords, and watchfull Gentlemen,
That you haue tane a tardie ſluggard heere?
Lords. How haue you ſlept my Lord?
Rich. The ſweeteſt ſleepe,
And faireſt boading Dreames,
That euer entred in a drowſie head,
Haue I ſince your departure had my Lords.
Me thought their Soules, whoſe bodies *Rich.*murther'd,

254. *'Tis*] *It is* Pope, +, Cap. Varr. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam. +.

254, 255. *me, ... Tents Ile*] *me, ...tents; I'le* Ff. *me...tents; I'll* Han. Cap.

255. *Eaſe-dropper*] *eaſe dropper* Q_1. *ewſe dropper* Q_2Q_3. *eawſe-dropper* Q_4. *eweſe-dropper* Q_{5-8}. *Eaves-dropper* F_4 et seq.

256. *heare*] *ſee* Q_1Q_2, Cam. +.
meane to ſhrinke] *means to ſhrink* Q_4. *man ſhrink* F_3F_4, Rowe i.

257–259. Exeunt...Enter...Tent.] Exeunt. Enter the Lords to Richmond. Qq. SCENE V. Pope i. SCENE IV. [Misprint for vi.] Pope ii. SCENE VI. Han. Warb. Johns. Exeunt ... Richmond wakes. Enter Oxford, and others to him. Capell et seq. (subs.)

260. Richm.] Lords. QqFf.

261. *Cry*] *Cry you* Ff, Rowe. *I cry you* Pope. *'Cry* Theob. Warb. Johns. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Sing. Ktly. *I cry your* Han.

262. *a*] Om. Q_4.
heere?] Ff (subs.) *here.* Qq et cet.

263. *my Lord?*] *my Lord? Since we did leave you* Vaughan (iii, 155).

264, 265. *The...Dreames*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

265. *faireſt boading*] *fairest-boding* Theob. et seq.

268. *bodies*] *body* Q_7Q_8.
Rich.] *Richard* Rowe.
murther'd] *murthered* Q_{2-8}.

253. **Armed in proofe**] That is, *in armour;* SCHMIDT furnishes several examples.

254. **'Tis not yet neere day**] WRIGHT: With this reading 'near' is a disyllable, like *fire, hour, year,* and other words.

255. **Ease-dropper**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Eaves-drop, *noun*): The space of ground which is liable to receive the rain-water thrown off by the eaves of a building. —*Ibid.* (*s. v.* Eavesdrop, *verb*): To stand within the 'eavesdrop' of a house in order to listen to secrets; hence, to listen secretly to private conversation.

261. **Cry mercy**] MARSHALL: 'I cry you mercy' occurs frequently in Shakespeare; but this is the only instance of the omission of the objective case. [Possibly the *you* or *ye* is elided by absorption with the *y* of 'cry'; and in a modern text ought perhaps to be represented by an apostrophe, thus, 'Cry 'mercy.'—ED.

Came to my Tent, and cried on Victory:
I promiſe you my Heart is very iocond,
In the remembrance of ſo faire a dreame,
How farre into the Morning is it Lords?
Lor. Vpon the ſtroke of foure.
Rich. Why then 'tis time to Arme, and giue direction.
His Oration to his Souldiers.
More then I haue ſaid, louing Countrymen,
The leyſure and inforcement of the time
Forbids to dwell vpon: yet remember this,
God, and our good cauſe, fight vpon our ſide,
The Prayers of holy Saints and wronged ſoules,
Like high rear'd Bulwarkes, ſtand beſore our Faces,
(*Richard* except) thoſe whom we fight againſt,
Had rather haue vs win, then him they follow.
For, what is he they follow? Truly Gentlemen,
A bloudy Tyrant, and a Homicide:
One rais'd in blood, and one in blood eſtabliſh'd;
One that made meanes to come by what he hath,
And ſlaughter'd thoſe that were the meanes to help him:
A baſe foule Stone, made precious by the ſoyle

269. *on*] *out* Pope, Han. *On!* Warb. Johns. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Hal.
270. *Heart*] *ſoule* Qq, Cam.+.
272. *Morning*] *mourning* Q_8.
274. [arms and comes forth. Cap.
275. His...Souldiers.] Om. Rowe,+. [to his Troops; who now gather about the Tent. Capell. He advances to the troops. Var. '78 et seq. (subs.)
278. *vpon*] *on* Pope,+ (−Var. '73), Steev. Varr. Coll. Hal.
281. *high rear'd*] *high read* Q_4.
282. (Richard *except*)] Ff. *Richard, except* Q_1Q_2. *Richard except,* Q_3 et cet.
286. *eſtabliſh'd*] *eſtabliſhed* Qq.
287. *what*] *that* Q_7Q_8.
288. *ſlaughter'd*] *ſlandered* Q_4. *ſlaughtered* Qq (*ſlaugtered* Q_3).
289. *ſoyle*] *foile* Q_1Q_2. *foile* Q_{3-5}. *ſoyl* F_4. *foil* Rowe et seq.

269. **cried on Victory**] DYCE, quotes WARBURTON'S punctuation of this passage [see *Text. Notes*] and adds: 'But compare,' for the expression, 'This quarry cries on havoc.'—*Hamlet*, V, ii, 375; and: 'whose noise is this that cries on murder.'—*Othello*, V, i, 47.

277. **leysure**] Compare ll 109, 113, above.

282, 283. **(Richard except)... then him they follow**] The COWDEN-CLARKES: These two lines partake of the nature of an Irish bull: strictly scanned, they state that which is not; taken with latitude they convey a just idea. Compare III, i, 65: 'Then taking him from thence that is not there.'

287. **made meanes**] See l. 46, above.

289. **soyle**] BRADLEY (*N. E. D. s. v.* foil; subst.[1]): 5. A thin leaf of some metal

Of Englands Chaire, where he is falſely ſet:
One that hath euer beene Gods Enemy.
Then if you fight againſt Gods Enemy,
God will in iuſtice ward you as his Soldiers.
If you do ſweare to put a Tyrant downe,
You ſleepe in peace, the Tyrant being ſlaine:
If you do fight againſt your Countries Foes,
Your Countries Fat ſhall pay your paines the hyre.
If you do fight in ſafegard of your wiues,
Your wiues ſhall welcome home the Conquerors.
If you do free your Children from the Sword,
Your Childrens Children quits it in your Age.
Then in the name of God and all theſe rights,
Aduance your Standards, draw your willing Swords.
For me, the ranſome of my bold attempt,
Shall be this cold Corpes on the earth's cold face.
But if I thriue, the gaine of my attempt,
The leaſt of you ſhall ſhare his part thereof.

293. *ward*] *reward* Q_8.
294. *do*] Om. Q_{6-8}.
ſweare] Q_{3-8},Ff, Rowe. *ſweate* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
295. *You*] *You'll* Han.
297. *Fat*] *fate* Long MS ap. Cam.
298. *do*] *ſloe* F_2. *doe* F_3.
301. *quits*] QqFf, Rowe. *quit* Pope et seq.

placed under a precious stone to increase its brilliancy, or under some transparent substance to give it the appearance of a precious stone. [Compare *Rich. II:* I, iii, 265: 'The sullen passage of thy weary steps Esteem as foil wherein thou art to set The precious jewel of thy home return.' Also: *1 Hen. IV:* I, ii, 237: 'My reformation, glittering o'er my fault, Shall show more goodly and attract more eyes Than that which hath no foil to set it off.']

294. **sweare**] Although the reading of Q_1Q_2, *sweate*, has been followed by all editors except Rowe, it is questionable whether this reading of the Ff and the other Qq be not preferable poetically.—ED.

297. **Countries Fat**] Compare: 'Most subject is the fattest soil to weeds.'—*2 Hen. IV:* IV, iv, 54; and: 'By heaven's fair sun that breeds the fat earth's store.'—*Rape of Luc.*, 1837.

301. **quits**] WRIGHT: Only a printer's error, and not a plural in *s*. See IV, iii, 23, 67.

304. **ransome**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* 3): The action or means of freeing oneself from a penalty; a sum of money paid to obtain pardon for an offence; a fine, mulct. *Obsolete.*—SKEAT (*Dict.*) derives it from the Latin *redemptio*.

305–307. **this cold Corpes . . . his part thereof**] 'And this one thing I assure you, that in so just and good a cause and so notable a quarrel, you shall find me

Sound Drummes and Trumpets boldly, and cheerefully, 308
God, and Saint *George*, *Richmond*, and Victory.

Enter King Richard, Ratcliffe, and Catesby. 310

K. What ſaid Northumberland as touching Richmond?
Rat. That he was neuer trained vp in Armes.
King. He ſaid the truth: and what ſaid Surrey then?
Rat. He ſmil'd and ſaid, the better for our purpoſe.
King. He was in the right, and ſo indeed it is. 315

308. *Trumpets*] *Trumpet* F_2.
boldly, and] *boldly* Pope,+ (−Var. '73), Cap. Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *bold, and* Sta.
309. [Shouts, &c. and Exeunt. Cap. Exeunt. Rowe et cet. (Om. QqFf).
310. SCENE VI. Pope i. SCENE VII. Pope ii,+.
310. Enter...Catesby.] Re-enter Richard, and Ratcliff; Attendants, and Forces, with them. Capell.
Ratcliffe] Rat. &c. Qq.
313. *truth*] *trueth* Q_1.
then?] *then.* F_4.
315. *in the*] QqFf, Rowe, Dyce, Cam.+. *i'th'* Pope,+. *i'the* Cap. et cet.

---

this day rather a dead carrion on the cold ground, than a free prisoner on a carpet in a lady's chamber. . . . This is the day of gain, and this is the time of loss; get this day victory, and be conquerors; and lose this day's battle, and be villains; and, therefore, in the name of God and Saint George, let every man courageously advance forth his standard.'—*Proclamation of Richmond on the Eve of the Battle of Bosworth.*—HALLIWELL, *Letters*, etc., i, 169.

306, 307. **the gaine of my attempt . . . his part thereof**] WALKER (*Crit.*, i, 55) gives many examples of this 'striving after a natural arrangement of words, inconsistent with modern English grammar, but authorized by that of the Elizabethan age.'

309. **God, and Saint George**] WARTON: 'Saint George' was the common cry of the English soldiers when they charged the enemy. Compare: '*Item*, that all souldiers entring into battaile, assault, skirmish, or other faction of armes, shall have for their common cry and word, *Saint George*, *forward*, or *upon them*, *Saint George*, whereby the souldier is much comforted, and the enemy dismaied by calling to minde the ancient valour of England, which with that name has so often been victorious.'—*Arte of Warre* (latter end of Elizabeth's reign), p. 84. [Compare also: 'Cry "God for Harry, England, and Saint George!"'—*Henry V:* III, i, 34.]

311. **What said Northumberland**] MACDONALD: When Richard and Ratcliff return, they are discussing a remark they had overheard during their eves-dropping. They had been listening to the conversation of Northumberland, whose loyalty was suspected. [Possibly; but Northumberland and Surrey had also gone among the soldiers with encouraging words, see ll 78-81, and Richard is perhaps here referring to what had been said by them.—ED.]

Tell the clocke there. *Clocke strikes.*
Giue me a Kalender: Who saw the Sunne to day?
Rat. Not I my Lord.
King. Then he disdaines to shine: for by the Booke
He should haue brau'd the East an houre ago,

316, 317. *Tell...Kalender*] One line, Pope et seq.
316. Clocke] The clock Qq. Clockes F_2.
316. strikes] striketh Qq, Cam. +.
317. [A Calendar brought. Coll. ii, iii (MS).

316. **Clocke strikes**] Portable striking clocks were not made until 1530. See HAYDN, *Dict. of Dates*, s. v. Clock.—ED. In an article in the *Edinburgh Review* (April, 1871, p. 377) on the 'Chorizantes,' the writer observes that 'Shakespeare could not have made any of his characters speak of tobacco without being grossly anachronistic, the incidents in all his plays having occurred at remote periods, or, at any rate, much anterior to the introduction of tobacco into Europe, whereas Ben Jonson [who does mention tobacco] laid the plot of many a play in his own time when tobacco was familiar to all.' This statement having been criticised by Dr Hayman, the editor of the *Odyssey*, the author of the article replied (*Athenæum*, 6 Sept., 1873), and admirably defines the distinction between anachronisms that might be termed permissible and those that are too 'gross' to be ever tolerated. After referring to the mention by Shakespeare of 'cannon,' in *King John*, a 'clock striking,' in *Julius Cæsar*, and 'billards,' in *Ant. & Cleo.*, the writer continues, 'but no dramatic author to produce a scenic effect would shrink from such anachronisms, because they are not "gross," not so "gross" as to be detected in an instant, by a theatrical audience which knows nothing whatever of or about the origin of cannon, clocks, and billiards. But all Shakespeare's contemporaries, even the most ignorant, knowing that tobacco had been introduced into the old world during their lives, would have derided the great dramatist had he represented Sir John Falstaff consoling himself at Dame Quickly's, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, with a pipe of tobacco . . . . So a dramatist of our age could not speak of William the Conqueror travelling by an express train, or sending a message by the electric telegraph; the anachronism would be gross; it would come immediately within the cognizance of the audience, who know what is going on in their own generation, with some knowing what went on in the generation immediately preceding; and, thinking the mistake ridiculous, they would burst into excessive merriment. . . . But the anachronism would not be discovered by anybody in his audience, if a dramatic author were to represent the Egyptian Pharaoh Cheops going in a pair of boots to witness the progress of the building of the Great Pyramid, or the Jews returning in hats and shoes from their Babylonish captivity. For where can the theatrical audience be found that knows anything about the history of boots, hats, and shoes, when it does not comprise, peradventure, one man possessing sound learning and extensive information.' [Note on 'Let us to billiards.'—*Ant. & Cleo.*, II, v, 6, this edition.]

317. **Who saw**] WRIGHT: Compare: 'And I said, Surely he is torn in pieces; and I saw him not since.'—*Genesis* xliv, 28.

320. **brau'd**] MURRAY (*N. E. D.* s. v. brave. *vb*): 5. To make splendid; to deck out, adorn. [The present line quoted. And yet Stanley said, some time before this, that: 'Flaky darkness breaks within the east,' l. 98, above.—ED.]

A blacke day will it be to ſomebody. *Ratcliffe.*
Rat. My Lord.
King. The Sun will not be ſeene to day,
The ſky doth frowne, and lowre vpon our Army.
I would theſe dewy teares were from the ground.
Not ſhine to day? Why, what is that to me
More then to Richmond? For the ſelfe-ſame Heauen
That frownes on me, lookes ſadly vpon him.

Enter Norfolke.

Nor. Arme, arme, my Lord: the foe vaunts in the field.
King. Come, buſtle, buſtle. Capariſon my horſe.

321. *will it*] *it will* Rowe ii, +, Varr. Ran.
ſomebody. Ratcliffe.] *ſome bodie Rat.* Q_{1-6}. *ſome body*, Q_7. *ſome body.* Q_8. *somebody, Ratcliff.* Rowe, Pope, Theob. Han. Warb. *somebody.—Ratcliffe,*— Cap.
321. Ratcliffe.] As separate line, Johns. et seq.
322. *Lord.*] *Lord?* Pope et seq.
324. *lowre*] QqFf, +. *lower* Dyce i. *lour* Cap. et cet.
330. *foe vaunts*] *foe vants* Q_4. *foes vaunt* Rowe i.

325. **I would these dewy teares were from the ground]** MARSHALL: The meaning of this line is not quite clear. Does Richard mean that it was drizzling, or that there was a damp mist; or does he mean that he wishes there was not so much dew on the ground, 'from' being equivalent to *away from?* The battle of Bosworth was fought on the 22d of August, at which time of the year it was likely that, on marshy ground, there would be a mist rising in the morning.—BARNARD: That is, I would this wet were dew, and not rain.

326. **Not shine to day]** CHURCHILL (p. 521): That Shakespeare drew his passage from *The True Tragedie* there can be little doubt, when it is observed that the chronicle account gives an entirely different description of the day. According to it the sun was shining: 'Richmond left [the marryse] on his right hand . . . and in so doyng he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies.'—*Hall*, p. 418. [See *The True Tragedie* in *App.*, p. 544.]

328. **frownes on me . . . sadly vpon him]** WORDSWORTH (*Sh.'s Knowledge*, etc., p. 91): It was easy for a mind of Shakespeare's versatility to make a wicked man apply conversely the doctrine of God's goodness in His general providence, as does Richard here—the doctrine, I mean, which we read in the Sermon on the Mount, that our Heavenly Father 'maketh His sun to rise on the evil, and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.'

330. **vaunts]** SKEAT (*Dict. s. v.*): To boast. 'I *vaunte*, I boste, or crake, Je me vante,' *Palsgrave.* It is remarkable that the Middle English form was *avaunten*, with a prefixed, unoriginal *a*, not found, I think, in French, and perhaps due to confusion with French *avant*, before. This Middle English *avaunten* occurs in Chaucer, *Cant. Tales*, 5985, and translation of Boethius. The prefix is, however, to be neglected.

331. **Caparison]** MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): According to Littré, an augmentation

Call vp Lord *Stanley*, bid him bring his power,
I will leade forth my Soldiers to the plaine,
And thus my Battell ſhal be ordred.
My Foreward ſhall be drawne in length,
Conſiſting equally of Horſe and Foot:
Our Archers ſhall be placed in the mid'ſt;
Iohn Duke of Norfolke, *Thomas* Earle of Surrey,
Shall haue the leading of the Foot and Horſe.
They thus directed, we will follow
In the maine Battell, whoſe puiſſance on either ſide
Shall be well-winged with our cheefeſt Horſe:
This, and Saint George to boote.
What think'ſt thou Norfolke.
Nor. A good direction warlike Soueraigne,

332. Stanley] *Standlie* Q_5.

335. *Forward*] *forward battell* Han. *forward ranks* Coll. (MS).

drawne] Q_{3-6}Ff, Rowe, Pope, Han. *drawen out all* Q_7. *drawn out all* Theob. et cet.

339. *the Foot*] *this foote* Q_1Q_2. Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Dyce, Cam. –.

340, 341. *They thus...In*] One line, Vaughan.

340. *we*] *we ourſelf* Pope. –. Cap. Var. '73, '78, '85, Ran. Steev. Var. '03, '13.

follow] F_2. *follow them* Coll. ii, iii (MS). *follow then* Kly. *follow after*, or *follow on* (omitting *on*, l. 341) W. A. Wright conj. *follow* F_3 et cet.

341. *whoſe puiſſance*] *which* Pope, – (– Var. '73). Cap.

343, 344. *This...Norfolke*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

343. *boote*] *boote* Q_2Q_5.

344. *thinkſt*] Q_5. *thinkeſt* Qq (*thinkſt* Q_6). *think* Rowe ii.

Norfolke] *Nor.* Q_{3-5}. *not.* Q_6 Q_7Q_8.

345. [He ſheweth him a paper. Qq, Cam. –.

---

of mediæval Latin, *capero*, chaperon (a sort of cape worn by old women). (*b*) A kind of defensive armour for a horse. (*verb. transitive*) To put trappings on; to trap, deck, harness. [The present line quoted.]

340, 341. **They thus directed . . . on either side**] ABBOTT (§ 505): The second line is harsh, and perhaps part of it ought to be combined with the first in some way. 'Puissance' is a disyllable generally in Shakespeare, except at *the end of* the line. I know no instance in Shakespeare where, as in Chaucer, 'battle' is accented on the last. Remembering that *al* is often not pronounced after *t* and *d*, we might scan the first line thus: 'They this | direct (ed), | we'll fŏllow.' |

343. **This, and Saint George to boote**] JOHNSON: That is, this is the order of our battle, which promises success: and over and above this, is the protection of our patron saint.—MURRAY (*N. E. D.* s. v. Boot, I, 7, c): 'In appreciatory phrases: as, *Saint George to boot!* *Grace to boot!* i. *e.*, to our help.' quotes the present line; but is not 'to boot' here used, not in an appreciatory sense, but in that as given by MURRAY (*Id.* s. v. I, 1): '"to the good," to advantage, into the bargain, in addition'?—ED.

This found I on my Tent this Morning. 346
Iockey of Norfolke, be not ſo bold,
For Dickon thy maiſter is bought and ſold.
King. A thing deuiſed by the Enemy.
Go Gentlemen, euery man to his Charge, 350
Let not our babling Dreames affright our ſoules:
For Conſcience is a word that Cowards vſe, 352

346. *This*] *This paper* Pope,+, Cap. [Giving a scrowl. Rowe et seq. (subs.)

347–349. Iockey...King. *A...*] Ric. [reads] *Jockey...A...* Cap. et seq. (subs.)

347. ſo] *too* Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Coll. Sta. Cam.+.

348. maiſter] *maſter* $Q_1Q_2F_3F_4$ et seq. [throws it away. Cap.

350. *euery man to*] Ff, Rowe, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. *go each man to* Pope,+. *euery man vnto* Qq et cet.

352. *For*] Om. Qq, Pope,+, Sing. Dyce, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly, Coll. iii.

Conſcience is] Q_{3-8},Ff, Rowe, Cap. Knt, Coll. Wh. i, Hal. *Conſcience is but* Q_1Q_2 et cet.

347, 348. **Iockey of Norfolke . . . bought and sold**] DYCE: This couplet is not marked in the old copies as read by Richard: but the stage-direction in the Qq [see *Text. Notes*] would be alone sufficient to prove that the king, not Norfolk, reads it. [When Dyce thus remarks, the inference is, that he adopted the Qto stage-direction; where Norfolk '*sheweth*' the paper. Does 'shewing' a paper prove that he to whom it is 'shewn,' reads it? May not a man shew a paper and then proceed to read it himself? But Dyce did not adopt this Qto direction but followed Rowe, who directs Norfolk to '*give*' the paper; of course this giving implies that Richard takes it and himself reads it; whoever adopts Rowe's stage-direction has no need to insert *reads* after Richard's name,—it is superfluous. Did not Dyce here mistake Rowe's '*gives*' for the Qto '*sheweth*'?—ED.]

347. **be not so bold**] MALONE: In both Hall and Holinshed these words are given: '*too* bold.' [See *Text. Notes.*]—R. G. WHITE: We are not to take it for granted that Shakespeare always followed the *Chronicles* word for word. On the contrary, we know that often he did not; and that in such cases as this he was sometimes even inconsistent with himself.

348. **Dickon**] TAWNEY: A hillock on the battle-field called 'Dickon's Nook' is supposed to represent the spot where Richard delivered the speech that follows.

348. **bought and sold**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Buy 11. b): Often used figuratively, chiefly in sense To be betrayed for a bribe. [The present line quoted.]

351–356. **Let not . . . to Hell**] TYRWHITT: I suspect these six lines to be an interpolation; but if Shakespeare was really guilty of them in his first draught, he probably intended to leave them out when he substituted the much more proper harangue that follows.—MASON (*Further Obs.*, p. 46): I should suppose these lines were spoken by Richard to himself, and not addressed to his officers.

352. **Conscience is a word**, etc.] BIRCH (p. 209): Shakespeare did not introduce this piece of philosophy for nothing; 'conscience' is synonymous with the poet for religion, and seems here used in that sense, as he speaks of the influence of dreams and supernatural circumstances. In giving this origin and history of religion, he leaves it to be inferred how little it had served to check the strong, but rather had

Deuis'd at firſt to keepe the ſtrong in awe,
Our ſtrong armes be our Conſcience, Swords our Law.
March on, ioyne brauely, let vs too't pell mell,
If not to heauen, then hand in hand to Hell.
What ſhall I ſay more then I haue inſerr'd?
Remember whom you are to cope withall,

354. *Conſcience,*] *conſcience* Q_1. *conſciences*, Q_7.
Swords] *ſwords*, Q_1. *our ſwords* Q_7Q_8.
355. *too't*] *to it* Q_1Q_2. *too it* Q_{3-7}. *to't* F_4 et seq.
357. [His Oration to his Armie. Qq, Cam.+. turning to his Troops. Capell.
358. *whom...to*] *who...in* Q_7Q_8.

been used by them as a means of oppressing the innocent. In the same sense as the above Hamlet says: 'conscience, or the thoughts of an hereafter, doth make cowards of us all'; but it does not turn the resolution of Richard, who says, jeeringly, 'if they do not go to heaven they must go to hell'; which, even in the mouth of a Richard III. must deserve the censure of a serious critic.—BRANDES (i, 161): Most admirable is the way in which Richard summons up his manhood and restores the courage of those around him. These are the accents of one who will give despair no footing in his soul; and there is in his harangue to the soldiers an irresistible roll of fierce and spirit-stirring, martial music; it is constructed like the strophes of the *Marseillaise:*

'Remember whom you are to cope withal;—
A sort of vagabonds, rascals, runaways.
(*Que veut cette horde d'esclaves?*)
You having lands, and bless'd with beauteous wives,
They would restrain the one, distain the other.
(*Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes.*)
Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again.'

But there is a ferocity, a scorn, a popular eloquence in Richard's words, in comparison with which the rhetoric of the *Marseillaise* seems declamatory, even academic.—S. BROOKE (p. 122): This speech is a masterpiece of bold mockery of the foe, and of appeal to the pride of England; the words of a fighting partisan, of a king at bay. As we read it, we should sit in his soul, below the words. I wonder if Shakespeare meant the overstrain I seem to detect in it to express the hungry despair which so lately had clutched his heart, and which he strove by passionate words to beat under. He bluffs himself. It is impossible not to sympathise with his self-conquest and courage; and Shakespeare meant us to do so. Since justice is done, pity may steal in; and circumstance has made Richard its victim, as well as his own will. He goes to battle with a joyful courage, as to a banquet. Macbeth's courage was intermingled with the despondencies of crime and of loss of honour, for he had loved and sorrowed, and of old had resisted evil. Richard's courage has no tenderness, no sense of violated honour to trouble it, for he has never loved. It has no despondency, no philosophising on life and death, when the crisis comes. There is a physical rapture in it.

A ſort of Vagabonds, Raſcals, and Run-awayes,
A ſcum of Brittaines, and baſe Lackey Pezants,
Whom their o're-cloyed Country vomits forth
To deſperate Aduentures, and aſſur'd Deſtruction.
You ſleeping ſafe, they bring you to vnreſt:
You hauing Lands, and bleſt with beauteous wiues,
They would reſtraine the one, diſtaine the other,
And who doth leade them, but a paltry Fellow?

359. *Raſcals*] *raſcols* $Q_{1-3}Q_{5-8}$. *Of rascals* Pope,+.
and] Om. Ff, Rowe, Pope,+, Cap.
360. *Brittaines*] QqFf (subs.) *Britons* Pope,+, Mal. *Bretons* Cap. Cam.+. *Bretagnes* Var. '73 et cet.
Lackey Pezants] *Lackey-Pezants* F_3F_4, Rowe. *lackey-peasants* Pope,+.
362. *Aduentures*] *'ventures* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran. Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. ii, iii, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
362. *aſſur'd*] Om. Pope,+ (—Var. '73), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
363. *you to*] *to you* Q_2, Sta. Cam.+, Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
364. *wiues*] *wifes* Q_1.
365. *reſtraine*] *distrain* Warb. Han. Johns. Cap. Varr. Ran. Sing. Coll. ii, iii (MS), Dyce ii, iii, Huds.
366, 367–369. *Fellow? ... coſt, ... Snow:*] *fellow, ...cost?...snow?* Cap. et seq.

---

359. **A sort of Vagabonds**] KEMBLE (p. 118): Macbeth in like manner speaks with contempt of his enemies and revolted nobles: 'Fly, false Thanes, And mingle with the English epicures'; but this is not a proof of Richard's intrepidity; for it does not express the tyrant's real opinion of Richmond's followers. The inferiority of the foe is a topic on which generals, for the encouragement of their own troops, are, by poets and historians, customarily made to dwell, even to ostentation; but it is impossible to believe that Richard seriously despises an enemy, against whom he thinks it necessary to make the most active preparations.

359. **sort**] SCHMIDT (*Lex. s. v.*): 4. *Set, company* (in a bad sense).

365. **restraine**] WARBURTON, in explanation of his change in the text, says: 'To *distrain* is to *seize upon*.' Whereupon MALONE replies: 'But to *distrain* is not to *seize generally*, but to seize goods, cattle, &c., for non-payment of rent, or for the purpose of enforcing the process of courts. The *restrictions*, implied in the word "restrain," likely to be imposed by a conquering enemy on lands, are imposts, contributions, &c., or absolute confiscation. "And if he shoulde atcheve his fals entent and purpose, every man is lif, livelod, and goddes shoulde be in his hands, liberte, and disposicion, wherby sholde ensue the disheretyng and distruccion of all the noble and worshipfull blode of this Realme for ever."'—*Proclamation against Henry Tudor: Paston Letters* [iii, 318, ed. Gairdner.]—LETTSOM (ap. WALKER, *Crit.*, ii, 242, *foot-note*): Shakespeare has twice used this word [*distrain*] elsewhere, both times in the sense of *seize*, with no reference whatever to rent. Malone's note is a jumble of error and contradiction.

365. **distaine**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.*): 2. To defile, bring a blot or stain upon; to sully, dishonour. [The present line quoted.]

Long kept in Britaine at our Mothers coſt,
A Milke-ſop, one that neuer in his life
Felt ſo much cold, as ouer ſhooes in Snow:
Let's whip theſe ſtraglers o're the Seas againe,
Laſh hence theſe ouer-weening Ragges of France,
Theſe famiſh'd Beggers, weary of their liues,
Who (but for dreaming on this fond exploit)

367. *Britaine*] Ff, Rowe, Pope, Theob. Warb. Johns. *Brittaine* Qq. *Bretagne* Han. et cet.
our Mothers] *his mother's* Pope ii, +. *our brother's* Cap. Var. '78, '85, Ran.
368. *Milke-ſop*] *milkeſopt* Q_{1-5}. *milke-ſope* Q_6.

367. **kept . . . at our Mothers coſt**] THEOBALD: Richard and Henry, Earl of Richmond, were far from having any common mother but England: and the Earl was not subsisted abroad at the nation's public charge. During the greatest part of his residence abroad he was watched and restrained almost like a captive; and subsisted by supplies conveyed from the Countess of Richmond, his mother. It seems probable, therefore, that we must read: '*his* mother's cost.' —FARMER: Shakespeare is here following Holinshed, who copies *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, but his printer has given us by accident the word *moother* instead of *brother:* 'And to begin with the erle of Richmond, captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welch milksop—brought up by my moother's meanes and mine, like a captive in a close cage in the court of Francis, Duke of Britaine.'—MALONE: Henry was long confined in the court of the Duke of Britaine, and supported there by Charles Duke of Burgundy, who was brother-in-law to King Richard . . . In all other places where Shakespeare had been led into errors by mistakes of the press, or by false translations, his text has been very properly exhibited as he wrote it; for it is not the business of an editor to new-write his author's works. Thus, in *Ant. & Cleo.:* 'Let the old ruffian know, *I* have many other ways to die.'—IV, i, 4; though we know the sense of the passage in Plutarch there copied is, that '*he* hath many other ways to die.' [See *Ant. & Cleo.*, IV, i, 7, this ed.] Again in *Jul. Cæs.*, Antony is still permitted to say that Cæsar had left the Roman people his arbours and orchards 'on *this* side Tyber,' though it ought to be 'on *that* side Tyber': both which mistakes Shakespeare was led into by the ambiguity of the old translation of Plutarch. For all such inaccuracies, the poet, and not his editor, is responsible: and in the passage now under consideration more particularly the text ought not to be disturbed, because it ascertains a point of some moment; namely, that Holinshed and not Hall was the historian Shakespeare followed.—DOUCE: In the *first edition* of Holinshed the word is rightly printed *brother.* It is not otherwise worth while to mention this fact, than that it points out the particular edition of the above historian which Shakespeare followed. [For further discussion on this point, see *Appendix: Source of Plot.*]

368. **A Milke-sop**] WRIGHT: Richard expresses as much contempt for Richmond as Iago did for Cassio. Compare *Othello*, I, i, 20–27. [As will be seen by the extract from Holinshed, quoted above by FARMER, Shakespeare here closely follows the chronicle in the use of this epithet.]

371. **Ragges of France**] Compare: 'Ragge of Honour,' I, iii, 243.

For want of meanes (poore Rats) had hang'd themſelues.
I f we be conquered, let men conquer vs,
And not theſe baſtard Britaines, whom our Fathers
Haue in their owne Land beaten, bobb'd, and thump'd,
And on Record, left them the heires of ſhame.
Shall theſe enioy our Lands? lye with our Wiues?
Rauiſh our daughters? *Drum afarre off*
Hearke, I heare their Drumme,
Right Gentlemen of England, fight boldly yeomen,
Draw Archers draw your Arrowes to the head,
Spurre your proud Horſes hard, and ride in blood,
Amaze the welkin with your broken ſtaues.
Enter a Meſſenger.
What ſayes Lord *Stanley*, will he bring his power?
Meſ. My Lord, he doth deny to come.

375. *conquered*] *conquer'd* Rowe et seq.
376. *theſe*] *those* Rowe,+.
baſtard Britaines] F_2, Ktly, Var. '78, '85. *Baſtard-Britains* F_3F_4, Rowe. *bastard-Britons* Pope,+. *bastard Bretons* Cap. Cam.+. *bastard Bretagnes* Var. '73, Steev. Varr. Knt, Coll. Sing. Dyce, Wh. i, Hal.
378. *on*] *in* Q_1Q_2, Cam.+.
heires] *heire* Q_7.
379. *Lands*] *land* Q_8.
380, 381. *Rauiſh ... Drumme*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.
380. *daughters?*] *daughters*, Qq.
Drum...off.] Om. Qq.
afarre] afar F_3F_4.
382. *Right*] Q_{3-7}, Ff, Rowe. *Fight* Q_1 et cet.
boldly] Q_{2-8}, Ff, Rowe, Knt. *bold* Q_1 et cet.
383. *your*] *you* Q_7.
386. Enter a Meſſenger] Om. Qq.
388. *come.*] *come to you.* Cap.

377. **bobb'd**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Bob, *verb*[2]): Of uncertain origin; perhaps onomatopœic, expressing the effect of a smart, but not very weighty, blow.

384. **Spurre your proud Horses hard**] BOADEN (ii, 280): The temper of G. F. Cooke was critical and sarcastic, and it led him to subtle distinctions, that looked like thought, but were frequently anything but reasonable. . . . An example of this was his attempt to dismount the archers from the horses, which, without his *new emphasis*, he conceived it must be inferred they bestrid: 'Spur *your* proud horses,' addressed to the cavalry; having already ordered the foot soldiery, the English bowmen. As if the two directions were not already as clear as sense could make them, and a turn of the head sufficing to show that they were applied to different divisions of his force. The best of the joke is, that the new emphasis, if it did not *leave* the foot on horseback, ordered *particular* men to spur at least *their* coursers hard, whatever others who had horses might do, mounted or dismounted.

385. **Amaze the welkin**] JOHNSON: That is, fright the skies with the shivers of your lances.

King. Off with his ſonne *Georges* head.
Nor. My Lord, the Enemy is paſt the Marſh:
After the battaile, let *George Stanley* dye.
King. A thouſand hearts are great within my boſom.
Aduance our Standards, ſet vpon our Foes,
Our Ancient word of Courage, faire S. *George*
Inſpire vs with the ſpleene of fiery Dragons:
Vpon them, Victorie ſits on our helpes.

389. *Off with his ſonne*] *Off instantly with his son* Han. Steev. Var. '03, '13. *Off with his son's* (omitting *Georges*) Marshall. *Off with his* or *Off with young* or, *Off with son...* Id. conj.
394. *S.*] *Saint* Qq.
396. *on*] *one* Q_7.
helpes] *helmes* $Q_1Q_2Q_4Q_8$. *helps* F_3F_4. *helms* Rowe et seq.

---

389. **Off with his sonne Georges head**] T. R. GOULD (p. 47) thus describes J. B. Booth's acting on the delivery of this line: 'At this moment his ear catches the sound of distant music, and his whole manner instantly changes. He listens, leaning on the air with keen looks and parted lips, and an expression of eager and confident expectation.'

389. **Georges head**] WALKER (*Vers.*, 243): The plurals of substantives, ending in *s;* in *se*, *ss*, *ce*, and sometimes *ge*; are found without the usual addition of *s* or *es*—in pronunciation at least, although in many instances the plural affix is added in printing, where the metre shows it is not to be pronounced. [Walker (p. 251) applies the foregoing rule to the genitive singular; and on p. 258 after quoting: '—one that was the prince of Orange fencer.'—Jonson, *New Inn*, II, ii; p. 362 ed. Gifford adds: 'This would restore the metre in the [present] line; but I much prefer: "Off *with's* son," &c.'

390. **the Enemy is past the Marsh**] 'Betweene both armies was a great marish . . . which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand.'—Holinshed; see l. 323, note by Churchill.

391, 392. **After the battaile . . . great within my bosom**] BOADEN (ii, 280): At this juncture Richard's decision as to young George Stanley is a thing of the instant; either his *life* or *death* are of little moment; they are as grains of sand whirled from a chariot-wheel in rapid rotation. G. F. Cooke fastened upon this precise point of time to affect *deliberation*, and stood swaying his body backwards and forwards, till he settled the fate of young George. The very next line, 'A thousand hearts,' etc., the reader sees, makes it impossible that Richard could have been deliberating about a thing so trifling. If Cooke said '*my* bosom' (I think he did), he was wrong again. Richard does not mean to indulge his *vanity* by an insult to other natures: he hoped, perhaps believed, his followers to be as brave as himself. He merely expresses the expanding energy and thick palpitation of the heart, by words that mean: I feel as if I had a thousand hearts within me.

395. **spleene of fiery Dragons**] WRIGHT: Compare: 'With ladies faces and fierce dragon's spleens.'—*King John*, II, i, 68. The spleen was supposed to be the seat of anger, and hence it was used figuratively to denote that passion.

[*Scene IV.*]

Alarum, excurſions. Enter Catesby. 1

Cat. Reſcue my Lord of Norfolke,
Reſcue, Reſcue:
The King enacts more wonders then a man,
Daring an oppoſite to euery danger:
His horſe is ſlaine, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death
Reſcue faire Lord, or elſe the day is loſt.

Alarums.

Enter Richard. 10

Rich. A Horſe, a Horſe, my Kingdome for a Horſe.

SCENE VII. Pope i, Han. SCENE VIII. Pope ii, Warb. Johns. SCENE IV. Cap. et seq.

Another part of the Field. Cap. et seq. (subs.)

1. Alarum...Catesby.] Alarums, as of a battle join'd. Excursions. Enter Norfolk and forces, fighting; to him, Catesby. Cap.

2, 3. *Reſcue...Reſcue.*] Ff, Rowe. One line, Qq et cet.

5. *Daring an oppoſite*] *Daring and oppoſite* Q_2, Cap. *A daring opposite* Warb. conj. *Daring all opposite* or *opposites* Vaughan (iii, 160).

9. Alarums.] Om. Qq.

---

5. **an opposite to euery danger**] WRIGHT: That is, Richard is everywhere challenging an opponent to every danger in the chances of battle.—MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* Opposite): B. 3. A person who stands in a relation of opposition to another; an antagonist, adversary, opponent. (Very common in 17th century: now *rare* or *obsolete*.).

11. **A Horse . . . for a Horse**] STEEVENS: In *The Battle of Alcazar*, 1594, the Moor calls out in the same manner: 'A horse, a horse, villain a horse! That I may take the river straight and fly!' This passage appears to have been imitated by several other writers, if not stolen. Compare Heywood, *2 Iron Age*, 1632: '—a horse, a horse! Ten kingdoms for a horse to enter Troy.' [Act I, p. 369; ed. Pearson.]—MALONE: Marston has imitated this line in his *Satires*, 1599: 'A man, a man, a kingdom for a man!' [*Sat.* vii, l. 1; ed. Bullen.]—REED: This line is also introduced into Marston's *What You Will*, 1607: 'A horse! a horse! my kindome for a horse! Looke thee I speake play scraps.'—II, i.—BOSWELL (?): It is thus given in *The True Tragedie:* 'A horse! a horse! a fresh horse.' [*Appendix*, p. 544.]—SKOTTOWE (i, 208): The origin of the phrase is to be traced to this older play.—HALLIWELL (*Introd.*): With the possible exception of one line in *The True Tragedie*, where the King calls for 'a fresh horse' there does not appear to be grounds for supposing that Shakespeare derived a single hint from his predecessor.—OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 134, foot-note): It is much easier to take into consideration the similarity of the line in *The Battle of Alcazar* [quoted by Steevens] than to derive Shakespeare's line from *The True Tragedie*. Thus every proof that Shakespeare either knew or made use of the latter play fails.—CHURCHILL (p. 520): It is not at all certain that *The Battle of Alcazar* may not have

Cates. Withdraw my Lord, Ile helpe you to a Horſe
Rich. Slaue, I haue ſet my life vpon a caſt,
And I will ſtand the hazard of the Dye:
I thinke there be ſixe Richmonds in the field,

14. *Dye*] *Day* Q_4.

followed *The True Tragedie*, as the earliest date for its production is, so far as known, 1591. If it preceded, it is entirely possible that the passage in *The True Tragedie* imitated *The Battle of Alcazar*, with which it has much in common. . . . Those who prefer to think that Shakespeare too borrowed from *The Battle of Alcazar* are forced to face the fact that Shakespeare's play shows no other trace of connection with this play, and to believe in the likelihood that he, entirely independent of a play that had appeared some time before his own, and which . . . would naturally have attracted his attention, not only likewise thought of a line in *The Battle of Alcazar*, but changed the passage of his chronicle authority to a conception not that of *The Battle of Alcazar*, but exactly the same as that of *The True Tragedie*, and wrote lines that closely correspond. The likelihood is all the other way.—HORN (iii, 160, *foot-note*): Richard's well-known line: 'A horse, a horse,' etc., uttered during a decisive moment of the battle when all seemed lost, is to be regarded as no other than a cry of utter desperation. He is so accustomed to fight as a horseman, that if it be decreed that he is to die, then let death come to him while he is mounted. Flight is far from his thoughts—in a former scene he expressly orders his horse to be saddled for the fight, and even after that fearful dream, his first words are: 'Give me another horse'—then: 'bind up my wounds!' and then, for the first time: 'Have mercy, Jesu!'—ROTSCHER (p. 48): The actor here has no need whatever to resort to that last extremity, a noisy straining of the voice; wild cries can never produce artistic effects. But the utter exhaustion of spirit which collects itself for one last effort fraught with despair, regardless of consequence, ought to be heard in this cry as the presage of doom.—MARSHALL adds the following quotations to those already given, wherein this line is apparently imitated: 'A foole, a foole, a foole, my coxcombe for a foole!'—Marston, *The Fawne*, 1606; sig. H 3 *verso;* 'A staffe, a staffe! A thousand crownes for a staff!'—Heywood, *2 Edward IV. Works* vol. i, p. 143.—NEMO (*Notes & Queries*, 11 Feb, 1893): I read the phrase, 'My kingdom for a horse!' as a bitter reflection, ironically expressed, which may be thus colloquially paraphrased: '"The pity of it!" Only to think; here am I about to lose a realm for the want of such a paltry, yet indispensable instrument for achieving a victory as an ordinary horse! Fancy losing "my kingdom for a horse!"'

13, 14. **I haue set my life . . . hazard of the Dye**] WRIGHT: Compare, but rather for the sake of contrast: 'They have tied me to a stake: I cannot fly, But, bear-like, I must fight the course.'—*Macbeth*, V, vii, 1, 2. The Folio reading 'dye' is the true one, as is shown by the word 'cast' in l. 13.

15. **sixe Richmonds**] STEEVENS: Shakespeare had employed this incident with historical propriety in *1 Henry IV:* V, iii. [The date of the first Quarto of *1 Henry IV* is one year later than that of Q_1 of the present play.—ED.]—C. E. DANA (*Glimpses*, etc., i, 234): It was not uncommon for a King to have several of his knights dress like him. . . . It was a precaution, as the death of the leader gen-

Fiue haue I ſlaine to day, in ſtead of him: 16
A Horſe, a Horſe, my Kingdome for a Horſe.

[*Scene V.*]

Alatum, Enter Richard and Richmond, they fight, Richard is ſlaine.

Retreat, and Flouriſh. Enter Richmond, Derby bearing the Crowne, with diuers other Lords. 4

17. Exeunt. Theob. et seq. Exeunt, fighting. Other long Alarums: afterwards, a Retreat. Cap.

Scene continued, QqFf, Rowe, Theob. SCENE IX. Pope, Warb. Johns. SCENE VII. Han. SCENE V. Dyce et seq.

1. Alatum,] F_1.

3, 4. Retreat, and Flouriſh...Lords.] then retrait being founded...Lords. Qq. Shouts; and enter Richmond victorious, his sword bloody; Stanley with Richard's crown in his hand; other Lords and forces. Capell.

3. Derby] Stanley Pope, +, Cap.

4. Lords.] Lords, &c. Q_1Q_2.

---

erally meant defeat; it was not likely that all the Kings, true and false, would be killed.

1-4. **Enter Richard and Richmond . . . Derby bearing the Crowne]** KNIGHT: It is important to preserve the old stage-direction here, as showing the course of the dramatic action.—DYCE (ed. i): How Knight understands the 'dramatic action' to be carried on here I cannot conceive. If, after Richard is killed in the sight of the audience, Stanley enters bearing the crown which he has plucked off from his 'dead temples,' there must have been two Richards in the field. The fact is, that here, as frequently elsewhere, in the old copies the stage-direction is a piece of mere confusion: Richard and Richmond were evidently intended by the author *to go off the stage, fighting.* Towards the end of *Macbeth*, the Folio has: '*Exeunt fighting*'; then, immediately after, '*Enter Fighting, and Macbeth slaine*'; and presently, '*Enter Macduffe, with Macbeth's head.*' It seems strange that the modern editors should have neglected to mark a change of scene here; which the audience of Shakespeare's days were evidently intended to imagine. R. G. WHITE: Although it seems improbable that Richmond, Stanley, and the others should return, after Richard was slain, to the very place where the latter cried: 'A horse! a horse!' yet, dramatically, nothing is gained by the change of scene, and, as far as reference to the text is concerned, much is lost.—CAMBRIDGE EDD (*Note* xxvii): We have retained the stage-direction of the Qq and Ff because it is probable, from l. 11, '*this* bloody wretch,' that Richard's body is lying where he fell, in view of the audience.—DYCE, in his second edition, gives the foregoing note by the CAMBRIDGE EDD and adds: 'It is not to be doubted that for the most part of the stage-directions in our old plays the actors, not the authors, were responsible: and, indeed, even now-a-days there is nothing unusual in dramatic poets leaving the stage-directions to be inserted by others. . . . Nor is any stress to be laid on the expression: '*this* bloody wretch': Richard, though not present, is called: '*this* foul swine,' V, ii, 13: '*this* guilty homicide,' V, ii, 21.—MARSHALL divides this stage-direction, between the ending of scene iv and scene v,

Richm. God, and your Armes
Be prais'd Victorious Friends;
The day is ours, the bloudy Dogge is dead.
Der. Couragious Richmond,
Well haſt thou acquit thee: Loe,
Heere theſe long vſurped Royalties,

5, 6. *God...Friends*] Ff. One line, Qq et cet.
5. *Armes*] *arme* Q_1.
8–10. *Couragious...Royalties*] Ff. As two lines, ending, *thee...roialties* Qq et cet.
10. *theſe*] Ff,+, Cap. Steev. Var. '03, '13, Knt. *this* Qq et cet.
Royalties] *roialtie* Q_1. *royalty* Cap. Mal. Var. '21, Coll. Sing. Wh. i, Hal. Sta. Cam.+, Ktly.

---

thus: ' . . . my kingdom for a horse! [*Exeunt. Alarums. Re-enter* King Richard *driving* Richmond *before him, attacking him with fury; they fight;* King Richard *falls. Retreat and flourish. Exit* Richmond. Scene V. *Another part of the field. Enter* Richmond, *with* Stanley *bearing the crown, and divers others Lords, and forces*].—HAZLITT (*Sh. Char.*, p. 150): [In Edmund Kean's performance] the concluding scene in which he is killed by Richmond is the most brilliant of the whole. He fights at last like one drunk with wounds; and the attitude in which he stands, with his hands stretched out, after his sword is wrested from him, has a preternatural and terrific grandeur, as if his will could not be disarmed, and the very phantoms of his despair had withering power to kill.—IBID. (*Table-Talk*, pt. ii, p. 89): When Kean was so much praised for this action of Richard in his last struggle . . . he said that he borrowed it from seeing the last efforts of Painter in his fight with Oliver. This assuredly did not lessen the merit of it. Thus it ever is with the man of real genius. He has the feeling of truth already shrined in his own breast, and his eye is still bent on nature to see how she expresses herself.—LLOYD: According to the old stage-direction Richard dies on the stage, and it is remarkable that Shakespeare has given him no dying words, and doubtless the omission is designed as it is characteristic. It is left to the actor to give the last expression to the state of mind which is the true retribution of Richard, in the spirit and character of his combat and his fall. Burbage, the first and celebrated representative of Richard, had no doubt the poet's own instructions for this great conclusion, and certain glimmerings of true stage-tradition we may hope did not die out with Kean. The reader of the play may pause to bring back in thought the impression of the interval before the closing speeches. [Kean did not, however, act Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, but Cibber's version, with an interpolated dying speech.—ED.]

9. **acquit**] WALKER (*Crit.*, ii, 324) furnishes numerous examples wherein the form of the present is retained in the 'past tenses, and participles, from verbs ending in *t*, and also in *d*.'

10. **these long vsurped Royalties**] POLYDORE VERGIL says (p. 225) that Richard 'came to the fielde with the crowne uppon his head, that therby he might ether make a beginning or ende of his raigne.'—ED.—'Polydore's may as well be a reason of Richard's wearing the crowne three daies before at Leicester, when he rode from thence to Bosworth. But doubtlesse, by it he intended chiefly, that

From the dead Temples of this bloudy Wretch,
Haue I pluck'd off, to grace thy Browes withall.
Weare it, and make much of it.
Richm. Great God of Heauen, ſay Amen to all:
But tell me, is yong *George Stanley* liuing?
Der. He is my Lord, and ſafe in Leiceſter Towne,
Whither (if you pleaſe) we may withdraw vs.
Richm. What men of name are ſlaine on either ſide?

13. [sets it upon his Head. Shouts. Cap.
Weare it,] Q_{3-8},Ff, Rowe. *Weare it, enioy it* Q_1Q_2 et cet.
much] *use* Rowe,+ (−Theob.), Varr. Ran.
15. *me*] *me first* Pope,+. *me now* Dyce ii, iii, Huds. *me pray* Ktly.
yong] *your son* Cap. *the young* Marshall.
17. *Whither*] *Whether* $Q_1Q_7Q_8F_3$.
if you pleaſe] Ff, Rowe, Knt, Coll. i, Hal. *if you so please* Pope,+. *if it pleaſe you* Qq (*ift* Q_8) et cet.
may] *may now* Qq, Cap. Varr. Mal. Steev. Varr. Sing. Dyce, Coll. ii, iii, Sta. Cam.+, Ktly. *will* Ktly conj.
18. *name*] *note* F_3F_4, Pope, Han.

---

the people might see and know him to be their King: and those that stood Armed against him, looking upon that Imperiall evidence, where their own hands and voices had set it, should by the awe and Sovereignty of it, consider how lately they had avowed him their Lawfull King, and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegiances, they stood solemnly bound to defend him and his title in it, against all other: whatever was his mystery, it rendered him a valiant and confident Master of his Right.'—*Buck*, p. 60.—STANLEY (i, 89): Henry felt his true coronation to have been when, on the field of Bosworth, the crown of Richard was brought by Sir Reginald Bray from the Hawthorn bush to Lord Stanley, who placed it on Henry's head, on the height, still called from the incident, Crown Hill. As such it appears in the stained glass of the chapel built for him in the Abbey, by the very same Sir Reginald. And in his will he enjoined that his image on his tomb should be represented as holding the crown.—BARNARD: A hawthorn bush crowned was granted either as a badge, or as an augmentation to Sir Reginald Bray, and the representatives of de Braye still bear in pretence a regal crown *or*, in a thorn *proper*. —C. E. DANA (*English Coronations*, etc., p. 111): The crown, or, at least a sort of crown, was frequently worn by the King, on the helmet, in actual battle. It is so represented on the great seals of several sovereigns. Henry V. wore his at Agincourt. From the manner of finding the crown arose the saying, 'Cleave to the crown, though it hang on a bush,' which, like many other old sayings, has had its point somewhat blunted by time.

11. **this bloudy Wretch**] STEEVENS: It is not necessary to suppose that Stanley points to the dead body of Richard when he speaks of him. The demonstrative pronoun is often thus used instead of the prepositive article. [See note by DYCE, ll. 1–4, above.]

13. **make much of it**] WARBURTON: Without doubt Shakespeare himself thus corrected it, *to make use of it*. Which signifies *don't abuse it* like the tyrant you have destroyed; whereas the other reading signifies: *be fond of it;* a very ridiculous moral for the conclusion of the play.

Der. *Iohn* Duke of Norfolke, *Walter* Lord Ferris,
Sir *Robert Brokenbury*, and Sir *William Brandon.*
Richm. Interre their Bodies, as become their Births,
Proclaime a pardon to the Soldiers fled,
That in ſubmiſsion will returne to vs,
And then as we haue tane the Sacrament,
We will vnite the White Roſe, and the Red.
Smile Heauen vpon this faire Coniunction,
That long haue frown'd vpon their Enmity:
What Traitor heares me, and ſayes not Amen?
England hath long beene mad, and ſcarr'd her ſelfe;
The Brother blindely ſhed the Brothers blood;
The Father, raſhly ſlaughtered his owne Sonne;
The Sonne compell'd, beene Butcher to the Sire;
All this diuided Yorke and Lancaſter,

19, 20. Printed as stage direction in Qq.
19. Walter] *Water* Q_{1-5}. *Walter the* Pope, +.
Ferris] *Ferrers* Cap. et seq.
20. Brokenbury] Brookenbury Q_1Q_2. Brakenbury F_4 et seq.
and] Om. Pope, + (—Var. '73). [reading out of a Note. Cap.
21. *become*] *becomes* Rowe et seq.
23. *ſubmiſsion*] *ſumiſſion* Q_2.
26. *Smile Heauen*] *Smile, Heaven,* Anon. ap. Cam. *Smile Heavens* Walker (Crit. iii, 177).
27. *haue*] $Q_{1-5}F_2F_3$, Cam. +. *hath* $Q_{6-8}F_4$ et cet.
29. *ſcarr'd*] *ſcard* Qq. *ſcar'd* F_4, Rowe, Pope.
31. *raſhly*] *madly* Cap.
ſlaughtered] *ſlaughterd* Q_2. *ſlaughter'd* F_3F_4 et seq.
32. *Sonne...Butcher*] *Sonnes* or *Sons ...Butcher* F_2F_3. *Sons...Butchers* F_4, + (—Var. '73).
the Sire] *the father* Q_2. *their father* Johns.
33, 34. In margin, Pope. Han.
33. *this*] *that* Johns. conj. Ran. *these* Vaughan (iii, 165).
33, 34. *Lancaſter, Diuided*] *Lancaster. Divided* Wh. i. *Lancaster Divided* Perring.

20. **Sir William Brandon**] BOSWELL-STONE (p. 419; *foot-note*): Brandon was not slain at Bosworth. Polydore Vergil merely says that Richard overthrew both standard and standard-bearer. A petition presented by Brandon in the first Parliament of Henry VII. (Nov., 1485) shows that fear of Richard obliged him to keep sanctuary at Gloucester from Michaelmas 1484 until the coming of Henry.

26. **Heauen**] DYCE: Though 'heaven' is frequently used as a plural, I doubt if our author would have written it thus here. [See *Text. Notes;* compare IV, iii, 75.]

31, 32. **The Father . . . The Sonne**] WRIGHT: In *3 Hen. VI:* II, v, among the characters introduced are: 'A Son that has killed his father,' and: 'A Father that has killed his son.'

33–37. **All this diuided, etc.**] JOHNSON: I think the passage will be somewhat improved by a slight alteration: 'All *that* divided' [and a comma instead of a period after 'division'] that is let Richmond and Elizabeth *unite all that* York and Lancaster

Diuided, in their dire Diuiſion.
O now, let *Richmond* and *Elizabeth*,
The true Succeeders of each Royall Houſe,
By Gods faire ordinance, conioyne together:
And let thy Heires (God if thy will be ſo)
Enrich the time to come, with Smooth-fac'd Peace,
With ſmiling Plenty, and faire Proſperous dayes.
Abate the edge of Traitors, Gracious Lord,
That would reduce theſe bloudy dayes againe,
And make poore England weepe in Streames of Blood;

34. *Diuided...Diuiſion*] Transposed to follow l. 36, Huds.
Diuided, in their] *Did usher in. Their* Anon. ap. Cam.
Diuiſion.] *division*, Johns. conj. Ran. Coll. ii, Dyce, Cam.+.
37. *By Gods...conioyne*] *Joined by God's ordinance* Vaughan (iii, 165).
38. *thy Heires*] Q_{3-7},Ff, Rowe i. *their heires* Q_1Q_8 et cet.
thy will] *they will* Q_{5-8}.
39. *Smooth-fac'd*] *ſmooth-faſte* Q_1Q_8 Q_3Q_5. *ſmooth-faſt* Q_4. *ſmooth-fac't* $Q_6Q_7Q_8$.
40. *dayes*] *day* Rowe i.
41. *Abate*] *Rebate* Coll. ii, iii (MS), Sing. Ktly.

---

divided.—R. G. WHITE: This passage has hitherto been strangely punctuated; with a comma after 'Lancaster,' and sometimes a period after division, thus making 'divided' refer to York and Lancaster. The construction is a little involved, perhaps, but plain enough. The sense is: 'all this (*i. e.*, what has just been related) divided York and Lancaster. O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth, &c., who were divided in the dire division of York and Lancaster, by God's fair ordinance join together.'—DYCE: Surely 'what has just been related' was not *the cause* of the division of York and Lancaster—it was *the consequence* of that division.—HUDSON: White, I think, errs in taking 'divided,' l. 34, as a verb, and not as a participle, and so making 'York and Lancaster' the objects of it. The sense of that line I take to be: All this *division of* York and Lancaster. [See *Text. Notes*, l. 34.]—LOWELL (p. 42): If to portray reckless, heartless, insatiable ambition, a love of power which tramples underfoot the laws of God and society, if to record with dramatic force the diabolical intrigues, and the final just ruin of a royal assassin, be unpatriotic, then Shakespeare has indeed most successfully proven himself of an unpatriotic spirit. If patriotism means simply loyalty to a 'House' or an administration rather than to the country, then of that narrow sort of patriotism Shakespeare, the author of *Richard III.*, was not conspicuously possessed. But that great Tragedy was written by a pen which had been inspired with the loftiest patriotism—a love of country and the rights of men. The spirit that wrote the play breathes in this patriotic prayer of Richmond.

35, 36. **Richmond . . . The true Succeeders**] See *Dram. Pers., Richmond.*

41. **Abate**] MURRAY (*N. E. D. s. v.* III): 8. To beat back the edge or point of anything; to turn the edge; to blunt. [The present line quoted.]

42. **reduce**] CRAIGIE (*N. E. D. s. v.* I): 5. To bring back, restore (a condition, state of things, time, etc.). Now *rare*. [The present line quoted.]

Let them not liue to taſte this Lands increaſe,
That would with Treaſon, wound this faire Lands peace.
Now Ciuill wounds are ſtopp'd, Peace liues agen;
That ſhe may long liue heere, God ſay, Amen. *Exeunt*

FINIS.

44. *taſte*] *taſt* Q_2.
47. *heere*] *heare* Qq. *here* Q_4Q_8Ff.
47. Exeunt] Om. Qq.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

THE TEXT

By way of introduction to a discussion of the Quarto and Folio texts of *Richard III.* which is to follow, it is well to place before the student a transcript of the several title-pages of the Qq; that of Q_1 is as follows:—

The Tragedy of | King Richard the third. | Containing, | His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: | the pittiefull murther of his innocent nephewes: | his tyrannical vsurpation: with the whole course | of his detested life, and most deserued death. | As it hath beene lately Acted by the | Right honourable the Lord Chamber- | laine his seruants. | At London | Printed by Valentine Sims, for Andrew Wise, | dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the | Sign of the Angell. | 1597. |

The title-page of Q_2 is as follows:

The | Tragedie | of King Richard | the third. | Conteining his treacherous Plots against his | brother *Clarence:* the pitiful murther of his innocent | Nephewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation: with | the whole course of his detested life, and most | *deserued death.* | *As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable* | *the Lord Chamberlaine his servants.* | *By* William Shake-speare. | London | Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, | dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe | of the Angell. 1598. |

The title-page of Q_3 is as follows:

The | Tragedie | of King Richard | the third. | *Conteining his treacherous plots against his brother* | *Clarence:* the pittifull murther of his innocent Ne | phewes: his tyrannical vsurpation: with the | whole course of his detested life, and | most deserued death. | *As it hath beene lately acted by the Right Honourable* | *the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.* | Newly augmented, | By *William Shakespeare.* | London | Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, dwelling | in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the | Angell. 1602.

Q_3 is, however, only a reprint of Q_2, with perhaps a few additional misprints. The opportunity for speculation, as to why the words, 'Newly augmented,' are added to the title-page, is as fertile as its results are futile.

The title-page of Q_4 is as follows:

The | Tragedie | of King Richard | the third. | *Conteining his treacherous plots against his brother* | *Clarence:* the pittifull murther of his innocent Ne- | phewes: his tyrannicall vsurpation; with the | whole course of his detested life, and | most deserued death. | *As it hath bin lately Acted by the Right Honourable* | *the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.* Newly augmented, | By William Shake-speare. | London, | printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew Lawe, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe | of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1605 | .

The title-page of Q_5 is as follows:

The | Tragedie | of King Richard | the third. | *Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother* | *Clarence:* the pittifull murther of his innocent Ne- | phewes: his tyrannical vsurpation: with the | whole course of his detested life, and | most deserued death. | As it hath bin lately acted by the Kings Maiesties | seruants. | Newly augmented, | By *William Shake-speare.* | LONDON, | Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew | Lawe, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe | of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1612. |

Concerning Q_6, published in 1622, COLLIER (ed. ii) says: 'An impression in 1622 is mentioned in some lists, but the existence of a copy of that date is doubtful.' The CAMBRIDGE EDITORS give the title-page, from a copy in the Capell collection, as follows:

THE | TRAGEDIE | OF | KING RICHARD | THE THIRD. | Contayning his treacherous Plots against | *his brother* Clarence: *The pittifull murder of his innocent* | Nephewes: his tyrannicall Vsurpation: with the whole | course of his detested life, and most | *deserued death.* | As it hath been lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties *Seruants.* | Newly augmented. | By *William Shake-speare.* | LONDON, | Printed by *Thomas Purfoot,* and are to be sold by *Mathew Law,* dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the Signe | of the *Foxe,* neare *S. Austins* gate, 1622.

In regard to the two succeeding Qq the CAMBRIDGE EDITORS remark (*Preface,* p. xv): 'Another edition in Quarto was printed in 1629, not from F_1, but from Q_6. It was printed by John Norton for Mathew Law. Except in the name of the printer and the substitution of the word "tiranous" for "tyrannical" the title-page does not differ from that of Q_6. The eighth and last Quarto, copied from Q_7, was printed by John Norton in 1634. There is no bookseller's name on the title-page, if we may trust that which Capell has supplied in MS "from a copy in the possession of Messrs Tonsons and Draper."'

STEEVENS, in a note on V, iii, 29–32, says: 'The Folio is by far the most correct copy of this play.'

MALONE (Note on I, iii, 156): In this play the variations between the original copy in Quarto and the Folio are more numerous than, I believe, in any other of our author's pieces. The alterations, it is highly probable, were made, not by Shakespeare, but by the players, many of them being very injudicious. The [present] text has been formed out of the two copies, the Folio and the early Quarto.

COLLIER: The fact that not one of the three quartos published after the Folio contain any of the passages, which the player-editors of the Folio inserted in their volume, might show that the publishers of the later quartos did not know that there were any material variations between the earlier quartos and the Folio, that they did not think them of importance, or that the projectors of the Folio were considered to have some species of copyright in the additions. It will be found that more than one speech in the Folio is unintelligible without aid from the quartos; and for some characteristic omissions, particularly one in IV, ii, it is not possible to account. With respect to the additions in the Folio, we have no means of ascertaining whether they formed part of the original play. Steevens' [Qu.? Malone's] opinion, that the Quarto of 1597 contained a better text than the Folio, is not our opinion; for though the Quarto sets right several doubtful matters, it is not well

printed, even for a production of that day, and bears marks of having been brought out in haste, and from an imperfect manuscript. The copy of the 'history' in the Folio was in some places a reprint of the Quarto of 1602, as several obvious errors of the press are repeated, *right* for 'fight,' *helps* for 'helms.' For the additions, a manuscript was no doubt employed, and the variations in some scenes, particularly near the middle of the play, are so numerous, and the corrections so frequent, that it is probable a transcript belonging to the theatre was there consulted.

DYCE (ed. ii): The text of the Folio is, on the whole, inferior to that of the Quartos. Accordingly, I now adhere to the latter in sundry places where my first edition exhibited the text of the Folio.

STAUNTON: Upon the whole, we prefer the Quarto text, though execrably deformed by printing-office blunders, and can by no means acquiesce in the decision that those passages found only in the Folio are 'additions' made by the poet, subsequent to the publication of the earlier quartos. On the contrary, we believe those very passages to have been structural portions of the piece, and the real additions to be the terse and vigourous bits of dialogue peculiar to the Quartos. . . . But although in a few instances the Folio copy appears to have been an earlier one than that used by the printers of the Quartos, it must be admitted that there are numerous places in which the text of the former has undergone minute and careful correction, and where, both in rhythm and in language, it is superior to the previous editions.

R. G. WHITE: The repetition of certain errors peculiar to the Quarto of 1602 shows that the text of the Folio was printed from a copy of that edition; but the important additions to and corrections of its text are undeniable evidence that the copy in question had been subjected to carefullest revision at the hands (it seems to me beyond a doubt) of Shakespeare himself, by which it gained much smoothness and correctness, and lost no strength. In minute beauties of rhythm, in choice of epithets, and in the avoidance of bald repetition, (a fault unusually frequent in the Quarto text), the play was greatly improved by this revision; and while some of the passages found in the Folio and not in the Quartos may have been omitted from the MS from which the latter was printed, for the sake of abbreviating so long a drama, many of them are evidently from the perfecting hand of the author in the maturity of his powers. This being the case, the faults, whether of omission or of commission, in the folio text must be assumed as accidental only; and its authority, although impaired in minute matters, must be maintained—say, rather, maintains itself. It furnishes the true text, and the best; though we are fortunate in having the Quartos, especially that of 1597, to depend upon when the Folio is corrupt.

CAMBRIDGE EDITORS (ed. ii, *Preface*, p. xvi): The respective origin and authority of the first Quarto and first Folio texts of *Richard III.* is perhaps the most difficult question which presents itself to an editor of Shakespeare. In the case of most of the plays a brief survey leads him to form a definite judgement; in this, the most attentive examination, scarcely enables him to propose with confidence a hypothetical conclusion. Q_1 contains passages not found in F_1 which are essential to the under-

standing of the context: the Folio, on the other hand, contains passages equally essential which are not found in the Quarto. Again, passages which in the Quarto are complete and consecutive, are amplified in the Folio, the expanded text being quite in the manner of Shakespeare. The Folio, too, contains passages not in the Quartos, which, though not necessary to the sense, yet harmonise so well, in sense and tone, with the context that we can have no hesitation in attributing them to the author himself. On the other hand, we find in the Folio some insertions and many alterations which we may with equal certainty affirm not to be due to Shakespeare. Sometimes the alterations seem merely arbitrary, but more frequently they appear to have been made in order to avoid the recurrence of the same word, even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage, or to correct a supposed defect of metre, although the metre cannot be amended except by spoiling the sense. Occasionally we seem to find indications that certain turns of phrase, uses of words, or metrical licences, familiar enough to Shakespeare and his earlier contemporaries, had become obsolete in the time of the corrector, and the passages modified accordingly. In short, *Richard III.* seems, even before the publication of the Folio, to have been tampered with by a nameless transcriber who worked in the spirit, though not with the audacity, of Colley Cibber. The following scheme will best explain the theory which we submit as a not impossible way of accounting for the phenomena of the text:

A_1 is the Author's original MS. B_1 is a transcript by another hand, with some accidental omissions and, of course, slips of the pen. From this transcript was printed the Quarto of 1597, Q_1. A_2 is the Author's original MS revised by himself, with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves. B_2 is a copy of this revised MS, made by another hand, probably after the death of the Author and perhaps a very short time before 1623. As the stage directions of the Folio, which was printed from B_2, are more precise and ample as a rule, than those of the Quarto, we may infer that the transcript, B_2, was made for the library of the theatre, perhaps to take the place of the original, which had become worn by use, for *Richard III.* continued to be a popular acting play. Some curious, though not frequent, coincidences between the text of the Folio and that of the Quarto of 1602, Q_2, lead us to suppose that the writer of B_2 had occasionally recourse to that Quarto to supplement passages, which, by being frayed or stained, had become illegible in A_2. Assuming the truth of this hypothesis, the object of an editor must be to give in the text as near an approximation as possible to A_2, rejecting from F_1 all that is due to the unknown writer of B_2, and supplying its place from Q_1, which, errors of pen and press apart, certainly came from the hand of Shakespeare. . . . In conclusion, we commend a study of the text of *Richard III.* to those, if such there be, who imagine that it is possible, by the exercise of critical skill, to restore with certainty what Shakespeare actually wrote.

N. DELIUS (*Jahrbuch*, vii, 130): In our opinion the Folio gives, on the whole, the real text of Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, and moreover the original text,—not, as considered by the Cambridge Editors, a later one,—amplified by the poet, with revisions and additions; the Folio text seems to us to be the one always spoken on the Shakespearean stage, and afterwards preserved in MS in the library of the theatre; from it was printed the play as it appears for the first time in the Folio. The Quarto, on the other hand, gives us the text as it was printed in 1597 by Sims, for the publisher Andrew Wise, from a copy, probably corrupt, obtained without the consent or approval of Shakespeare and his partners, and with additions and alterations by some anonymous corrector. Now, since this publication appeared entirely without the consent of the lawful owners of the play, the parties concerned must have considered themselves completely exonerated from any regard to the poet, whose name was even omitted from the title-page; they must have dealt as they pleased with the text, and boldly undertook all such alterations of it as arose partly from the preference of the anonymous corrector, partly from a mere wanton desire of change. The procedure of our anonymous corrector is distinguished from the like procedure of that other corrector who, according to the opinion of approved Shakespearean critics, had revised the first Quartos of *Romeo & Juliet* and *Hamlet*, principally in this, that before him there lay a copy of the original, full and complete, barring a few incidental slips of the pen and omissions, while the first editors of the two plays just mentioned were forced to content themselves with excessively incomplete and careless manuscripts, which they patched together and amplified. Thus the editor of the first Quarto of *Richard III.* could furnish a text, which, without prejudice to his own arbitrary alterations, produced on the whole the impression of an uncorrupted text of Shakespeare, and would probably have produced such an impression upon us—if, perchance, the editors of the Folio, in making their collected edition, had used in this case, as elsewhere, the Quarto impression instead of the stage-copy. [DELIUS hereupon quotes many of the passages wherein there is marked divergence between Q_1 and F_1, and gives the reasons for his preference of the Folio. The majority of his remarks are quoted in the notes on the passages to which he refers.]

R. KOPPEL (p. 50): According to our view, the MS from which the Qto was printed is a transcript of the Tragedy as prepared for the stage. It is at times corrected hastily, at others arbitrarily, but for the most part is a good and careful copy. But the handwriting from which the Folio was printed is likewise a modified transcript, and indeed partly arbitrary, likewise in part hasty and also authentic, according to the longer and original form of the play. Both transcripts have been in different ways of varied benefits. It may be proved, by reference to various passages, that the Folio was printed directly from the Quartos and in special from that of 1602, Q_3.

ALEXANDER SCHMIDT (*Jahrbuch*, xv, p. 307) reviews the foregoing article by Delius and, in regard to the hypothesis of an anonymous corrector, proposed by Delius, remarks: 'The MS certainly came to the hands of the printer of the Qto as that of a Shakespearean play, to be printed "as it had been lately acted by the Lord Chamberlain his servants," exactly as it had been seen on the stage and greeted with much applause. Only under such conditions could Andrew Wise reckon safely as its purchaser. He himself was not in the position to undertake

the editing, and, therefore, without doubt, he called to his aid some one skilled in poesy and verse-writing, but he hardly could have given him permission, or orders, to correct the MS as though it were a school-boy's exercise, or as far as he was able, to introduce changes. He was more concerned with a passage here and there than with the completeness of the work. But what should have prompted this anonymous corrector to undertake so laborious a task, contrary to the wish or knowledge of his employer, is utterly incomprehensible; and so likewise must be each hypothesis, which seeks to explain the cause of these variations otherwise than as mere oversights due to peculiarities in the form and manner of the handwriting. It happens, therefore, that the theory of a reviser, such as this anonymous one, suffices to explain a certain class of variations, but for another kind it is completely inadequate. If we still wish to assign the important omissions and additions to the reviser of the Quarto, the numerous corruptions of the metre show that they could hardly have come from one who has proved himself so evidently familiar with iambic pentameter; and to what end, moreover, would he have disturbed the perfectly regular verses found in the MS? We are obliged to take refuge in theory after theory—theories which support the elaborate structure on one side, but on another topple it over. One hypothesis alone explains everything equally and completely: *That the origin of the Quarto is a transcript from the performance of the play.* [Schmidt then quotes at some length those passages wherein there is the greatest diversity between Qto and F, and also those passages added to the Qto, in order to show that such changes would be more likely those of the actors than those of a poet revising his work; in regard to the similarity of form and words between III, i, 209–210, 'Shall we heare from you Catesby, ere we sleepe? You shall my Lord' and a passage inserted in the Qto in IV, ii, 'Shall we hear from thee Tyrrel ere we sleep? You shall my Lord,' Schmidt remarks: 'This line is wanting in the Folio, and there can be no question but that such weak tautology was not the work of the poet. Richard Burbage, the original Richard, prided himself, not without cause, on his great fame; the tone, bearing, and behaviour wherewith the actor accompanied the speech to Catesby, must have been received with such great applause that the actor could not resist the temptation to produce a second time a like effect, and dismiss the murderer Tyrrel with words almost the same.' Schmidt thus calls attention also to the insertion, in IV, ii, in the Qto of the longer passage in the scene between Richard and Buckingham, following the words, 'A king perhaps—' l. 111: 'Three times Buckingham recalls a promise to the king, and three times the latter ignores him. One would think this to be sufficient, and that Buckingham could remain in no possible doubt as to his standing with the King. It was not enough however for the actor who was here in a prominent position and wished to enjoy to the full the applause of the crowd; therefore the scene was lengthened and the scornful neglect given seven times, regardless of the injury done thereby to our opinion of Buckingham's intelligence.'

Schmidt also agrees with Koppel that the Folio was probably printed from a corrected copy of Q_3; since there are numerous misprints which are common to both, but which do not appear in earlier Qq, and in some cases are in the Folio and Q_3 alone, *e. g.*, III, i, 139, 'as, as, you call me'; V, iii, 397, 'victory sits on our helpes.' He also calls attention to the close agreement between III, i, 5–185, as given in Q_3 and the Folio; and also the end of the play from V, iii, 80, *et seq.* 'The reason for this was possibly that the MS from which the Folio was printed was here illegible and recourse was had to the Qto to make up the deficiencies.'

JAMES SPEDDING (*Shakspere Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76; pp. 1–75) divides the corrections in the Folio text of *Rich. III.* into the following classes: '(1.) Alterations not intended by Shakspere. (2.) Alterations made to improve the metre. (3.) Alterations to avoid repetition of a word. (4.) Alterations in the stage-directions.' Many of Spedding's notes are quoted in the commentary, under the passages to which they refer. The following is an abstract of the results of his endeavor to demonstrate that the Folio Text is to be preferred to that of the Quartos: 'There are one hundred and ninety-three lines in the Folio text, which are not found in any of the Quartos; but these are made up in great part of ones and twos—out of forty-five insertions twenty-two consist of one line only, and nine of only two—which being scattered irregularly through the whole of the first four Acts, indicate not merely the addition of a scene or a speech here and there, but a general revision and correction of the entire composition. Now, if Shakspere took so much trouble with the small additions and amplifications, why should we not suppose that he took as much with the corrections? The only reason I can imagine is, that the additions are judged to be worthy of him, and the corrections not. Some positive reason of this kind the Cambridge Editors appear to have seen; for they "find in the Folio" (they say) "some insertions and many alterations which they may with equal certainty affirm not to be due to Shakspere:" with a certainty (that is) equal to that with which they affirm that the amplifications, expansions, and additions are due to him. But when I seek for the grounds of this certainty, I find nothing more definite than the following remarks in the Preface: "Sometimes the alterations seem merely arbitrary, but more frequently they appear to have been made in order to avoid the recurrence of the same word, *even where the recurrence adds to the force of the passage*, or to correct a supposed defect of metre, *although the metre cannot be amended except by spoiling the sense.* Occasionally we seem to find indications that certain turns of phrase, uses of words or metrical licences, familiar enough to Shakspere and his earlier contemporaries, had become obsolete in the time of the corrector, and the passages modified accordingly."—p. xvii.

'Now, it is plain that the question whether we have here good reasons for concluding that these alterations were not due to Shakspere, or no reasons at all, depends entirely upon the truth of the assertion implied in the clauses which I have printed in italic. Where the recurrence of the same word adds force to the passage, the substitution of another in order to avoid its recurrence would be a good reason for thinking that Shakspere did not make the alteration. To remove a defect of metre at the expense of the meaning, is a thing which Shakspere cannot be suspected of—since he was certainly capable of making his metre perfect without spoiling his sense. But where are these alterations of phrase or metre from which such effects follow? I have examined above a thousand cases, and (except those which I have already discussed) I have not found one in which I can myself perceive them. It is true that many of the changes seem "arbitrary"—or I should rather say uncalled for: that is, I do not myself see why any change should have been made. But it does not follow that Shakspere could have seen no reason for it, and an "arbitrary" change, he being arbiter, would probably be an improvement. It is true that metrical irregularities similar to those which we find in the Quartos of *Richard III.* are frequent in the plays of his earlier contemporaries, and even in his own earliest dramatic writings: does it follow that in revising and correcting them at a later time he would not have removed such irregularities? We know that in his writings of the middle period he avoided them, and that such

irregularities as at a later period he affected, and made such rich use of, were of quite a different character. It is true that many words and phrases which were familiar when he began to write, fell gradually into disuse: does it follow that in revising and correcting he would not change them for the words and phrases that had come into use instead? We know that he never affected antiquated phraseology, but wrote always in the spoken language of his own day. *Richard III.*, being one of his earliest works, and yet continuing to be a popular acting play for many years, was the more likely not only to receive alterations from time to time, but to be thought worth re-editing and clearing of everything that from changes in the fashion had become unfit, or from changes in himself distasteful. If "in the time of the corrector" some of the phraseology had grown so obsolete as to require "modification," why not in the time of Shakspere himself? Date the correction as late as you will, you cannot put it more than seven years after his death. Between 1616 and 1623 no sudden revolution occurred in popular taste, and you would probably find evidence in his own plays of the middle period that the change had begun long before. Supposing him to have taken the trouble to correct the play at all, alterations of this kind are precisely those which I should have expected him to make; and, therefore, unless it can be shown that they are made without judgement—that they spoil the sense, or weaken the force of the passages in which they are introduced—I cannot understand what pretence there is for refusing to accept them as his.... The argument of the Cambridge Editors in favour of the Quarto as preferable to the Folio rests, as I understand it, upon the following consideration: —(1) The Quarto contains passages which, though essential to the understanding of the context, are not found in the Folio. The corrector therefore who removed them cannot have been the author. (2) Many of the alterations introduced in the Folio are such as Shakespeare would not have made: there being some in which the force of the passage is sacrificed only to avoid the repetition of the same word in it: some in which the sense is spoiled, only to remove a supposed defect of metre: some in which the change has been made only to get rid of a word or phrase that had become unfashionable: some in which "the earlier form is more terse, and therefore not likely to have been altered by its author." I have collected all the cases I could find which might seem to come under any of these heads; and I have found none which seem to me to justify the conclusion. I have found that the passages, which though essential to the understanding of the context, are omitted in the Folio, have been apparently omitted through accidents over which the corrector had no control—accidents such as are either known to happen frequently, or may easily have happened in the particular case. Among the alterations made to avoid the repetition of the same word, I have found scarcely one by which any force appears to me to be lost—scarcely one by which a perceptible blemish is not removed. Among those made to correct the metre, I have not found any which spoil the sense—scarcely any by which the metre is not mended. Among those made to get rid of obsolete words, I have not found any in which the word to be got rid of is not one that may probably have become distasteful to Shakspere himself. Of cases in which the terser form has been exchanged for one less terse, I have not met with any which I recognised as answering the description; nor have I been able to perceive any other reason for refusing to believe that the text of the Folio (errors being corrected or allowed for) represents the result of Shakspere's own latest revision, and approaches nearest to the form in which he wished it to stand. Upon the whole, therefore, I conclude that where express reason

cannot be shown to the contrary, the readings of the Folio ought always to be preferred.'

E. H. PICKERSGILL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 79): Fashions of speech no doubt may change; phrases and words may grow obsolete or die out even within the limits of a literary career; modes of thought or expression which were dear to the poet in his youth may grow distasteful to him in his maturity; the points of view from which he regards nature and human life may shift, as the years roll on; but amid all these elements of change, if he should think it worth while to revise his earlier work, we may be certain that he will never turn *poetry* into very weak and washy, albeit more regular *verse*. . . . The improvements which are essayed in the Folio are altogether below what we should expect from Shakespeare, if we suppose him assuming the character of a reviser of his own work.

I shall now endeavor to establish that the so-called 'inserted passages' of the Folio formed part of the play as it was originally written. Spedding gives the number of new lines printed in the Folio of 1623 as one hundred and ninety-three. I do not propose to give a separate discussion to each of these. Single lines, or even lines inserted by twos and threes, cannot help us much towards a solution of the question at issue. Confining my attention, therefore, to the six longest of the inserted passages, I shall quote each of them at length, along with its immediate context as it stands in the Quarto. The reader will thus be in a position to form his own judgment upon two points: first, whether the character of the inserted passage is conformable with the theory that it was added by the author upon a revision of the play several years after it was originally written; or whether, upon the other hand, it rather tends to favour the alternative theory that the passage formed part of the original play, but being omitted by the actors in representation, was consequently omitted from the Quarto editions; and, secondly, whether there is a marked metrical difference between the 'inserted' passage and its context, as the latter stands in the Quarto. If it does not appear that there is such a difference, it will be unnecessary to discuss Mr Spedding's opinion that the metrical characteristics of these passages correspond with those of Shakspere's work in or about the year 1602. Note: the passages peculiar to the Folio are enclosed within brackets.

1.

I, ii, 168-199:—

Anne. Out of my sight, thou dost infect my eyes.
Glou. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.
Anne. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead!
Glou. I would they were, that I might die at once;
For now they kill me with a living death.
Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops:
[These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,
No, when my father York and Edward wept,
To hear the piteous moan that Rutland made
When Black-faced Clifford shook his sword at him;
Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death,

And twenty times made pause to sob and weep,
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
Like trees bedashed with rain: in that sad time
My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
And what these sorrows could not thence exhale,
Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.
I never sued to friend nor enemy;
My tongue could never learn sweet soothing words;
But, now thy beauty is proposed my fee,
My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue to speak.
Teach not thy lips such scorn, for they were made
For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo! here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;
Which if thou please to hide in this true bosom,
And let the soul forth that adoreth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.
Nay, do not pause; 'twas I that killed your husband,
But 'twas thy beauty that provoked me.
Nay, now despatch; 'twas I that killed King Henry,
But 'twas thy heavenly face that set me on.

I think the reader will agree with me that the passage enclosed in brackets must have formed part of the original play; indeed, in the Quarto, the abrupt conclusion of the lines,

Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
Shamed their aspect with store of childish drops,

is quite noticeable, and suggests that something has been omitted. As regards metre, my ear cannot detect any difference between the lines which are, and those which are not, in the Quarto. Counting, however, gives a result partly in Mr Spedding's favour, partly against him. There are twenty-one old lines and twelve new; in the former there is only one run-on line, in the latter there are two run-on lines. This result tells for Mr Spedding. But, upon the other hand, whilst the twelve new lines contain only one line with an extra syllable, the twenty-one old lines contain three such lines. This result tells against Mr Spedding; for, if it proved anything, it would prove that the passage peculiar to the Folio is *earlier* than the rest. With regard to the run-on lines in that passage, I may observe that the proportion in the Quarto is not unfrequently even very much greater: *e. g.*, in Gloucester's opening soliloquy, containing forty-one lines, there are twelve unstopped, or about one in three. [Foot-note by W. A. WRIGHT: Would Shakspere, in 1602, have written these added lines? They surely belong to his early manner. I have no doubt they were originally part of the play, and were omitted for stage purposes.]

2.

II, ii, 84–112:—

Duch. Was ever mother had a dearer loss!
Alas, I am the mother of these moans!
Their woes are parcell'd, mine are general.
She for Edward weeps, and so do I;
I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:
These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;
I for an Edward weep, so do not they:
Alas, you three, on me threefold distressed
Pour all your tears! I am your sorrow's nurse,
And I will pamper it with lamentations.
[*Dor.* Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeased
That you take with unthankfulness his doing:
In common worldly things, 'tis called ungrateful,
With dull unwillingness to repay a debt
Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;
Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you.
Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,
Of the young prince your son: send straight for him;
Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:
Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,
And plant your joys in living Edward's throne.]
Enter GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, RATCLIFFE, *and others.*
Glo. Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause
To wail the dimming of our shining star;
But none can help our harms by wailing them.—
Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy;
I did not see your grace.—Humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

In the first place, if the passage in brackets were inserted on a careful revision of the play, one would not expect to find a phrase put into Dorset's mouth—'comfort, dear mother'—so closely resembling Gloucester's—'Madam, have comfort.' Upon the other hand, what is more probable than that a slender company should cut out these two unimportant speeches of Dorset and Rivers, and so set free the actors who personated them to undertake other characters in this scene? As regards the metre, there are fifteen old lines, and twelve new; the former contain three run-on lines, and the latter contain two. The old lines appear to run more smoothly than the new.

3.

II, ii, 118–149:—

Buck. You cloudy princes, and heart-sorrowing peers
That bear this heavy mutual load of moan,
Now cheer each other in each other's love:
Though we have spent our harvest of this king,
We are to reap the harvest of his son.
The broken rancour of your high-swoln hates,

But lately splinter'd, knit, and join'd together,
Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept:
Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fet
Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.
[*Riv.* Why with some little train, my lord of Buckingham?
Buck. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out;
Which would be so much the more dangerous,
By how much the estate is green, and yet ungovern'd
Where every horse bears his commanding rein,
And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm, as harm apparent,
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.
Glo. I hope the king made peace with all of us;
And the compact is firm and true in me.
Riv. And so in me; and so, I think, in all:
Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which, haply, by much company might be urg'd:
Therefore, I say with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.
Hast. And so say I.]
Glo. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to Ludlow.

I think that we have in the Quarto a slight indication of the omitted passage: for Gloucester's words—'*Then* be it so'—which are very appropriate after the genera discussion found in the Folio, appear to me a little *inàpropos* as following Buckingham's unopposed suggestion. Observe also that the cue is given for the omitted passage in Buckingham's words—'some *little* train'—found in the Quarto no less than in the Folio. As regards the metre, there is one run-on line in the passage peculiar to the Folio, and there are two run-on lines in the rest, whilst the old lines are certainly quite as smooth as the new,—perhaps they are even smoother. (Notice, in particular, the uncouth line in the Folio—

'By how much the estate is green and yet ungovern'd.')

4.

III, vii, 150–182:—

Glou. I know not whether to depart in silence,
Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,
Best fitteth my degree or your condition:
[If not to answer, you might haply think
Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded
To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty,
Which fondly you would here impose on me;
If to reprove you for this suit of yours,
So season'd with your faithful love to me,
Then, on the other side, I cheek'd my friends.

Therefore, to speak, and to avoid the first,
And then, in speaking, not to incur the last,
Definitively thus I answer you.]
Your love deserves my thanks, but my desert
Unmeritable shuns your high request.
First, if all obstacles were cut away
And that my path were even to the crown,
As my ripe revenue and due by birth;
Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,
So mighty and so many my defects,
As I had rather hide me from my greatness,
Being a bark to brook no mighty sea,
Than in my greatness covet to be hid
And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.
But, God be thankèd, there's no need of me,
And much I need to help you, if need were;
The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,
Which, mellow'd by the stealing hours of time,
Will well become the seat of majesty,
And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.
On him I lay what you would lay on me,
The right and fortune of his happy stars;
Which God defend that I should wring from him.

I think the reader will agree with me in refusing to believe that Shakspere would have thought it worth while deliberately to insert the ten lines in a speech already sufficiently long: the more so, as the matter which they contain is really all expressed in the lines which follow:—

Your love deserves my thanks, but my desert
Unmeritable shuns your high request.

As regards metre, there are three run-on lines, and four extra-syllable lines in the old portion, two run-on lines, and one extra-syllable line in the new.

5.

IV, iii, 215–255:—

K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd Elizabeth,
Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.
Q. Eliz. And must she die for this? O! let her live,
And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her beauty;
Slander myself as false to Edward's bed;
Throw over her the veil of infamy:
So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaughter,
I will confess she was not Edward's daughter.
K. Rich. Wrong not her birth; she is a royal princess.
Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say she is not so.
K. Rich. Her life is safest only in her birth.
Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her brothers.

K. Rich. Lo! at their birth good stars were opposite.
Q. Eliz. No, to their lives ill friends were contrary.
K. Rich. All unavoided is the doom of destiny.
Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes destiny.
My babes were destin'd to a fairer death.
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.
[*K. Rich.* You speak as if that I had slain my cousins.
Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle cozen'd
Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.
Whose hand soever lanced their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction:
No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.
But that still use of grief makes wild grief tame,
My tongue should to thy ears not name my boys
Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine eyes;
And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.]
K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my dangerous attempt of hostile arms,
As I intend more good to you and yours
Than ever you or yours were by me wrong'd!
Q. Eliz. What good is cover'd with the face of heaven,
To be discover'd, that can do me good?
K. Rich. The advancement of your children, gentle lady.
Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, there to lose their heads.
K. Rich. No, to the dignity and height of honour,
The high imperial type of this earth's glory.

As the passage between brackets consists of one uninterrupted speech, whilst the context is mainly made up of single-line repartees, we can scarcely make a fair comparison upon metrical grounds. But examine the inserted lines from an æsthetic point of view. Does not the fondness for jingles and antithesis,—*cousins* and *cozen'd; hand, heart,* and *head; indirectly* and *direction; tongue* and *nails, ears* and *eyes*—together with the character of the figures, powerful indeed, but very extravagant, indicate a date of composition nearer to 1597 than to 1602? I may just observe that line 247, as it stands in the Quarto, is certainly very prodigious, but I think there is something wrong in the printing, as the line (reduced to regularity) recurs at IV, iii, 420.

6.

IV, iii, 300–361:—

"*K. Rich.* Come, come, you mock me; this is not the way
To win your daughter.
Q. Eliz. There is no other way;
Unless thou couldst put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.
[*K. Rich.* Say that I did all this for love of her.

Q. Eliz. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but hate thee,
Having bought love with such a bloody spoil.
K. Rich. Look, what is done cannot be now amended.
Men shall deal unadvisedly sometimes,
Which after-hours give leisure to repent:
If I did take the kingdom from your sons,
To make amends I'll give it to your daughter.
If I have kill'd the issue of your womb,
To quicken your increase, I will beget
Mine issue of your blood upon your daughter.
A grandam's name is little less in love,
Than is the doting title of a mother:
They are as children, but one step below,
Even of your mettle, of your very blood;
Of all one pain, save for a night of groans
Endur'd of her, for whom you bid like sorrow.
Your children were vexation to your youth;
But mine shall be a comfort to your age.
The loss you have is but a son, being king,
And by that loss your daughter is made queen:
I cannot make you what amends I would,
Therefore, accept such kindness as I can.
Dorset, your son, that with a fearful soul
Treads discontented steps in foreign soil,
This fair alliance quickly shall call home
To high promotions and great dignity:
The king, that calls your beauteous daughter wife,
Familiarly shall call thy Dorset brother;
Again shall you be mother to a king,
And all the ruins of distressful times
Repair'd with double riches of content.
What! we have many goodly days to see:
The liquid drops of tears that you have shed,
Shall come again transform'd to orient pearl,
Advantaging their loan with interest
Of ten-times-double gain of happiness.
Go then, my mother; to thy daughter go:
Make bold her bashful years with your experience;
Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
Put in her tender heart th' aspiring flame
Of golden sov'reignty; acquaint the princess
With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys:
And when this arm of mine hath chastised
The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
Bound with triumphant garlands will I come,
And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
To whom I will retail my conquest won,
And she shall be sole victress, Cæsar's Cæsar.
Q. Eliz. What were I best to say? her father's brother

Would be her lord? Or shall I say, her uncle?
Or he that slew her brothers, and her uncles?
Under what title shall I woo for thee,
That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?]

K. Rich. Infer fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. Eliz. Which she shall purchase with still lasting war.

With regard to this inserted passage, the lines themselves are certainly good lines,—'the sweet silent hours of marriage joys' is, I think, worthy of Shakspere at his best,—the metre is very smooth, and the proportion of run-on lines to end-pause lines is rather high, viz., about one in four. But there are passages of similar length in the Quarto, of which as much might be said. Take Gloucester's opening soliloquy, for example: there the proportion is higher still, being about one in three.

I have now quoted all the passages peculiar to the Folio which are of any length, and I think the reader will agree with me, first, that these passages have not at all the appearance of subsequent additions, and secondly, that there is not any marked difference, æsthetical or metrical, between them and the context as it stands in the Quarto, allowance of course being made for the 'dressing up,' which no doubt they have undergone in common with the rest of the play.

There remains only one topic more upon which I wish to make a few observations. According to Mr Spedding's statement, there are three hundred and fifty divergencies of the Folio from the Quarto which the Cambridge editors have admitted (by implication) to be Shakspere's; how (it may be asked) do I reconcile this fact with my belief that Shakspere never revised the play? In the first place, let me quote the Editors' own words respecting the principle which has induced them to admit some of the Folio readings. 'We prefer' (they say) 'the risk of putting in something which Shakspere did not to that of leaving out something which he did write.' Again, in many cases (not covered by the foregoing principle) the Cambridge editors have, I think, preferred the Folio to the Quarto, when to do so was inconsistent with their own plan as laid down in the Preface. These two classes of cases deducted would, no doubt, reduce the total of three hundred and fifty very considerably. In the second place, I accept the theory (for which sound reasons have, I think, been suggested in the course of this inquiry) that the first Quarto was printed from a stage-copy of the play. Nothing is more probable than that a considerable number of variations from the author's MS had crept into this copy. Lastly, I appeal to the carelessness of the printer. The Quarto-text, says Mr Howard Staunton, is 'execrably deformed by printing-office blunders.' If in the Folio-text, which is printed with comparative accuracy, there are over eighty errors or alterations attributed by Mr Spedding to the printer, we shall be quite safe in putting down a vastly larger number to the account of the printer of the Quarto. Due allowance being made for the operation of all these causes, I do not think that the amount of variation of the Quarto from what I conceive to be the true Shaksperian text will appear at all incredible.

Let me now briefly sum up the results of my enquiry: I began with an examination of Mr Spedding's Paper. Of the eighty examples pronounced by Spedding to be non-Shaksperian, I showed that about fifty cannot fairly be attributed to any one but the corrector of the play; hence it would follow that

the corrector was not Shakspere. Passing on to the 'alterations made to improve the metre,' I showed that in one instance, at least, there is a clear sacrifice of the sense, pure and simple [III, ii, 97, *q. v.*], and that in a large number of instances the metrical improvement is attained by weakening the vigour and marring the propriety, of the language. Coming next to the 'alterations made to avoid the recurrence of the same word,' I cited four of them which Shakspere (in my opinion, at least) cannot be supposed to have made: I added that he *may* have made the others, but that it did not require a *Shakspere* to make them. With regard to the 'alterations made to avoid obsolete phrases,' I showed (1) that in some of the cases cited the alteration is not made as regularly as Spedding supposes, and (2) that some of the tabooed words occur in Shakspere's plays written about the date assigned by Spedding to the revision of *Richard III.* Next, of the nineteen examples cited as 'alterations made to remove defects not apparent to the Cambridge Editors,' I gave reasons for believing three to be non-Shaksperian. Lastly, with regard to the 'alterations in the stage-directions,' I showed that the stage-directions of the Folio are more consistent with the *text* of the Quarto than are the stage-directions of the Quarto itself; and hence I inferred that the stage-directions of the Folio must have formed part of the play as it was originally written. Having dealt thus fully with Spedding's Paper, I responded to the challenge which he offers to 'those who agree with the Cambridge Editors,' by quoting forty-five passages in which 'something original, striking, or forcible in idea, or expression in the Quarto is diluted into commonplace in the Folio; or in which a turn of phrase thoroughly Shaksperian is diluted into commonplace in the Folio; or in which a turn of phrase thoroughly Shaksperian is modified precisely as a prosaic reviser might be expected to modify it. Next I quoted at length all the considerable passages peculiar to the Folio, with a view to show that these passages have not at all the appearance of subsequent additions, and that there is not any marked difference, æsthetical or metrical, between them and the context as it stands in the Quarto. And lastly, I showed that the variations of the Quarto from the Folio where the latter has the true Shaksperian reading may be reasonably accounted for without sacrificing my theory that Shakspere never revised the play.

W. ALDIS WRIGHT (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875–'76) said that his remarks were, to a great extent, anticipated by Mr Pickersgill. The question was one into which individual taste very largely entered, and consequently it was scarcely possible to expect unanimity of opinion. Two theories were propounded: one, that the text of the Folios had been altered from that of the Quartos, or Shakspere's original MS, by some one who was not Shakspere; the other, that of Mr Spedding, that the changes might have been made by Shakspere with the assistance of the demons of the printing office. On the whole, Mr Wright preferred to believe in the former theory as more consistent with his reverence for the author. He was unwilling to think that Shakspere at the busiest time of his life should have occupied himself with such minute changes as 'who' for 'which,' 'kill' for 'slay,' 'between' for 'betwixt,' 'while' for 'whilst,' 'I' (*i. e.*, ay) for 'yea,' and the like, or that when he was engaged upon his greatest works he had so fallen below himself in taste of expression and vigour of versification as to alter both language and metre of the Quartos, in most instances for the worse. Many of the changes were doubtless due to the actors, some to the printers; and provided they were not attributed to Shakspere, it was not necessary to be careful about assigning them.

J. SPEDDING (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-'76; p. 189) contributed the following as a postscript to his paper and as a reply in part to Pickersgill: 'The relation between the two texts of this play may be best explained by supposing—

'1. That Shakspere wrote *Richard III.* for the theatre when he was a young man, a practised rhymester, but new in dramatic blank verse.

'2. That he wrote it not to be printed and read, but to be acted and heard, for the pleasure of an audience which was not nice in literary criticism, but moved by broad dramatic effects.

'3. That it was printed without preparation for the press or superintendence by himself.

'4. That being thus put forward as a book for literary judges to read, he wished to clear it of defects which would be felt by them, though not by an audience.

'5. That he began accordingly to prepare a corrected and amended copy.

'6. That being at the time much occupied with new productions at the theatre, he had not leisure to complete his corrected copy of *Richard III.*; and for that, or some other reason, laid it by in an unfinished state.

'7. That for the purpose of this revision he had used one of the printed copies (probably the 3rd Quarto) to make corrections in; and that this copy, with such corrections as he had made,—"corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves,"—came into the hands of Heminge and Condell, and was used for the Folio of 1623 as "the true and original copy."

'8. And therefore "that the text of the Folio (errors being corrected or allowed for) represents the result of Shakspere's own latest revision, and approaches nearest to the form in which he wished it to stand."'

P. A. DANIEL (*Introd.*, iv): Measured by the Shakespearean standard of excellence, *Richard III.*, however popular and successful on the stage, can only rank as a second or third rate performance; and this, I make no doubt, is to be attributed to the fact that it was not of Shakespeare's original composition, but the work of the author, or authors, of the *Hen. VI.* series of plays; his part in this, as in those, being merely that of a reviser or rewriter. With the question of authorship, however, I am not concerned; the relation of the Qto and F versions is, after all, the most important matter connected with the play, for unless it can be settled on some reasonably certain basis, the difficulties in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the text itself are almost insuperable. . . . My own conclusions are that the Folio represents the play as first set forth by Shakespeare: the Q, a shortened and revised copy of it. The heart of the matter is in this last proposition; for if it can be shown that the Q. is anywhere revised or altered on the text of the play as given in the Folio, it follows almost as a matter of course that it is a shortened version, and, till truth to the contrary is forthcoming, that the Folio must be accepted as representing the original play. The only external hint affording any ground for the theory that the Folio at any time underwent revision, except for the purpose of the Quarto, is the announcement on the title-page of Q_3, 1602—'Newly augmented,'—but unless this external evidence can be backed up by internal evidence derived from comparison of the texts themselves, this book-seller's announcement may be dismissed as worthless, or, at the best, as meaning nothing more than that, when preparing for his third edition, Andrew Wise intended or hoped to be able to give his readers a completer copy of the play than he had supplied them with in his two first editions. I do not believe that any such internal evidence can be produced: certainly

I find none in the Papers by the Cambridge Editors, Delius, Spedding, and Pickersgill, nor have I been able to detect any in the course of my own examination: on the other hand I do find in the Quarto, (1) deliberate corrections of errors that appear in the Folio, and (2) corruption and confusion of Folio passages, evidently the result of the careless way in which the revision or alteration for the Quarto was made. Let us first try to get a clear notion of the F. text as it stands. The subject has been complicated by the supposition that Q_2 is in some way connected with it, as having in part supplied the printers of the F. with their 'copy,' or as having been consulted by some unknown reviser, or even as having formed the actual foundation of an augmented and revised play. [See R. Koppel and A. Schmidt, *supra*.] I can find no *proof* of any such connection. The copy, as I hope to prove, supplied to the printers of the Folio was a copy of Q_6, 1622, enlarged, altered, and corrected in accordance with a complete MS of the play in the possession of the theatre. That this MS was in existence when the publication of the Folio was determined on is certain,—without it the Folio version would have been an impossibility,—and though it may seem strange that with this complete copy in their possession, Heminge and Condell should have taken the trouble to provide a special copy of it for the printers of the Folio, it is clear they must have done so, and in the way I have supposed; it is impossible otherwise to account for the numerous errors which the Folio has derived from the Quartos, and an examination of these errors shows that Q_6 was the particular Quarto from which they were immediately taken. Indeed, this Quarto was almost of necessity the one to make use of; the previous editions being exhausted, dispersed, or destroyed, as was the common fate of 'sixpenny books of the play.' And it may be noted that this was the course followed with respect to the other plays in the Folio, which were printed from Quartos: all were printed from the latest editions, with one exception: *1 Hen. IV.* was printed from Q_5, 1613, not from Q_6, 1622. *Rom. & Jul.* may perhaps be another; it was printed from Q_3, 1609, and there was an undated Q_4, which may possibly have been published before the Folio. But even with these two plays we see that it was not the earlier and more correct editions which were chosen for the Folio. The scribe employed by Heminge and Condell altering and correcting the pages of Q_6 in accordance with the theatrical MS would have been more than mortal if he had not left some traces of the ground he was at work on, in the shape of uncorrected errors of the printed book, . . . while at the same time he thoughtlessly introduced into his copy errors of the MS—a transcript of the author's MS, and as such, having its own share of errors. . . . Fortunately for the purpose of this enquiry our scribe has let us into the secret of the materials he had to work with, has enabled us to account for many of the variations of Quarto and Folio, and given us the means of forming a reasonably consistent theory as to the relation of the two versions. A very brief examination of the collation of Quartos 1 to 6, as shown in the *Text. Notes*, establishes the fact that in numerous places these Quartos differ among themselves: sometimes in the correction in a later Quarto of an error that had established itself in one of earlier date, but generally in a progressive increase in error in the later editions as compared with the earlier. In some four hundred and thirty-five cases the Folio is in accord with one or more of the Quartos—its agreement with the earlier ones is relatively greater. But this marks merely the progressive deterioration of the Quarto's and the generally superior accuracy of the Folio's text. It is in its agreement with Quarto errors that we learn its part origin, and are able to decide

to which Quarto it was indebted. [Daniel here gives six examples of erroneous readings which 'could only have got into the Folio from one of the Quartos'; but as these may be seen in the *Text. Notes*, the references will here suffice; they are as follows: III, i, 52; III, i, 90; III, i, 158; V, iii, 176; V, iii, 212; V, iii, 294; V, iii, 383; V, iii, 397.] These are sufficient for my purpose: it now remains to show from which of the Qtos they were derived. Out of a list of seventy-two doubtful or erroneous readings I find that the Folio shares:

10 with Q_1, two exclusively		54 with Q_4, one exclusively	
19 " Q_2, none	"	52 " Q_5, one	"
53 " Q_3, one	"	56 " Q_6, twelve	"

The preponderance of Q_6 in this account of errors points very decidedly to that Quarto as the one used in preparing 'copy' for the Folio text. . . No evidence whatever being forthcoming of any revision of the MS subsequent to the publication of the Quarto, the Folio must, therefore, be accepted as the Play as first set forth by Shakespeare. The Quarto is, moreover, a copy of this play, revised by the author himself, though shortened and much confused in its passage to and through the press.

F. G. FLEAY (*Life and Work*, etc., p. 277): The question of anteriority of the Qto and F. versions of *Richard III.* has been hotly debated on æsthetic grounds; but the mere expurgation of oaths and metrical emendations in the F. are enough to show that it is the later version, probably made about 1602; while the fact that it was preferred by the editors of F_1 shows that they considered it the authentic copy of Shakespeare's work. In other instances, *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, etc., they have indeed given us abridged editions; but there is neither proof nor likelihood that any other were accessible. We do not know what original copies were destroyed in the Globe fire in 1613, and should be thankful for such versions as we have, which were probably the acting versions used at Blackfriars. But in this case the editors had at hand the Quartos, and unless they thought the Folio version more authentic, I cannot see why they preferred it. Furthermore, the Folio version appears to have been defective in some places; for V, iii, 60, end of play, and III, i, 25–184, are certainly printed from Q_3 (1602). This has been controverted, but on very insufficient grounds. [See Daniel: *supra*.] Now directly we compare the Folio and Quarto versions, we meet with evidence that alteration and correction have been largely used in both of them. For instance, Derby is found as a character in the play in I, i; II, i, ii; IV, iv, V, v, in both versions. [Is there not here a slight oversight—Derby is not mentioned in I, i?—ED.] In III, i, ii; IV, i; V, ii, he is called Stanley. This shows correction by a second hand. In IV, i, while Stanley has been inserted in the text, Derby remains in the prefixes; V, iii, is only partially corrected, and both names occur. The names are not used indifferently, for in IV, ii, iv, we find Stanley in F_1 but Derby in Q. This shows a progressive correction in which Q_1 precedes F. It may be noticed that Darby is the original author's spelling. In like manner, *Gloster*, the original prefix, has in I, i, ii, iii; II, i, ii; III, iv, v, vii, been replaced in F_1 by *Richard*, but in III, i, in the part printed from Q_3, and there only, *Gloster* remains. So again Margaret is indicated in the older version by *Qu. Mar.*, *Qu. M.*, &c., but never *Mar.* as in F. IV, iii. In I, iii, in F_1, we find by side of *Mar.* a reminder of the older form, *Q. M.* This

is not an exhaustive statement, but sufficient, I think, to show that alterations were made, as I suggest.

F. A. MARSHALL (*Introd.*, p. 6): We know it to have been Shakespeare's custom to revise his earliest plays when he considered it worth his trouble. He revised and made additions to *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Tam. of Shr.*, and *Rom. & Jul.* We may therefore be pretty certain that, in the case of so popular a play as *Richard III.*, he would revise and perhaps re-revise it. Neither Q_1 nor F_1 represent the original play; but both represent amended versions; the alterations and additions, in both cases, having, to a great extent, been made by the author himself. The publishers of the various Quartos before 1623 could not obtain the greater portion of the amendments and alterations made from time to time by the author. These were to be found only in the theatre copy of the play, and F_1 was substantially transcribed from this last copy with a few mistakes of the transcriber and of the printer. The tattered condition into which the play-house copy fell, owing to constant use, necessitating as it did portions of the MS being recopied from time to time, accounts for some of the errors in F_1. . . It is very improbable that Q_1 was printed with the sanction, or under the supervision, of the author, and not from a copy obtained by more or less surreptitious means. It is evident that whatever else it may be, Q_1 could not have been the play as it was acted when Shakespeare was one of the leading members of the Lord Chamberlain's Company; that is to say, it was not the play as finally revised by him. It is a very suspicious circumstance that the words 'greatly augmented' should appear on the title-page of Q_2, as there is nothing in the text to justify such a description; and it certainly looks as though the printer had been promised a copy of the play, *as revised by the author*, with the additions he had made in the course of its successful career. In the case of *Rom. & Jul.* Q_2 has upon its title page: 'Newly corrected, augmented, and amended'; and it, undoubtedly, contains Shakespeare's own revisions, and is the chief authority for the text as now recognised. Also in the case of *Hamlet*, the surreptitiously printed Quarto of 1603 was more than usually defective; and Q_2 (1604), which is the best and fullest text of the play we have, has upon its title-page 'Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the true and perfect coppie.'

DATE OF COMPOSITION

MALONE in his *Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays*, first printed in his own edition of 1790, places *Richard III.* thirteenth in the list, between *Richard II.* and *1 Henry IV.*, with the date 1597, that of Q_1. This date is retained in the following note at the beginning of the play. '*The Legend of King Richard III.* by Francis Seagars, was printed in the first edition of *The Mirrour for Magistrates*, 1559, and in that of 1575 and 1587; but Shakespeare does not appear to be indebted to it. In a subsequent edition of that book, printed in 1610, the old legend was omitted, and a new one inserted by Richard Niccols, who has very freely copied the present play.' This note, with several additions, appears also in the *Variorum* of 1821, but the date is altered from 1597 to 1593.

G. CHALMERS (p. 305): Shakespeare's *Tragedy of Richard III.*... was entered in the [*Stationers'*] *Registers'*, on the 20th of October, 1597; and it was published

in the same year: But, it must have been previously acted, and written, before it was published: Now, those considerations, when compared with the subsequent productions of the same poet, fix the true epoch of *Richard III.*, in 1595, and not in 1597.

J. P. COLLIER (ed. i) places the date somewhat nearer the time of publication, 1597, than 1593, the date given by Malone.

W. W. LLOYD (*Crit. Essay*): This play exhibits in every scene the adult and vigourous mastery of language and versification, but passages remain interspersed, nevertheless, which are reminiscent of metrical licenses of the anterior period. . . . I think there are satisfactory signs that the play as it was published in 1597 was at least the second form that Shakespeare had given to it, and the question remains whether we can trace the obligations of either version to a still earlier author. In one form or other I have no doubt that Shakespeare's play dates at least as early as 1593.

R. G. WHITE: As to the date when *Richard III.* was written, we only know that it must have been between the time of the transmutation of the *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of Yorke* into *3 Henry VI.* and 1597,—most probably in 1593 or early in 1594.

A. DYCE (ed. ii): Probably very shortly before 1597.

T. KEIGHTLEY (*Exp.* 31): I incline to regard the date of composition as posterior to *King John* and *Rich. II.*; for it has no stanzas and no riming passages. It is also very free from quibbles and plays upon words, except in the unfortunate soliloquy of Richard in V, iii—a wonderful instance of want of taste, and even of judgment. The same may be said of the scenes between Richard and Lady Anne and the Queen.

G. G. GERVINUS (i, 359; *translated by* Miss Bunnett): *Richard III.* is Shakespeare's first tragedy of undoubted personal authorship; it is written in connection with Henry VI. as its direct continuation. The opening scene, in which Richard reflects upon his past, is the sequel to the similar soliloquy in *3 Henry VI.* (III, ii). In many touches of character the poet refers to that piece; Richard's plan of casting suspicion upon Clarence is prepared there; the whole position of the aged Margaret falls back upon the curse which York pronounced against her in *3 Henry VI.* (I, iv). Yet here, as in *Henry VI.*, the pure dramatic form is not so universally adhered to as in *Richard II.*, which immediately follows. In the scenes where the trilogy of the common lamentation of the women (II, ii, and IV, i) changes like a chorus, dramatic truth is sacrificed to the lyric or epic form, and to conceits in the style of the pastoral Italian poetry; these scenes call to mind directly the passages in *Henry VI.*, where the murderers of father and son lament over the slain. The form of these scenes (stichomythy) is borrowed from the ancient drama, of which the older plays of Shakespeare repeatedly remind us. Thus the treatment also of Dira, of the uttered curse and its fulfilment, is quite in the spirit of antiquity; and here again the clumsy amassing of the curses of that fearful Margaret, betrays the incipient tragic poet. With all this, *Richard III.* compared to *Henry VI.*

shows extraordinary progress. Even in his knowledge of the historical facts, Shakespeare is here more exact and certain than his predecessor in *Henry VI.*, upon whom in that play he had shown no improvement on this point; the conformity to the chronicle in all actions taken from it, and comprising a time of fourteen years, is extraordinarily true. The poetic diction, however much it reminds us of *Henry VI.*, has gained surprisingly in finish, richness, and truth; we need only compare with the best parts of *Henry VI.*, the words of Anne at the very beginning (I, ii), to find how thoroughly they are animated with the breath of extreme passion, how pure and natural is their flow, the expression being but the echo of the feeling. In the design of his characters, he has richly advanced in variety and individual acuteness; with such scanty means to bring forward, in colours so living and agreeable, such complete types of character as the two princes, Shakespeare himself has not often again succeeded in doing. But even in this characterization, we still meet with the property peculiar to Shakespeare's earlier works, that it is plain, open, over-evident: whilst immediately afterward in *Richard II.* appears the inclination to conceal as deeply as possible the key to the characters. That which, in conclusion, speaks most from internal evidence for the comparatively early origin of *Richard III.*, is the abundance in this tragedy of tragic motives and moments, the accumulation of bloody crimes, which the poet has imputed to the hero, partly without the warrant of historical testimony, and the bitter severity with which he develops the historical circumstances: how he shows the dreadful results of civil war on a base and ruined house, and how on its ruin, the most depraved among the depraved elevates himself, till he too is buried in the common fall.

PROFESSOR INGRAM in *Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874; p. 450, gives a table of the Order of Shakespeare's Plays based on the numbers of light endings (such as: *am*, *art*, *be*, *been*, etc.) and the weak endings (such as: *and*, *as*, *at*, *but*, *by*, etc.). He remarks: 'The cases in which these words, though really proclitic, must not be counted, are the two following, which it is easy to distinguish, and which form a very small proportion of the whole: 1. When they are emphatic (which will be found to affect the light endings only); and 2. When there is a distinctly appreciable pause in the sense after them, which will arise almost always from their being followed by a parenthetic clause. . . . In using the lists, it will not do simply to note any instance in which the words enumerated [under the head of *light* and *weak endings*] are found at the end of a line, and where, in (say) the *Globe Edition*, which is the one I have used, there is no stop after it. . . . Thus, we must not count such cases as the following, the final words not being proclitic at all: "Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is But what is not." "For't cannot be We shall remain in friendship."' —PROFESSOR INGRAM's careful and laborious work must, of course, always deserve the fullest praise; at the same time the question naturally rises: Should we not, in discussing Shakespeare's versification, base our investigations upon the *earliest* text available? That of the *Globe Edition*—excellent though it be—is, after all, a text which has gone through many hands, and received many important changes, both metrical and verbal—Pope, followed later by Steevens—the boldest of those who rearranged the versification—is credited with many passages which now pass as due to Shakespeare. For example, the lines from *Macbeth*, quoted above by INGRAM, are thus printed in F_1, the earliest text of that play: 'That function is smother'd in surmise, And nothing is, but what is not.' For the arrangement of these lines, as in the *Globe Edition*, Pope, followed by every subsequent editor, is

responsible; on him, not Shakespeare, should fall the blame of an ending only apparently weak. I do not forget that Professor Ingram has expressly stated that these lines must *not* be taken as examples of weak or light endings, but since he has quoted them as possibly misleading, it shows, I fear, that other lines due to modern editors may possibly have misled *him*. In the list of plays, appended to INGRAM'S article, *Richard III.* is placed seventh, with four light endings and no weak endings, preceded by *Richard II.*, *Romeo & Juliet*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Comedy of Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. 'From this table,' says Professor Ingram, 'the following results seem deducible: 1. During the first three-fourths (or thereabouts) of Shakespeare's poetic life, he used the light endings very sparingly and the weak endings scarcely at all. 2. The last fourth (or thereabout) is obviously and unmistakably distinguished from the earlier stages by the very great increase of the number of light endings, and, still more, by the first appearance, in any appreciable number, and afterwards the steady growth, of the weak endings. . . . 9. As long as the light endings remain very few, no conclusion with respect to the order of the plays can be based on them.'

F. G. FLEAY (*Sh. Man.*, p. 21): *Locrine*, 1595, edited by W. S., contains allusions to passages from the plays of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe; the so-called plays of Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, *Henry VI.*, and *Richard III.*; Kyd's *Jeronimo* and other old dramas. But in no instance can I trace any allusion to any undoubted play of Shakespeare. The wooing of Estrild, IV, i, seems to be imitated from *Richard III.*, I, ii, and 'Methinks I see both armies in the field,' echoes: 'I think there be six Richmonds in the field.' If this be so, *Richard III.* cannot have been written later than 1595—[P. 30]: I have no doubt that it was originally written by George Peele, left unfinished by him, completed and partly corrected by Shakespeare as we have it in the Qq, and that Shakespeare afterward altered it into the shape in which it was printed in the Folio. No other hypothesis can, I think, account for its similarity to much of *Henry VI.*, which is not Shakespearean, and also for the unparalleled differences between the Folio and Quarto.—[P. 127]: In general terms we may expect to find, that in Shakespeare's development he gradually dropped the rhymed dialogue, adopted double endings, Alexandrines, and broken lines; and this is undoubtedly true. . . . A chronology, however, founded on any of the last three tests would lead to the strangest results—*e. g.*, the double endings would place *Richard III.* very late indeed and *King John* very early; the two parts of *Henry IV.* would be widely separated. The Alexandrine test would make *Meas. for Meas.* the latest of the comedies; the test by broken lines would make *Lear* far the latest of all the plays; the rhyme test—and the rhyme test only of all that I have as yet applied—is of use *per se* for determining the chronological arrangement of Shakespeare's works. [By the application of this test Fleay arranges the plays into four divisions: I. The Rhyming Period; II. The History Period; III. The Tragedy Period; IV. The Final Period. *Richard III.* he places in the II. division preceded by *Much Ado*, *Merry Wives*, *Tam. of Shrew*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Mer. of Ven.*, *Two Gentlemen*. On p. 132 Fleay remarks: 'A point that distinctly separates the earlier from the later historic plays is the absence of prose: *Richard II.* and *King John* have none, *Richard III.* only one bit, but that reads like, and I believe is, a portion of Peele's work; and of these earlier plays *Richard III.* is the only one that is absolutely devoid of Comedy. This also marks its position.']—IBID. (*Life of*

Sh., p. 176): *Richard III.* was no doubt acted in 1594 by the Chamberlain's men; just before the old play which had been acted by the Queen's players was published. [*The True Tragedie of Richard III.*; see I, i, 1, note by Malone.] A *Richard* is alluded to in John Weever's Epigrams, published in 1599, when the author was twenty-three, but written when he was not twenty; they must therefore date at latest in 1596 (not 1595 as usually stated). Weever mentions *Venus & Adonis*, *Lucrece*, *Romeo*, and *Richard* as the issue of honey-tongued Shakespeare. I believe the Richard referred to is the *Richard II.* of 1595. [P. 278]: There can be little doubt that, as in *King John*, Shakespeare derived his plot and part of his text from an anterior play, the difference in the two cases being that in *Richard III.* he adopted much more of his predecessor's text. I believe that the anterior play was Marlowe's, partly written for Lord Strange's company in 1593, but left unfinished at Marlowe's death, and completed and altered by Shakespeare in 1594. It was no doubt on the stage when *The True Tragedy* was entered on the *Stationers' Registers*, and acted by the Queen's players. The unhistorical but grandly classical conception of Margaret, the Cassandra-prophetess, the Helen-Atè of the House of Lancaster, which binds the whole tetralogy into one work, is evidently due to Marlowe, and the consummate skill with which he has fused the heterogeneous contributions of his coadjutors in the two earlier *Henry VI.* plays is no less worthy of admiration. I do not think it possible to separate Marlowe's work from Shakespeare's in this play—it is worked in with too cunning a hand; but wherever we find the name *Darby* for *Stanley; Qu. M.* instead of *Mar.*, *Glo.* instead of *Richard*, we may be sure that some of his handiwork is left. Could any critic, if the older *John* were destroyed, tell us which lines had been adopted in the later play?

W. A. WRIGHT (*Introd.*, p. v): The quarto of 1597 was entered at Stationers' Hall on October 20. We have thus the inferior limit for the date at which the play was written. How much earlier it was composed is to a great extent matter of conjecture. A line in Weever's Epigrammes (Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature*, vi. 159), printed in 1599, but supposed to be written in 1595, mentions Romeo and Richard as two of Shakespeare's well-known characters: 'Romeo, Richard, more whose names I know not' [*Sh. Cent. of Prayse*, p. 23] and presumably this is *Richard III.* and not *Richard II.* If, therefore, Weever wrote in 1595, there is evidence that Richard had by that time become an established favourite with the public, and had probably been out for a year or two. . . . As *Richard III.* was printed in 1597, it is unnecessary to refer to the often-quoted passage from Mere's *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, in which *Richard III.* is enumerated among the plays upon which Shakespeare's fame securely rested. The date 1593 or 1594, which may be conjecturally assigned to *Richard III.*, brings it close to two other historical plays which were written about the same time—*Richard II.* and *King John*. The metrical tests which have been applied to solve the question of the date of composition would place *Richard III.* and *King John* very close together, and would make *Richard II.* earlier than either. On such a point I am not careful to express a confident opinion, but nevertheless I cannot read *Richard III.* without feeling that in point of literary style, command of language, flexibility of verse, and dramatic skill, it is an earlier composition than *Richard II.* and *King John*, and separated by no long interval from *3 Henry VI.*, to which it is the sequel and the close.

RECAPITULATION:

1790 MALONE (ed. i) 1597
1799 GEO. CHALMERS 1595
1817 N. DRAKE 1595
1821 MALONE (ed. ii) 1593
1841 C. KNIGHT ..... between 1591 and 1593
1843 J. P. COLLIER ..... shortly before 1597
1847 G. C. VERPLANCK ..... 1593 or 1594
1851 H. COLERIDGE ..... before 1593
1857 C. BATHURST ..... between 1594 and 1597
1858 W. W. LLOYD 1593
1860 R. G. WHITE ..... 1593 or early in 1594
1866 A. DYCE (ed. ii) ..... shortly before 1597
1867 T. KEIGHTLEY ..... after 1596
1872 N. DELIUS 1594
1872 H. N. HUDSON ..... 1592 or 1593
1874 J. K. INGRAM. . . seventh in order of composition, preceded by *Rich. II.; Rom. & Jul.; Mid. N. Dream; Two Gent.; Com. of Errors; Love's Labour's Lost.*
1874 F. J. FURNIVALL 1594
1876 F. G. FLEAY 1595
1878 H. P. STOKES 1594
1880 W. A. WRIGHT ..... before 1593
1884 P. A. DANIEL 1596
1888 F. A. MARSHALL ..... shortly before 1597
1894 W. OECHELHAÜSER 1593
B. T. STRÄTER 1594
n. d. The COWDEN-CLARKES ..... between 1590 and 1592
n. d. GEO. MACDONALD. . .From internal evidence the handiwork of the youthful Shakespeare.

SOURCE OF THE PLOT

SIR THOMAS MORE'S *Biography of Richard the Third* was the basis of the account of Richard's life and reign, as given by the chroniclers Hall and Holinshed; their story, with a few slight changes, was used by Shakespeare for the outlines of his Tragedy. It hardly falls within the scope of the present work here to discuss the accuracy or value of More's history; but since opinion on this point is somewhat divided, the views of one or more writers favourable and otherwise seem to form a fitting introduction to an account of the *Source of the Plot.*

D. HUME (ii, Note x, p. 645): Though the circumstances of the wars between the two roses be, in general, involved in great obscurity, yet is there a most luminous ray thrown on all the transactions during the usurpation of Richard, and the murder of the two young princes, by the narrative of Sir Thomas More, whose singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment make him an evidence beyond all exception. No historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more

weight; he also may be justly esteemed a contemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes; for though he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the chief actors during the period of Richard; and it is plain, from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from the eye witnesses themselves; his authority, therefore, is irresistible, and sufficient to overbalance a hundred little doubts, and scruples, and objections. For in reality his narrative is liable to no solid objection, nor is there any mistake detected in it. [SHARON TURNER and LINGARD both quote from More's *Biography*. They nowhere charge him with inaccuracy or with undue prejudice in his account of the events of Richard's reign.—ED.]

S. W. SINGER (*History of Rich. III.; Dedication*, p. vii): The materials from which Sir Thomas More compiled his history have been considered traditionary, and supposed to be obtained from conversations with Richard's cotemporaries. It should, however, be recollected that he was at an early age 'received into the house of the Cardinal Morton,' who is said to have been delighted with his wit, and to have predicted his future celebrity. A report too seems early to have obtained currency, which assigns the history to that prelate; for Sir John Harington, in his *Metamorphosis of Ajax*, 1596, says: 'The best, and best written part of all our chronicles, in all men's opinions, is that of Richard the Third, written, as I have heard, by Morton; but, as most suppose, by Sir Thomas More.' . . . That he derived his information from Morton can scarcely be doubted, from the minuteness with which the particulars of transactions and conversations, in which the Bishop was a participator, are related. This consideration will exculpate Sir Thomas from any intentional misrepresentation of facts; and at the same time will make us receive the hideous portrait, here drawn of Richard, with some grains of allowance for the prejudice of an inveterate and interested Lancastrian. . . . This history appears, from the title affixed, to have been written about the year 1513, when More was one of the under-sheriffs of London, but was first printed in Grafton's *Continuation* of the metrical *Chronicle* of John Hardyng, in 1543: it was again printed in the *Chronicles* of Grafton, Hall, and Holinshed, and professes to have been 'conferred and corrected by his own copy'. . . . A portion of this history also exists in Latin, and Mr. Malcolm Laing [in his *Dissertation*, affixed to the last volume of Dr. Henry's *History*] conjectures that it may have been first composed in that language: there seems to be little reason for this supposition; the fragment is much shorter than the English history, and terminates with the coronation of Richard. This Latin version has also been published, and was first printed at Louvain, in 1566, with the other Latin works of More; the editor remarks that it is an unpolished fragment, written without much study, and apparently unrevised, and that it is not to be compared in point of elegance of style to More's other Latin works. May not this Latin fragment be the identical history which has been attributed to Morton? [A translation of the Latin history, as well as that in English, is contained in Bishop White Kennett's *Complete History of England*, ed. ii, vol. ii. Like the Latin, the English history is unfinished, breaking off abruptly in the middle of a conversation between Morton and Buckingham. Grafton has, however, completed the story of the reign of Richard 'with the same minute particularity' says Singer, 'as it had been begun by Sir Thomas More: the subsequent events of the reign are detailed with the same exactness, as if he had received his information from an eye-witness of them.'—ED.]

R. G. WHITE: Shakespeare took the Richard that he found in chronicle and tradition: it was not for him to seek further than was written, or to know more than was reported. But had he searched for evidence and weighed it carefully, it is difficult to believe that he would have discovered any reasons for making essential change in the *character* of his hero; and as to a murder, more or less, what was that to his purpose, or what is it to ours? Surely before the Boswellism of these latter days there was never biography more worthy of belief than the royal one written by that under-sheriff of London, Sir Thomas More. Richard ascended the throne, and the two Princes were murdered in 1483: More was born in London in 1480, and wrote this biography about 1513, when Dighton, one of the murderers of those poor boys, was yet alive, 'Dighton,' he says, 'yet walketh on alive, in good possibility to be hanged ere he die.' The Lord Chancellor to be was brought up in the household of the *Bishop of Ely* of this play. He had seen Jane Shore,—her very self, though ancient, decrepit, and forlorn. Better opportunity than More's to know the truth about Richard there could not be; unless, indeed, he had been of that King's own household, instead of his chiefly trusted ecclesiastical supporter's; and even then caution might have concealed that from him, Richard living, which, Richard dead, tradition truly told him. Add to this his professional training as a sifter of evidence, and the calm, impartial tone of his narrative, and there can hardly be conceived a higher degree of credibility than that which attaches to his work. Besides, it was received without protest and adopted by Grafton and Hall, who both lived near enough to Richard's time to know if any doubt existed. Notable unanimity of opinion with regard to Richard among all whom he left behind him forbids us to believe that More wrote with malice, or prejudice, or even carelessness. Such universal condemnation of one man, and he a king, is not told of in history. It was a living force in Shakespeare's time, and is to be traced even in the title-pages of the Quartos of this play. For Shakespeare did not write those; and the crafty book-seller knew his public and its feeling towards Richard III., when he enumerated 'his treacherous plots against his brother Clarence: the pittiefull murther of his innocent nephews: his tyranicall usurpation: with the whole course of his detested life and most deserved death.' Crafty book-sellers did not thus waste type in making title-pages without interest, and that of approving sort, to those to whom they hoped to vend their wares; and the nine editions that have survived of this separate play are witnesses of the approval with which it was read, as well as seen, by Shakespeare's contemporaries.

We may, I think, decide that More's opinion was not only the popular one, but also that generally accepted as just by his contemporaries. In later times, however, apologists for the character of Richard III. are not lacking. The earliest of whom I find any mention is one discovered by SINGER (More's *Life of Richard the Third; Dedication*, p. x). This is a pamphlet entitled: *Essayes of certaine Paradoxes*, 1616, wherein the unknown writer, according to Singer, vindicated King Richard and even praised him for his policy; 'but the author has the judgement to conclude doubtingly, "yet for all this, know, I hold it but a paradox."' The next in point of time is SIR GEORGE BUCK'S *History of the Life and Reigne of Richard The Third*, 1646. Of this work the first two divisions are devoted to a general review of the reign of Edward the Fourth, and the stormy times of the contention between the Yorkists and Lancastrians. As history, it is neither more nor less interesting than the older chronicles. At times the excess of quotations

from Latin authors is not only bewildering, but exasperating. Sir George apparently belongs to that class of writers to whom the effort of recording their thick-coming fancies presents but slight difficulty—but we all know the proverbial hardness of easy writing. The first three divisions, or books, may be regarded as merely introductory to his *History*, in which it is apparent that his design is to prove Richard guiltless of all crimes imputed to him, inasmuch as little reliance is to be placed on the statements in Sir Thomas More's *Biography*. The great rarity of Buck's volume must be the apology for the length of the following extract, which is a fair instance of his style and his matter: 'There is no story, that shewes the planetary affections and malice of the vulgar more truly than King *Richard's:* and what a tickle game Kings have to play with them; though his successor *Henry* the seventh play'd his providently enough (with helpe of the standers by) yet even those times (which had promised the happiest example of a State, and best of a King) both groaned and complained; but had not the sting and infection of King *Richard's* adversaries who did not onely as the proverbe saith, *cum larvis luctare*, contend with his immortall parts, but raked his dust, to finde and aggravate exceptions in his grave; having learnt their piety from the Comicall Parasite, *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit* [Terence, *Andria*, I, i, 41], and finding it as well guerdonable as gratefull, to publish their Libels and scandalous Pamphlets, (a piece of policy and service too) to the times, (and an offence to resent any thing good of him) they gave their pens more gall and freedome, having a copy set by Doctor *Morton*, who had taken his revenge that way, and written a Booke in *Latine*, against King *Richard*, which came afterward to the hands of Mr *Moore* (sometime his servant) so that here the saying of *Darius*, (which after became a proverbe) hath place *Hoc calceamentum consuit Histiæus, induit, autem Aristagoras*, Doctor *Morton* (acting the part of *Histiæus*) made the Booke, and Master *Moore* like Aristagoras set it forth, amplifying and glossing it, with a purpose to have writ the full story of *Richard* the third (as he intimateth in the title of his Booke;) but it should seeme he found the worke so melancholy and uncharitable, as dul'd his disposition to it; for he began it, 1513, when he was Under-sheriffe, or Clerke to one of the Sheriffes of London, and had the intermission of twenty-two yeares (which time he tooke up in studies, more naturall to his inclination, as law and poetry, for in them lay his greatest fancy) to finish it, before he died, (which was in 1535).... To know him further, let me referre you to the Ecclesiasticall History of Master *John Fox*, in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, who describes him graphically; for his historicall fragment, it shewes what great paines he tooke to item the faults and sad fortunes of King *Richard* the third; and how industrious he was to be a time observer, it being the most plausible theame his poeticall straine could fall on in those times, and could not want acceptance nor credit, well knowing in what fame he stood, and that the weaker Analysts and Chroniclers, (of meane learning and lesse judgement) would boldly take it upon trust from his pen; who *tanquam ignotum & servum pecus*, have followed him step by step without consideration, or just examination of their occurrents and consequents. And the reputation of him and Doctor *Morton* (being both Lord Chancellours of England) might easily mislead men part blind, who have dealt with King *Richard*, as some triviall clawing Pampleteers, and Historicall parasites, with the magnificent Prelate, *Thomas Wolsey*, Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, A man of very excellent ingredients and without Peere in his time; yet his values had the sting of much detraction, and the worth of his many glorious good workes interpreted for vices and excesses;

to such it must be said, *quod ab ipso allatum est, id sibi relatum esse putant.* And if their injustice suffer under the same lash, they must know this doome hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixisti tale etiam audies.*

But so much gall and envy is thrown upon King *Richard's* story, as cannot possibly fall into the stile of an ingenuous and charitable pen; all his virtue is by a malitious Alchymy substracted into crimes, and where they necessarily fall into mention, either scornefully transmitted or perverted, with injurious constructions, not allowing him the resemblance or goodnesse of merit: If his disposition be affable and curteous (as generally it was, which their owne relations cannot deny) then he insinuates and dives into the peoples hearts, so where he expresses the bounty and magnificence of his minde; it is a subtle trick to purchase friendship; let him concale the knowledge of his injuries, and his patience is deepe hypocrisie; for his mercy and clemency extended to the highest offendors, (as to *Fogge* the Atturney, who had made a Libell against him, besides the counterfeiting of his hand and seale) they were but palliated, and his friendship meerely a Court brow. They have yet a more captious and subtle calumny, reproching the casting of his eyes, motions of his fingers, manner of his gesture, and his other naturall actions. I confesse with *Cicero* that *status, incessus, sessio, occubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio,* have a certaine kind of decorum; but he makes it not a vice to erre in any of them, nor that any errour committed in them was a vice; although it must be so defined by the Lawes of Utopia: nay, they will dissect his very sleepes, to find prodigious dreames and bug-beares, (accidents frequent to themselves) which they dresse in all the fright and horrour fiction and the stage can adde, who would have sung Peans to his glory, had his sword brought victory from Bosworth field: but now, their envy is borne with him from his mother's wombe, and delivers him into the world with a strange prodigy of Teeth; although (I am perswaded) neither Doctor *Morton*, nor Sir *Thomas Moore* ever spake with the Dutchesse his Mother, or her Midwife about the matter. But if true; it importeth no reason why those earely and natalatious teeth should presage such horrour and guilt to his birth; when we shall remember those many Noble and worthy men, who have had the like, (without any imputation of crime) as *Marcus Curius* sirnamed thereupon *Dentatus, Cu. Papiene,* King of the Epirots (a Prince much renowned for his victories and virtues) *Monodas* Sonne of *Prusias,* King of Bithynia, borne with an intire semicircular bone in their mouthes, instead of Teeth; then they aggravate the pangs of the Dutchesse in her travaile with him: which had not been sufferable without death, if so extreame and intolerable, as they would have them thought for, *Quod ferri potest leve est; quod non, breve est.* But she overcame them and lived almost fifty yeares after; others have died in that Bed, yet the children not made guilty of murther; *Iulia* the daughter of Julius Cæsar, Wife to great Pompey, *Juliola* the deare daughter of *Marcus Cicero,* wife of *Dolabella,* and *Junia Claudilla* the Empresse, and Wife of *Caligula,* died all of the difficulties and extremity of their childe-bearing; so did Queene *Elizabeth* Wife of King *Henry* the seventh; and since the Mother of that most towardly and hopefull Prince *Edward* the sixth in travaile of his birth; with many thousands more, whose deaths (much lesse their paines) were never imputed to their children.'—Bk, iii, p. 75.]

HORACE WALPOLE is the next who came forward in defence of Richard. His *Historic Doubts on the Reign of King Richard the Third* was published in 1768; and at once attracted considerable attention, possibly more than the author had

anticipated; we find, p. xv: 'The attempt was mere matter of curiosity and speculation. If any man, as idle as myself, should take the trouble to review and canvass my arguments, I am ready to yield so indifferent a point to better reasons.' Again we find, before summing up his results, on p. 122: 'What mistakes I have made myself, I shall be willing to acknowledge; what weak reasoning, to give up: but I shall not think that a long chain of arguments, of proofs and probabilities, is confuted at once, because some single fact may be found erroneous. Much less shall I be disposed to take notice of detached or trifling cavils. The work itself is but an inquiry into a short portion of our annals. I shall be content, if I have informed or amused my readers, or thrown any light on so clouded a scene; but I cannot be of opinion that a period thus distant deserves to take up more time than I have already bestowed upon it.' Walpole follows much the same method in his defence as does Buck—perhaps the safest method—this is, to show that certain chroniclers of Richard's life and reign make no mention of the crimes with which he has been charged, and that those who do mention them are unworthy of belief. On p. 122 we find: 'Fabian and the authors of the *Chronicle of Croyland*, who were contemporaries with Richard, charge him directly with none of the crimes since imputed to him, and disculpate him of others. John Rous, the third contemporary, could know the facts he alleges but by hearsay, confounds the dates of them, dedicated his work to Henry the Seventh, and is an author to whom no credit is due, from the lies and fables with which his work is stuffed. We have no authors, who lived near the time, but Lancastrian authors, who wrote to flatter Henry the Seventh, or who spread the tales which he invented. . . . Sir Thomas More and Lord Bacon both confess that many doubted whether the two princes were murdered in Richard's days or not; and it certainly never was proved that they were murdered by Richard's order. If Sir James Tirrel and Dighton had really committed the murder and confessed it, and if Perkin Warbeck had made a voluntary, clear, and probable confession of his imposture, there could have remained no doubt of the murder' [p. 18]. 'Buck ascribes the authorities of Sir Thomas to the information of Archbishop Morton; but Morton died in 1500, when Sir Thomas was but twenty years old, and when he had scarce thought of writing history. What materials he had gathered from his master were probably nothing more than a general narrative of the preceding times in discourse at dinner or in a winter's evening, if so raw a youth can be supposed to have been admitted to familiarity with a prelate of that rank, and prime minister. But granting that such pregnant parts as More's had leaped the barrier of dignity, and insinuated himself into the prelate's favour: could he have drawn from a more corrupted source? Morton had not only violated his allegiance to Richard, but had been the chief engine to dethrone him and place a bastard scyon in the throne. Of all men living there could not be more suspicious testimony than the prelate's, except the king's: and had the Archbishop selected More for the historian of those dark scenes, who had so much interest to blacken Richard, as the man who had risen to be prime minister to his rival? Take it, therefore, either way; that the Archbishop did, or did not, pitch on a young man of twenty to write that history, his authority was as suspicious as could be. It may be said, on the other hand, that Sir Thomas, who had smarted for his boldness (for his father, a judge of the king's bench, had been imprisoned and fined for his son's offence) had little inducement to flatter the Lancastrian cause. . . . I take the truth to be, that Sir Thomas wrote his reign of Edward the Fifth as he wrote his *Utopia:* to amuse his leisure and exercise his fancy. He took up a paltry canvas

and embroidered it with a flowing design as his imagination suggested the colours. I should deal more severely on his respected memory on any other hypothesis. He has been guilty of such palpable and material falsehoods, as, while they destroy his credit as an historian, would reproach his veracity as a man, if we could impute them to premeditated perversion of truth, and not to youthful levity and inaccuracy. Standing as they do, the sole groundwork of that reign's history, I am authorized to pronounce the work, invention and romance.'

[The curious student who wishes to pursue this subject, hardly relevant in these pages, may find in Allibone's *Dictionary of Authors*, *s. v.* Horace Walpole, many references to magazines wherein appeared reviews of Walpole's *Historic Doubts*.—ED.]

C. KNIGHT (*Historical Illustrations*): We are not about to enquire whether the Richard of history has had justice done to him, but whether the Richard of Shakespeare accords with the Richard of the old annalists. We shall quote invariably from Hall, because his narrative is more literally copied from More and the contemporary writers than that of Holinshed, who is never so quaint and vigourous; and, further, because we wish to show that the nonsense which has been uttered by Malone and others, that Shakespeare knew no other historian than Holinshed, is disproved in the clearest manner by the accuracy with which in some scenes he follows the older chronicler. [Here follow extracts from Hall's chronicle covering the incidents of the whole drama.]

W. A. WRIGHT (*Preface*, p. vi): Hall and Holinshed stand in the same relation to *Richard the Third* as North's Plutarch to *Coriolanus* and the other Roman plays. The play is the historical narrative dramatised, and the only scene of importance for which some hint has not been supplied in the history is the second scene of the first Act, in which Richard wooes the widow of Prince Edward. This and the various appearances of the old Queen Margaret are introduced in defiance of historic truth and probability for the simple purpose of stage effect. From this point of view they are undoubtedly successful, and after so decisive a victory in the opening of his campaign we are prepared to accept everything which follows, feeling that the events are in harmony with the principal actor in the drama, and without any nice questionings about fidelity to human nature or to the truth of history. In Richard's world, the world of the stage, there is nothing incongruous, if we once admit the possibility of his being what he describes himself to be. What this is it requires no subtle analysis to discover. He takes us into his confidence at every step, and tells us not only what he is going to do, but why he intends to do it, so that action and motive are obvious to the most unskilful observer. The Richard of the *3 Henry VI.* is also the Richard of Sir Thomas More, and it is the continuity of his character which supplies the connecting link between the present play and its predecessors. Already in his soliloquy at the end of the second scene of the third Act of *3 Henry VI.* we have a very explicit confession of his ambitious designs and of the obstacles in his way to the crown, to the removal of which he thenceforth devotes himself. In Holinshed there is no hint of this; and in the pages of the chronicler, Richard, during his brother's lifetime, only appears as the gallant soldier and loyal partisan of the House of York. Even when the common rumour is reported that he stabbed Henry the Sixth in the Tower, the deed is attributed to no ambitious designs of his own, but to his desire 'that his brother king Edward

might reigne in more suertie.' But it can hardly be said with justice that Holinshed is inconsistent in his treatment of Richard's character when he represents him as brave and unscrupulous. [P. lvii.]: It is evident that the dramatist must have consulted the second edition of Holinshed (1586–7) as well as Hall. To the former source we owe the name of Friar Penker (III, v) which in Hall is Pynkie; the story of Richard's visit to Exeter (IV, ii), and his alarm at the ominous resemblance of Rougemont to Richmond; and the statement in Richard's address to his army that Richmond had been maintained in Brittany 'at our *mother's* cost,' an error which occurs in the second edition of Holinshed only. On the other hand, Hall alone mentions Burdet's case (III, v, 82); in his narrative alone Richard presents himself to the Lord Mayor in the gallery at Baynard's Castle with a bishop on either side; and in Hall the scene of Buckingham's execution is the market place at Salisbury, while in Holinshed it was at Shrewsbury.—CHURCHILL (p. 206): It is true that Holinshed says that the captured Buckingham was brought to Richard at Shrewsbury, not Salisbury, as in Hall; but in Holinshed, as in Hall, Buckingham is executed 'at Salisburie, in the open market place.' [The inference, from Richard's last speech in IV, iii, 'Some one take order Buckingham be brought To Salisbury,' is that the scene of the execution (V, i) is laid in that town. But whether Shakespeare supposed the scene to lie in Shrewsbury or in Salisbury; in other words, whether he followed Hall or Holinshed, there is, I think, no possibility of deciding. Neither in the original text nor in that text's stage directions is there any mention whatever of the locality. That which apparently both Wright and Churchill overlooked is that the stage direction at V, i, was first made by Pope, who was probably therein guided by the last lines of IV, iii, and consulted neither Hall nor Holinshed at all.—ED.]

W. OECHELHAÜSER (p. 97, *foot-note*) thinks that, with the exception of the incident of the Bishops in III, vii, there is no indication that Shakespeare was indebted to any chronicler other than Holinshed. See III, vii, 144.

G. B. CHURCHILL (p. 155): Next to More's *Biography*, Polydore Vergil's *Historia Angliæ* is of greatest importance in the development of the Richard saga. More's work covered only the period from the death of Edward IV. to the rebellion of Buckingham: Vergil's included the history of Richard from the reign of Henry VI. to Richard's end at Bosworth. As More's work was included bodily in the succeeding chronicles, so was Vergil's *History*, bodily or as a basis, adopted for that part of Edward's and Richard's reigns not touched upon by More. . . According to Vergil, Richard, as commonly reported, slew King Henry that Edward might have no enemies to fear. No share in Clarence's death is ascribed to Richard by Vergil; and there is no suggestion in his account of Edward's reign that Richard at that time cherished any designs upon the crown. Throughout the account Richard appears, as he calls himself in Shakespeare's play, 'a pack-horse' in Edward's great affairs, his devoted and faithful partisan. Thus it is that the later chronicles, following Vergil's account of Edward's reign, and then copying More's book, present two views of Richard, which if really less inconsistent with each other than has sometimes been asserted, have nevertheless a very different coloring. Shakespeare avoided all inconsistency, as Oechelhaüser pointed out [see II, i, 144, note], by adopting More's view of Richard's character from the beginning, while he used the events in Richard's early life as found in Hall and Holinshed. To Vergil is

due the anecdote, according to which Edward always called to mind, when ever any sued for a man's life, that none had sued for the life of his unfortunate brother Clarence. [II, i, 116.] . . . To him, and not to Rous, was due the transmission of the famous prophecy about G. [On p. 50, Churchill says that Rous was the first to mention this prophecy.—ED.] . . . To the picture of Gloucester's early career as transmitted by Vergil, Hall makes most important additions. It seems as if he must have been animated with a desire to show the real strength of Richard and the possibilities that lay in him, had not the desire of the throne warped his nature and brought on his downfall; and such a belief is made stronger by the words with which Hall closes his account of Richard's reign. Had Richard been content to remain protector, 'no doubt but the realm had prospered, and he much praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilipended.' Thus to Hall more than to Vergil is due the apparent inconsistency between the two parts of the chronicles' accounts of Richard's career. . . . [Hall's additions were largely adopted by the succeeding chroniclers, including Holinshed.] But Holinshed, following Rastell's edition of More, and not Hall's version, and making use of other chronicles to increase and correct Hall's account of other events, does not have quite all the material presented by Hall. Some of the omitted matter is found in Shakespeare's play, and thus we have the proof that he used in its preparation not only Holinshed's chronicle, but Hall's as well. . . . To the instances cited by Oechelhäuser and Wright may be added another. The reversal of Richard's fortunes in IV, iii, and IV (beginning) is evidently based on the passage from Polydore Vergil inserted by Hall in More's story: 'And from thence forth [the murder of the princes] not onely all his counsailles, doynges and procedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her whele douneward from him.' (P. 381): In making the Cardinal of III, i, Cardinal Bouchier of Canterbury, the editors must assume that Shakespeare followed Hall and not Holinshed. The latter follows More, who has, by an historical mistake, not found in the Latin version, the Archbishop of York. . . . The account of Holinshed makes very little change in the form or content of Hall's. Richard's character remains as before, with its dark side made ever so slightly blacker by the omission of Hall's praise for his conduct in the Scottish war, and by an occasional additional phrase calculated to emphasize his cruelty and wickedness. . . There is only one important addition of material. This is the ancedote of Richard's visit to Exeter, and the gloomy prophecy by which he connects Rougemont with Richmond. Thus, though Shakespeare may, in writing *Richard III.*, have based his play almost wholly on the form of the saga which he found in Holinshed, yet in the formation of that saga Holinshed is of very slight importance. To the proofs, given by Wright, that Shakespeare used Holinshed, may be added: The reference in I, ii, 62, to the reopening and bleeding of Henry's wounds, rests upon Holinshed's account of Henry's burial (derived from Warkworth); there is no mention of the fact in Hall; also III, i, 218–220:

> 'And look when I am king, claim thou of me
> 'Th' earldom of Hereford, and the movables
> 'Whereof the king my brother stood possess'd':

rests upon a passage translated from More's Latin, and therefore not in Hall, but obtained by Shakespeare from Holinshed (More, ed. Lumby, p. 43).

The consensus of opinion is in favour of Hall as the Chronicler from whom

Shakespeare derived the historic material for his play. Here and there in the commentary I have quoted from More and Holinshed in preference to Hall, following therein Boswell-Stone, who quotes from the latter chronicler, but, at the same time cites the corresponding passage in both Hall and More.

HALL'S CHRONICLE

The following extracts are from the *Pitifull Life of Kyng Edward the V;* and the *Tragicall Doynges of Kyng Richarde the Thirde*, as given in Hall's *Chronicle*, edition 1809, pp. 342–421:—

THE eternall God callynge to his merci the noble prince Kynge Edward ye iiij^de^ of that name, Edward his eldest sonne (prince of Wales) beganne his reygne the ninthe daye of April, in the yere of oure lord a thousande foure hundred fourscore & thre. . . Whiche younge prince reigned a small space & little season ouer this realme, either in pleasure or libertie. For his vncle Richard duke of Gloucester, within thre monethes depriued hym not onely of his croune and regalitee, but also vnnaturally bereft hym of his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he firste attempted his vngraciouse purpose & by what false colourable and vntrue allegacions he set furth openly his pretensed enterprise, and finally by what shamefull, cruell and detestable act he perfourmed the same: Ye muste first considre of whom he and his brother dessended, their natures, condicions and inclinacions, and then you shall easely perceiue, that there could not bee a more crueller tiraunt apoincted to acheue a more abhominable entreprise.

Their father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe to calenge the crowne of Englande. . . . [and] was by to muche hardinesse slaine at the battaill of Wakefelde, leuyng behinde hym thre sonnes, Edwarde, George, and Richarde. All these three as thei were greate estates of birthe, so were they greate and stately of stomacke, gredy of promocions and impaciente parteners of rule and autoritee.

This Edward reuenged his fathers death and deposed kyng Henry the sixt, and attained the crowne and scepter of the realme.

George duke of Clarence was a goodly and well feautured prince, in all thynges fortunate, if either his owne ambicion had not set hym against his brother or thenuy of his enemies had not set his brother againste hym: for were it by the quene or nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges kynred (as women commēly, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendynge to bee kynge, at the leaste wise, heinous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or wer he faultlesse, attainted was he by parliament and iudged to death, and there vpon hastely drowned in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kynge Edwarde (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was doen piteously he bewayled and sorowfully repented it. I, iv, 270.

Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whiche I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage egall with the other, but in beautee and liniamētes of nature far vnderneth both, for he was litle of stature, eiuill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a war-like visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face He was malicious, wrothfull and enuious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche a I, i, 21.

dooe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne, not vntothed: whether that menne of hatred reported aboue
II, iv, 32. the truthe, or that nature chaunged his course in his beginnynge, whiche in his life many thynges vnnaturally committed, this I leue to God his iudgemente. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to ye whyche, his disposicion was more enclined too, then to peace. Sondry victories he had and some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defaute of his owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politique order. Free he was of his dispences and somwhat aboue his power liberall, with large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfaste frendship: for whiche cause he was fain to borowe, pill and extort in other places, whiche gat hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely familier where he inwardely hated, not lettynge to kisse whom he thought to kill, despiteous and cruell, not alwaie for eiuill will, but ofter for ambicion and too serue his purpose, frende and fooe were all indifferent, where his auauntage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose. He slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixte, saiynge
I, ii, 111. now is there no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke: whiche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assente, which woulde haue appointed that bocherly office too some other, rather then to his owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that his drifte lacked not in helpynge furth his owne brother of Clarence to his
I, i, 37. death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause therof was, as men notyng his doyngs and procedynges did marke (because that he longe in kynge Edwarde his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kynge his brother, whose life he loked that eiuil diet woulde sone shorten) shoulde happen to diseace, as he did in dede, his chyldren beynge younge. And then if the duke of Clarence
I, i, 150. had liued, his pretenced purpose had been far hyndered. For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hymself trewe to his nephewe the younge king, or would haue taken vpon hym too bee kynge, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Gloucesters waye: but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, then he knewe that he might worke without that ieoperdy. But of these poinctes there is no certentie, and whosoever diuineth or coniectureth, may as wel shote to fer as to shorte, but this coniecture afterwarde toke place (as fewe dooe) as you shall perceiue hereafter. [The following refers to the prophecy in regard to the letter G, and is from Hall's account of the reign of Edward the Fourth, p. 326.] In y^e^. xvij. yere of kyng Edward, there fell a sparcle of priuy malice, betwene the king & his brother the duke of Clarēce whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newly kyndeled and set a fyre by the Quene, or her bloud which were euer mistrusting and priuely barkynge at the kynges lignage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisicion. . . the certayntie therof was hyd, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures. . . The fame was that the king or the Quene, or bothe sore troubled with a folysh Prophesye, and by reason therof begā to stomacke & greuously to grudge agaynst
I, i, 44. the duke. The effect of which was, after king Edward should reigne, one whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G. and because the deuel is wōt with such wytchcraftes, to wrappe and illaqueat the myndes of

men, which delyte in suche deuelyshe fantasyes they sayd afterward that the Prophesie lost not hys effect, when after kyng Edward, Glocester vsurped his kyngdome.

[After the preceding account of Richard's plots against Clarence, Hall thus continues]: But afore I declare too you howe this Richarde duke of Gloucester began his mischeuous imagined and pretenced enterprice as apparātly shalbee opened, I muste a litle put you in remembraunce of a louyng & charitable acte, no lesse profitable then amicable to the whole comminaltie, if it had been so inwardly thought as it was outwardly dissimuled which kynge Edwarde did liyng on his deathe bedde not longe before he died. For in his life, although that the diuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued and irked hym, yet in his helthe he lesse regarded & tooke hede to it, by reason that he thoughte that he was hable in althynges to rule bothe parties, wer thei neuer so obstinate: But in his last sickenes (whiche continued longer then false and fantasticall tales haue vntruely and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe) when he perceiued his naturall strength was gone, and hoped litle of recouery by the hartes of all his phisicians whiche he perceiued onely to prolong his life. Then he began to consider the youthe of his children, howe bee it, he nothyng lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet he wisely forseyng and consideryng that many armes might ensue by the debate of his nobles while the youth of his children should lacke discrecion and good counsaill of their frendes, for he knewe well that euery parte woulde woorke for their owne commodite, and rather by pleasaunte aduise to wynne theim selues fauour, then by profitable aduertisement to dooe the chydren good: wherefore liyng on his deathe bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lordes as then were aboute hym, whome he knewe to bee at variaunce, in especiall the lorde Marques Dorset sonne to the queene and the lorde Hastynges, against whome the quene especially grudged for the fauoure that the king bare hym. . . . And when these lordes with diuerse other of bothe parties were come vnto the kynge his presence, he caused hym self to bee raised vp with pillowes, & as I can gesse, saied thus or muche like in sentence to theim. [The death-bed oration put into the mouth of Edward the Fourth, by More and copied by Hall is well conceived and a forcible piece of writing, but as Shakespeare has not used any part of it for incidents in the drama, it is unnecessary to repeat it. The following paragraph seems, however to be the source of Edward's speech in II, i, wherein he expresses remorse for the death of Clarence; it is in the account of the 'xvii Yere' of King Edward the Fourth, p. 326): . . . Sure it is that although kyng Edward were consentyng to his [Clarence's] death and destruccion, yet he much dyd bothe lamente his infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execucion. Inasmuche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he woulde accustomably saye, & openly speke, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openlye spekyng, and apparantly meanynge, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circumuented and brought to his confusion. [Hall thus continues]: And there in his presence (as by their woordes apeared) eche forgaue other, and ioyned their handes together, when as it after appeared by their dedes their hartes were far a sunder. . . . And so this noble prince deceased, as you haue heard in that tyme when his life was most desired, and when his people moste desired to kepe hym: Whiche love of his people and their entiere affection towards

II, i, 3.

II, i, 12.

II, i, 116.

II, i, 13-46.

hym, had been to hys noble chyldren. . . a merueilous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the diuision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed theim and left theim destitute . . .

The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte houshoulde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thether for Iustice to be dooen in the
II, ii, 128. Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the autoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and eiuell disposed personnes should refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages. The gouernaũce of this younge Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lorde Scales, brother to the quene, a wise, hardy and honourable personage, as valiaunte of handes as pollitique of counsaill and with hym were associate other of the same partie, and in effect euery one as he was nerer of kynne vnto the quene, so was he planted nexte aboute the prince. That drift by the quene semed to be diuised, whereby her bloudde mighte of righte in tender youthe bee so planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde hardely bee eradicated out of the same.

The duke of Gloucester turned all this to their distruction, and vpõ that grounde set the foundacion of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom soeuer he perceiued too bee at variaunce with theim, or to beare toward hym selfe any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, some by mouthe, some by writynge and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to be suffered that the younge kynge
II, ii, 158. their master and kynsman shoulde bee in the handes and custody of his mothers kynrede, sequestered in maner from their compaignie and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithefull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers side, whose bloud quod the duke of Gloucester sauyng the kyng his pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to bee remoued from the kyng and the leaste noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he neither honourable to his maiestie nor too vs, and also too hym lesse suretie, to haue the nobles and mightiest of his frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle ieopardie to suffre, and specially our well proued euill willers too growe into greate autoritee with the kynge in youthe, namely whiche is lighte of belefe and soone perswaded.— Ye remembre that kyng Edward hym self, albeit he was bothe of age and discrecion, yet was he ruled in many thynges by that bende, more then stode either with his honour or our profite, or with comoditie of anye man els, excepte onely the immoderate anauncemente of theim selues, which whether they thirsted sore after their owne weale or no, it were harde I thynke to gesse. And yf some folkes frendeshipe had not holden better place with the kynge then any respecte
II, ii, 134. of kynrede, they might peraduenture, easely haue trapped and broughte to confusion some of vs or this: and why no as easely as thei haue dooen other or this as nere of the blud royall, but our lorde hath wroughte his will, and thanked bee his grace that perell is paste: howbeit as greate is growyng if we suffre this young kyng in his enemies handes, whiche, without his wittyng might abuse the name of his commaundemente to any of our vndoyng, whiche thinges God and good prouision forbid, of whiche good prouision none of vs hath any thynge the lesse nede for the late attonemẽte made in whiche ye kyng his pleasure had more place then the parties hertes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise or somuch ouersene as to trust a newfrẽde made of an old foo, or to thinke that onely kindenesse so sodenly contracted in an houre,

continued scantly yet a fourtnight, should be deper set in our stomackes, then a longe accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these perswasions and writinges, the duke of Gloucester sette a fire theim whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especial twain, Henry duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam lord Hastynges, and lord Chamberlain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe succession from his aunceters, thother by his offices and the kynge his fauoure. These two not bearynge eache to other so muche loue, as hatred both to ye quenes bloud, accorded together with the duke of Gloucester that thei would remoue from the kyng all his mothers frendes, vnder the name of their enemies.

Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beynge aduertised that the lordes aboute the kynge entended to brynge hym to London to his coronacion, accompaigned with suche a number of their frendes that it shoulde **II, ii, 150.** be harde for hym to brynge his purpose to passe without the assemblyng and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof the ende he wyst was doubtfull, and in the which the kyng beyng on the other syde, his parte shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion.

He secretely therefore by diuerse meanes caused the quene to be perswaded that it was neither nede & should also be ieoperdeous for ye kyng to come vp so strong, for as now euery lord loued other and none other thyng studied for, but the triumphe of his coronacion & honoure of the kyng. And the lordes about the kyng, should assemble in the kynges name muche people, thei should geue ye lordes betwixt whom & them ther had bene some tyme debate, an occasion to feare and suspecte least they should gather this people, not for the kynges saue guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on the other parte might assemble men also for their **II, ii, 140.** defence, whose powres she wyst well farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, & of the mischiefe that therof should ensue (whiche was likely to be not a litle) ye moste harme was like to fal where she least woulde, & then all the world would put her & her kynred in the blame, saiyng that they had vnwysely and vntruely broken the amytie and peace whiche the kynge her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and his, whiche amyte his kynne had alwaies obserued.

The quene beyng thus perswaded, sent worde to the kyng and to her brother, that there was no cause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester and other lordes of his bend, wrote vnto ye kyng so reuerently and to the quenes frendes there so louyngly, that they nothinge yearthly mistrustyng, brought the young kynge towarde London with a sober compaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) til he came to Northampton, and **II, iv, 4.** from thẽce he remoued to Stony stratford. . . . [Here follows a circumstantial account of the seizure of the young king, which is, however, only referred to by Shakespeare.] The duke of Gloucester sent ye lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaugham and sir Richarde Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisons, but at last, al came to **II, iv, 48.** Poũfret where they all foure were beheaded without iudgement.

In this maner as you haue hard, the duke of Gloucester toke on him the gouernaunce of the yonge kyng, whom with much reuerence he conueied towardes London. These tidynges came hastely to the quene before mydnighte, by a very sore report

that the kynge her sonne was taken and that her brother and her other sonne and other her frendes were arrested, and sent, no man wyste whether. With this heauy tidynges the quene bewayled her chyldes ruyne, her frendes mis-
II, iv, 57. chaunce, and her owne infortune, curssyng the tyme that euer she was perswaded to leaue the gatherynge of people to bryng vp the kynge with a greate powre, but that was passed, and therefore nowe she toke her younger sonne the duke of Yorke and her doughters and went out of the palays of Westminster into the sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbotes
II, iv, 74. place. . . The same night there came to doctor Rotheram Archebyshop of Yorke and lorde Chancelour, a messenger to Yorke place besyde Westminster: the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsyde and declared to him that the dukes were gone backe with the young
II, iv, 42. kyng to Northampton, and declared further, that the lorde Hastynges his maister sent him worde that he shoulde feare nothyng for all should be well. (Wel quod the archebishop) be it as wel as it wyl, it will neuer be so wel as we haue sene it, and then the messenger departed. Wherupon the bishop called vp all his seruauntes and toke with hym the great seale and, came before day to the quene, about whom he found much heauynesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conueighaunce and cariage of her stuffe into sanctuarye. . . The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes all desolate & dismayde, whō the Archebishoppe conforted in the best maner that he coulde, shewyng her that the matter was nothyng so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was putte in good hope and oute of feare by the message sent to hym from the lorde Hastynges. A wo worth him, quod the quene, for it is he that goeth about to destroy my blodde. Madame quod he, be of good comforte and I assure you, yf they crowne any other kynge then your sonne whom they nowe haue, we shal on the morow croune his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in lykewise as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the vse
II, iv, 80. of your sonne and therwith deliuered her the greate seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day. . . .

When the kynge approched nere the cytee, Edmonde Shawe Goldesmythe then Mayre of the cytie with the Aldermenne and shreues in skarlet,
III, i, 23. and fyue hundreth commoners in murraye receyued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueighed him to the cytee, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishoppe of Londons Palayce: but ye duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, saying to all mē as he rode behold your prince and souereigne lord, and made such sembleaunce of lowlynes to his
III, i, 5. prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late before he was sodenly fallen in so great trust that at the councel next assembled he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be protectoure of the king and his realme: so that, were it destiny or were it foly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche councell the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliueryng the great seale to the quene, and the seale taken from him and deliuered to doctor Ihon Russel bishop of Lyncolne, a wyse mā and a good and of much experience, and diuerse lordes and knyghtes were appointed to diuerse roumes, the Lord Chamberlayne and some other kept the roumes that they wer in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the protectour (which alwayes you must take for the duke of

Gloucester) sore thristed for the acheuynge of his pretensed enterpryse and thought euery daye a yere tyll it were perfourmed, yet durste he no further attempt as long as he had but half his pray in his hand, well wittyng that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall to the other, yf he remayned either in sanctuarye or shoulde happely be shortly conueighed to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next metynge of the lordes in councel he purposed to them that it was an heynous thyng of the quene, and procedyng **III, i, 43.** of great malice toward the kynges councelers that she shoulde kepe the kynges brother in sanctuarye from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to brynge all the lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kynges brother, whiche lordes were by the whole assent of the nobles of the realme appointed as the kynges nere frendes to the tuycion of his royall person, the prosperitee wherof (quod he) standeth not alonely in kepynge from enemies and euill dyate, but partly also in recreacion and & moderate pleasure, whiche he cannot take in his tendre youth in the compaignye of old and auncient persones, but in the familiar conversacion of those that be not far vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuerthelesse, of estate conueniente to accompany his maiestie, wherefore with whom rather then with his owne brother?... Wherfore me thinketh it were not ye worst to send to the quene some honourable and trustie personage, such as tendreth the kings weale and the honour of his coūcell, and is also in credite and fauoure with her: for whiche consideracions none seemeth more metely to me then the reuerend father my lorde Cardinall archebishop of Cauntorbury, who may in this matter **III, i, 45.** do most good of all men yf it please him to take the payne, whiche I doubt not of his goodnes he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours.... And yf she percase be so obstinate and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wyse and faithfull aduertisemente can move her nor any mans reason satisfye her, then shall we by myne aduice by the kynges authorytee fetch hym out of that prison and brynge him to his noble presence, in whose continuall compaignye he shalbee so well cheryshed and so honorably **III, i, 47.** intreated that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche perceiue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse and foly, that caused her to kepe him there... When the Protectoure had sayde, all the councell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thyng that should ceasse great murmoure in the realme, yf the mother might by good meanes be induced to delyuer him: whiche thing the Archebishop of Cauntorburye, whom they all agreed also to be moost conuenient therunto, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to do his vttermooste endeuoure. Howbeit yf she coulde in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to deliuer hym, then thought he and such of the spiritualitie as wer present **III, i, 49.** that it were not in any wyse too bee attempted to take hym out againste her wyll, for it woulde be a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, yf the pryuelege of that place should be broken whiche had so many yeres beene kept,... therefore quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterprise breake the immunitie and libertie of that sacred sanctuary that hath bene **III, i, 54.** the safegard of so many a good mans life, but I trust quod he, we shall not nede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust

that she with reason shalbe contented and all thing in good maner obteined. And yf it hap that I brynge it not to passe, yet shall I further it to my best power, so that you all shal perceyue my good wyll diligence, and indeuoure: But the mothers dreade and womannishe feare shalbe the let yf any be.

Naye womannishe frowardnesse quod the Duke of Buckyngham, for I dare take it on my solle that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thynge to feare, either for her sonne or for her self. . . . A sanctuarye euer seruethe too de-
III, i, 59-66. fende the body of that manne that standeth in daunger abrode, not of greate hurte onely, but of lawfull hurte: for againste vnlawfull hurtes and harmes no pope ner kynge entended to priuilege any one place wherein it is lawfull to doo another manne wronge. That no manne vnlawfully take hurte that libertie the kynge, the lawe and verie nature forbiddeth in euery place and maketh too that regard for euery manne euery place a sanctuarye: but where a manne is by lawfull means in perell, there nedeth he the tuicion of some speciall priuilege, whiche is the onely ground of all sanctuaries, from whiche necessitee this noble prince is far, whose loue to his kynge nature and kynred proueth, whose innocence too all the worlde, his tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuarye as for hym is not necessary, ner none can he haue. . . And verely I haue harde of sanctuarye
III, i, 67. menne, but I neuer harde before of sanctuary children, and therefore as for the conclusion of my mynde, whosoever may deserue to have nede of it, if they thynke it for their suretee let them kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary manne that hath nother discrecion to desire it, ner malice to deserue it, whose life ner libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in ieoperdye: and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do hym good I saie plainly he breaketh no sanctuary. . . . To auoyd al suspicion, [the Protectour] caused all the
III, i, 200. lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes castle to cõmen of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices & of his affinitee at crosbies places contriued the contrary and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail there were adhibete very fewe, and they very secrete. Then began here & there some maner of mutterynge emongest the people, as though all thyng should not long be well, though they wyst not what they feared nor wherfore: were it, that before suche greate thynges, mennes hertes (of a secrete instinct of nature) misgiueth
II, iii, 48-51. theim, as southwynde sometyme swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste, or were it that some one manne happely somewhat pereauyng, filled many men with suspiciõ thoughe he shewed fewe menne what he knewe. . . .

Thus many thynges cõmyng together, partly by chaunce and partly by purpose, caused at length not cõmon people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also and some lordes to marke the matter and muse ther vpon:
III, ii, 84, 85. in so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and saied to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall counailes [*sic*], for while we q^{d} he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my lorde q^{d} the lorde Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for while one man
III, ii, 25. is there, which is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that should sounde amisse towarde me, but it should be in myne eares or it were well out their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby whiche was nere of his secrete counsail, and whom he familierly vsed in his most waightie

matters, puttying no man in so speciall truste as him recõnyng him selfe to no man so liefe sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholdyng as was this Catesby, which was a man wel learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges in good aucthoritie and muche rule bare in the counties of Lecestre & Northampton where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not either more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulacion onely, kept all that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other lordes had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe construed all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme towarde hym in that counsaill entended where Catesbye was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good sembleaunce vnto the lordes Hastynges and kept hym muche in their compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste him sauyng for feare leste his lyfe should haue quayled **III, i, 190.** their purpose, for the whiche cause he moued Catesby to proue with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thinke it possible to wynne the lorde Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported vnto hym that he found him so fast, and herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastynges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearyng leste their mociõs might with the lord Hastynges minishe his credence, where vnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastely to ryd hym & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whiche the lord Hastynges bare in hys countree, the onely desyre whereof, was the thyng that enduced him to be procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectour caused a counsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of Iune, where was muche commonyng for the honourable solemnitee of the coronacion, of the whiche the tyme appoincted aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a makyng daye & night at Westminster, and vitaile killed whiche afterwarde was cast awaye.

These lordes thus sittyng cõmonyng of this matter, the protectour came in emong theim about nyne of the clocke salutyng theim curteously, excusyng him self that he had been from theim so long saiyng merely **III, iv.** that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a litle talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you haue verye good strawberies in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of theim. Gladly (my lord q^{d} he) I would I had some better thing **III, iv, 28.** as redy to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his **III, iv, 37.** seruaunt for a dishe of strawberies. The protectour set the lordes faste in cõmonyng and there vpon prayed theim to spare him alitle, and so he departed and came agayn betwene .x. and eleuen of the clocke into the chambre all chaunged with a sowre angry countenaunce knittyng the browes, **III, iv, 67.** frownyng and fretyng and gnawyng on his lips and so set hym doune in his place. All the lordes were dismaied and sore marueyled of this maner and sodeyne chaunge and what thyng should hym ayle. When he had sitten a whyle, thus he began: What were they worthy to haue that **III, iv, 70.** cõpasse and ymagine the destruccion of me beyng so neare of bloud to the kyng & protectoure of this his royall realme: At which question, all the

on a logge of tymber that lay there for buildyng of the chapel, & there tyrannously striken of, and after his body and head wer enterred at Wyndesore by his maister kyng Edward the forth, whose soules Iesu pardon. Amen.

A merueilous case it is to heare, either the warnynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde. For the next night before his death, the lorde Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiryng hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was dis- **III, ii, 5.** posed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull deame in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased them bothe by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their shoulders, and for asmuch as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche a fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly determyned no lenger to tary but had his horse redy, yf the lorde Hastynges would go with him. So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger by the next day. A good lord (q[d] the lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my lorde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and **III, ii, 30.** hath suche faithe in dreames, whiche either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne wichcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thynketh he not that we might as likely make theim true by oure goyng yf we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle fliers) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshead, wherefore either is there peryll, nor none there is deede [*sic*], or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in peril one way or other, yet had I leauer that mē should se it were by other mēs falshed, then thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, and therefore go to thy maister and cōmende me to him, & saye that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (q[d] the messenger) and so departed. Certeyn it is also that in redyng toward the towre the same mornyng in whiche he was beheaded, hys horsse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse almost to the fallyng, which thyng although it happeth to them dayly **III, iv, 95.** to whom no mischaūce is towarde, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token obserued as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warning but an enuious scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the lorde Haward (whiche lord was one of the priueyest of the lord protectors counsaill and dooyng) as it were of curtesye to accompaignie hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour to hast hym thitherward.

This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynges stayed awhile commonyng with a priest whō he met in the Towrstrete, brake the lordes tale, saiyng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed **III, ii, 128.** vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone: But lytle wyst the other what he ment (but or night these wordes were well remēbred by them that hard them) so the true lord Hastynges litle mistrusted, & was neuer merier, nor thought his **III, ii, 90.** life in more suertie in al hys dayes, which thyng is often a signe of chaūge: but I shall rather let any thyng passe me then the vayne surety of

mans mynde so neare his death, for vpō the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his head was of, so sone after, as a mā might wel cast a balle, a pursyuaūt of his awne called Hastynges mette with hym, & of their metyng in that place he was put in remēbraunce of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lorde, Hastynges had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryuers the quenes brother, insomuche that he was for a while which lasted not long highly in the kynges indignacion as he now mette the same pursiuaūt in the same place, the ieoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him therof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter, & therfore he sayed, Ah Hastynges, art thou remēbred when I mette the here once with an heauy hart: Ye my lorde (q^{d} he) that I remembre well, and thāked be to God they gat no good ner you no harme therby, thou wouldest saye so (q^{d} he) yf thou knewest so muche as I do, whiche few knowe yet, & mo shall shortly, that meant he that therle Ryuers and the lord Richard & sir Thomas Vaughan should that day be beheaded at Pomfrete, as thei were in dede, which acte he wist wel should be done, but nothyng ware that the axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith mā (q^{d} he) I was neuer so sory ner neuer stode in so greate daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned nowe, nowe stand myne enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to hear more hereafter, and I neuer in my lyfe merier nor neuer in so great surety, I praye God it proue so (q^{d} Hastynges, proue q^{d} he: doubtest thou that) nay nay I warraunt the, and so in maner displeased he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. . .

III, ii, 104-114.

III, ii, 109.

Nowe flewe the fame of thys lordes death through the cytie and farther about, lyke a wynde in euery mans eare, but the Protectoure immediately after dyner (entending to set some colour vpō the matter) sent in all the haste for many substancial men out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their cōmyng him selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders, such as no mā would wene that they would haue vouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had constraigned them. Then the lord protector shewed them, that the lord Hastynges & other of his conspiracy had contriued to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daie in counsail, and what they entended farther, was not yet well knowen, of whiche their treason he had neuer knowledge before x. of the clocke the same forenone, which sodeyn feare draue them to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to their handes for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that woulde haue done it, & thus he required them to report. Euery man answered fayre, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of trueth no mā beleued. Yet for the further appeasyng of the peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dynner an Heralde of armes with a proclamacion through the cytie of London which was proclaymed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynges with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same daye to haue slayne the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoyle whom they lyst vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same proclamacion to the slaunder of the lord Hastynges, as that he was an euyll counsailoure to the kynges

III, iii, 1.

III, v, 40.

III, vi, 1.

father, entisyng hym to many thynges highly redoundyng to the diminishyng of his honoure and to the vniuersall hurte of his realme by his euyll compaignie and sinister procuryng and vngracious example, aswell in many other thynges as in vicious liuyng and inordinate abusyon of his body, bothe with many other and especiall with Shores wyfe whiche was one of his secrete counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse marueill yf vngracious liuynge brought hym to an vnhappy ende, whiche he was now put to by the cõmaundemẽt of the kyng his highnes and of his honorable and faithfull counsaile, bothe for his demerites beynge so openly taken in his false cõtriued treason, and also least the delaiyng of his execucion might haue encoraged other mischieuous persons parteners of hys conspiracye, to gather and assemble them selues together in makyng so great commocion for hys deliueraunce, whose hope nowe beyng by his well deserued death pollytickely repressed, all the realme shall by Goddes grace rest in good quyet and peace. Nowe was thys proclamacion made within twoo houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted and so fayre writen in Parchement in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euery chyld might perceyue that it was prepared and studyed before (and as some men thought, by Catesby) for all the tyme betwene hys death and the proclamacion proclaimyng, coulde skant haue suffyced vnto the bare wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and scribeled furthe in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaimyng thereof, one that was scolemayster at Paules standyng by and comparyng the shortenesse of the tyme with the length of the matter sayed to theim that stoode aboute hym, here is a gaye goodly cast, foule cast awaye for hast. . . III, vi, 5. III, vi, 9.

Now was it deuised by the protectoure & his counsaile, that the same day y^{t} the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfrete the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richarde the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratford by the consent of the lord Hastynges, whiche execution was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratclif knight, whose seruice the protectoure specially vsed in the counsail, and in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with hym, hauyng experiẽce of the world & shrewed wytte, shorte and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, bold in mischiefe, as farre from pytie as from all feare of God. III, iii, 2.

This knight brought these foure persons to the scaffolde at the daye apoincted, & shewed to all the people that they were traitours, not sufferyng the lordes to speake, & to declare their innocẽcy, least their wordes might haue enclined men to pytie them and to hate the protectour & his part & so without iudgmẽt & processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded without other yearthly gylt, but onely y^{t} they were good mẽ and true to the kyng & to nye to the quene, insomuch as sir Thomas Vaughan guyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe them y^{t} toke the prophesie that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childrẽ, meanyng y^{t} by the duke of Clarẽce lord George which for y^{t} suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he y^{t} shall and will accõplishe the prophesie & destroye kynge Edwardes children & all their alyes & frẽdes, as it appereth by vs this day, whõ I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye. And then III, iii, 28.

Ratcliffe sayed, you haue well apeled, lay doune youre head, ye q^{d} syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buryed naked in the monastery at Poumfret.

When the lord Hastynges and these other lordes and knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the waye, then the protectour caused it to be proclaymed that the coronacion for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the seconde daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter meant, and while the lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wyste what to thynke nor whom to truste, or euer they should haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose and put hym self in possession of the croune, or menne could haue tyme to deuyse any wyse to resyste. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To this counsaile they toke diuerse such as they thought mete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that parte and hable to stand theim in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Emong whom, they made a counsaile, Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon truste of hys awne auaunce-ment, where he was of a proude harte highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wytte, and were in aucthority emongest the people for opinion of their learnyng, and had no scrupu-lous conscience. Emongest these had, they toke Raffe Shaa clearke
III, v, 110. brother to the Mayre, & Freer, Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Freers, bothe doctours in diuinitie, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng than vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth. For they were before greatly esteemed emong the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in prayse of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made one after the coronacion, bothe so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde them, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaue of and come doune in the middest, Doctoure Shaa by his sermonde loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the whiche he durst neuer after so muche come abroade, but the Freer forced for no shame, and so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and many thynke that Pynkey was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely because his sermond was not incontinent vpon it, but at sainct Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of coũsail in the beginnyng, in so much that they determyned that he should fyrst breake the matter in a sermond at Poules crosse, in whiche he should by the aucthoritie of hys preachyng induce the people to encline to ye protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the laboure and study in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng. In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but the chief thyng, & the weight of all that inuencion
III, v, 81. rested in this, that they shoulde allege bastardy in kyng Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyldren, or bothe, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the croune by the duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectours
III, v, 91. awne mother, whiche was mother to them bothe. For in that poinct could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuerthelesse he would that poinct should be lesse and more

fynely & closely handled, not euen fully playne and directely, but touched a slope craftly, as though men spared in that poinct to speake all the trueth for feare of his displeasure. But that other poincte concernyng the basterdy they deuised to surmysse in kyng Edward his chyldren, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost.

After kyng Edwarde the fourthe had deposed kyng Henry the sixte and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng him selfe to mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selfe and for the realme, he sente therle of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the Frenche kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng and Bona sister to the Frenche quene, then beyng in Fraunce.
In which thyng therle of Warwike founde the parties so towarde and willyng, that he spedely without any difficultie accordyng to his instruccions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Nowe happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the kyng by peticion dame Elizabeth Grey (whiche after was his quene) then a widdowe borne of noble bloude, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, and she was maried to sir Richarde Wooduile lorde Riuers, her father. Howbeit, this Elizabeth beyng in seruice with quene Margaret wife to kyng Henry the sixte,was maried to one Ihon Grey Esquire whom kyng Henry made knight at the laste battaill of sainet Albones, but litle while he enioyed his knighthod, for at the same feld he was slain. . . The duchesse [of York] deuised to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabet Lucy, whom the kynge not longe before had gotten with chylde, wherfore the kynge his mother obiected openly againste this mariage (as it were in discharge of her connscience) that the kyng was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy and her husband and before God, by reason of whiche wordes suche obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bishoppe durste not, or the kyng would not proceade to the solemnisacion of the mariage til his fame were clerely purged, and the truth well and opēly testified. Where vpon dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng his mother and many other put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solemply sworne to saie the truth, she confessed she was neuer ensured. Howbeit she saied, his grace spake suche louynge woordes to her, that she verely hoped that he would haue maried her. . . . This examincion solemply taken, it was clerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to mary, wherfore, he shortely after at Grafton beside Stonystratforde maried the lady Elizabeth Grey verie priuely. . . .

III, vii, 7.

I, i, 71.

I, iii, 136-139.

III, vii, 6.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protector and his counsaill concluded that this doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules crosse signifie to the people that neither king Edwarde hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawefully begotten, nor wer the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawefully by other persones by aduoutry of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so prince Edward and all the children begotten on the quene wer bastardes. And accordyng to this deuise, doctor Sha the sondaie after at Paules crosse in a greate audience (as alwaie a great numbre assembled to his preaching) came into the pulpit takyng for his Theme, Spuria vitulamina nō dabunt radices altos. Sapien. iiii. that is to saie bastarde slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherupon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth & secretely infoundeth in right generacion after

y• lawes of matrimony, then declared he that those children cõmenly lacked y• grace (& for the punishment of their parentes) were for y• most part vnhappy which wer gotten in baste, and especially in aduoutry, of which (though some by the ignorauncie of the worlde and the truthe hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaie so prouideth that it continueth not in their bloude longe, but the truethe commynge to lighte the rightefull enheritoures be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the proofe and confirmacion of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testamente and other aunciente histories, then began he to discend to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the protectour and declared his title to the croune bi inheritaunce and also by entaile authorised by parliament after y• death of kynge Henry the sixte. Then shewed he that the lorde protector, was onely the righte heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully maried to y• quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children wer bastardes. And beside that, neither kyng Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence (emongest them that wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshoulde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen menne then hym, from whose verteous condicions he saied also, that king Edwarde was far of. But the lord protector (quod he)

III, vii, 13. that veraye noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowes, aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of y• noble duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse likenesse of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised that in the speakynge of these wordes, the protector shoulde haue come in emongest the people to y• sermond ward, to thende that these wordes so metyng with his presence, might haue been taken emongest the herers, as though the holy ghost had put theim in the preachers mouthe, and shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cried, kynge Richard, that it might haue been after sayed that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, either by the protectoures negligence or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the protectoure, founde by the waye tariynge, leaste he shoulde haue preuented these woordes, the doctour fearynge that he shoulde come or his sermon could come to those woordes hastynge his matter thereto, he was come to theim and paste theim, and entred into other matters or the protectour came, whom when he beheld commynge, he sodainly lefte the matter whiche he had in hand, and without any deduccyon thereunto out of all ordre, and out of all frame began to repete those woordes agayne. This is the very noble prince the especiall patrone of knightely prowes, whiche aswell in all princely behaueoure as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the very print of his visage the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speakynge, the protectour accompaignied with the duke of Buckyngham, went through the people vp into the place where the

III, vii, 25. doctors stand where they harde oute the sermond: but the people were so far from criynge kynge Richard that they stoode as they had been turned into stoones for wonder of this shamefull sermonde: after whiche once

ended y• precher gat hym home and neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle and when he asked any of his old frendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscięce well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouthe of hym muche shame spoken it so strake him too the harte that in fewe dayes after he withered awaie.

Then on the tuesday after next foloyng this sermond, beyng the .xvii. day of Iune, there came to the Guyld hall of London the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes mo then happely knewe the message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal where the hoystynges be kepte, the duke and the maire and the other lordes sat downe, and the aldermen also, all the commons of the citee beeynge assembled and standynge before theim. After scilence commaunded vpon a greate paine in the protectoures name: The duke stode vp and as he was well learned and of nature merueilously well spoken, he sayed to the people with a cleare and a lowde voyce: Frendes, for the zeale and hertie fauoure that we beare you we be come to breke of a matter righte greate and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasyng to God and profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme, more profitable, then to you the citezens of this noble citee. For why, the thynge that you haue long lacked and as we well know sore longed for that you woulde haue geuen greate good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetche: that thynge be we come hether to bryng you, without your labour pain, coste, auenture or ieoperdye. What thynge is that? Certes the surety of your awne bodies, the quiete of your wiues and daughters and the sauegarde of your goodes. Of all whiche thynges in tyme passed you stoode in doubte. For who was he of you all that could recon hym selfe lorde of his awne good emongest so many gynnes and trappes wer set therfore emong so much pyllyng and pollynge,emonge so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was neuer ende, and oftymes no nede, or yf any were, it grew rather of riote or of vnreasonable waste, then any necessary honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honeste menne greate substaunce of goodes, to be lashed out emong vnthriftes, so far furthe that fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified that euery manne shoulde paie, not what he of hym selfe of his good will lust to graunte, but what the king of his good wil lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, small trespaces into mesprison, mesprision into treason, where of I thynke that no manne looketh that we shall remembre you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten whiche was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. (This Burdet was a marchaũt dwellyng in Chepesyd at y• signe of y• croune which now is y• signe of y• flowre de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merely in y• rufflyng tyme of kyng Edwarde y• .iiij. his rage, saied to his awne some [*sic*] that he would make hym in heritor of y• croune, meanyng his awne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be mysconstrued, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherfore within lesse space then .iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde) by the mysconstruynge of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honoure to Merkam

III, v, 79.

III, vii, 10.

III, v, 82.

chiefe Iustice then, which lost his office rather then he would assent to that iudgement: then to the dishonesty of those that either for feare or flattery gaue that iudgement. . . . And in that poinct whiche in good faithe I am sory to speake of, sauynge that it is vain to kepe in counsaill that thynge that all men knoweth, ye kyng his gredy appetite was insaciable, and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no womẽ was there any where, young or old, poore or
III, v, 86. riche, whom he sette his yie vpõ, whom he any thynge liked either for persone or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honour, murmure, or grudgyng of the world, he woulde importunately pursue his appetite and haue her, to the distruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbandes and frendes, whiche beynge honest people of theim selues, so moche regarded the clẽnesse of their houses, the chastitee of their wiues and childrẽ, that theim wer leuer to lose all that thei haue beside, then to haue suche a vilanie done to theim. And albeit that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place anoyed yet specially you the citezens of this nobilite. . . sith that nere here about was his moste common abidyng. . . It shall not, I wote well nede, that I reherse vnto you again that you al redy haue hearde of hym that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so proud too looke therefore y^{t} you should receiue my wordes of so great aucthorite as the preachers of the word of God, namely a man so conninge and so wise, that no manne wotteth better what he should do and say. . . whiche honourable preacher ye well remembre, substancially declared to you at Paules crosse on Sondaie late paste, the right and title of the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester now protector of this his realme which he hath vnto the croune of the kyngdome of the same. For that worshipfulman made it perfectly and groundely open vnto you. The children of kynge Edward the fourth wer neuer laufully begotten, for as muche
III, vii, 5. as the kynge (liuynge his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer laufully maried to the quene their mother whose bloud sauynge he set his volupteous pleasure before his honour, was ful vnmetely to be matched with his. . . . For lacke of which lawefull copulacion and also of other thynges whiche the saied worshipfull doctor rather signified then fully explaned, and whiche
III, vii, 201. thyng shall not be spoken for me, as the thyng that euery manne forbeareth to saie that he knoweth, in auoidyng the displeasure that my noble lorde protector bearyng as nature requireth a filial reuerence to the duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saie, that for lake of issue lawfully commynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose royall bloud the crounes of England and of Fraunce, are by the high aucthorite of a parliamẽt entailed, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of enheritaunce according to the common lawe of this lande, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lord protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thynge well considred and the knightely prowesse with many vertues whiche in his noble persone singulerely dooe habounde: The nobles and commons of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not willing any bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions in the same before vsed and exercised any longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determined too make humble peticion vnto the puisaunte prince the lorde protectour, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernaunce of this realme. . . . When the duke had saied and loked that the

people whom he hoped that the Maire had framed before, shoulde after this flatteryng preposicion made, haue cried kynge Richarde, kynge Richarde, all was still and mute and not one woorde answered to: wherwith the duke
was maruelously abashed, and takynge ye Maire nere to hym, with **III, vii, 25.**
other that wer aboute hym priuy to the matter, saied vnto theim softely. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir quod the Maire, percase they perceiue you not well, that shall we amend quod he, if he that wil helpe, and therwith somewhat lowder rehersed the same matter again, in other ordre and other woordes so well and ornately, and neuerthelesse so euidently and plaine with voice, gesture, & countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much marueiled that hard him and thought that they neuer harde in their liues so euill a tale so well told. But wer it for wonder or feare,
or that eche loked that other should speake firste, not one word was **III, vii, 27.**
there answered of all the people that stoode before, but all were as still as the midnight not so much as rounyng emong them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to do. When the Maire sawe this, he with other parteners of the counsaill, drew about the duke and saied that
ye people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to, but by **III, vii, 30.**
the Recorder, which is the mouthe of the citee, and happely to hym they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Fitz Wyllyã, a sadde manne and an honeste, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begyn, notwithstanding, there vnto commaunded by the Maire, made rehersall to the commons of that which the duke had twise purposed hym self, but the recorder so tẽpered his tale that he shewed euery thyng as the duke his woordes were and
no parte of his owne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, **III, vii, 34.**
whiche alway after one stoode as they had been amased. Where vpon, the duke rouned with the Maire and said, this is a marueilous obstinate scilence, and there with turned too the people again with these woordes. Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng whiche parauenture we so greately neded not, but that the lordes of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised, sauying suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is youre weele and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not: Wherfore we require you to giue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince now protector to be your kyng? And at these wordes the people began to whisper emong them selfes secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till
at the last, at the nether ende of the hal a bushement of the dukes **III, vii, 36.**
seruauntes and one Nashfeelde and other belongynge to the protectoure with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall emongest the preace, began sodainly at mennes backes to crye out as lowde as they could, kynge Richard, king Richard, and there threwe vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stoode before cast backe their heddes merueilynge therat, but nothing the saied. And when the duke and the Maire saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crie and a ioyfull to here euery man
with one voyce and no man saiyng nay. Wherefore frendes (quod **III, vii, 38.**
the duke), sith we perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte

that we doubt not but that it shall redounde to your great wealth and commodite. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs and we with you to his noble grace to make our humble petició and request to him in maner before remembred. And therwith the lordes came doune and the compaignie dissolued and departed the more part all sad, some with glad semblaunce that were not very merie and some of them that came with the duke not hable to dissemble their sorowe, were fain euen at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their hartes braste out of their yies.

Then on the morowe the Maire and aldremen and chief commoners of the citie in their best maner appareled, assemblyng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle where the protectour laie, to which place also accordyng too the appointment repaired the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse nobles with hym, besides many knyghtes and gentlemen. And there vpon the duke sent woorde to the lord protectoure of the beyng there of a greate honourable compaignie to moue a greate matter to his grace. Where vpon the protectoure made greate difficultie to come doune to theim, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partely mistrusted the commynge of such a numbre to hym so sodainely, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this too the Mayre and other, that they might thereby se how litle the protectour loked for this matter, they sente again by the messenger suche louynge message, and there with so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that the might resort to his presence to purpose their entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary over them with a bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneth might se him and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant. And there vpon, the duke of Buckingham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of theim all, that his grace would pardon theim and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obteined, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as muche honour to his grace as wealth to all ye realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protectour, as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to know what they meant, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verely trustynge for the good mind that he bare them all none of theim any thyng woulde entende to hym warde, wherewith he thought to be greued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wexed he bold to shew hym their entente and purpose, with all the causes mouyng theim thereto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realm now with his yie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaie of the same, & to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendemente thereof by takynge vpon hym the croune and gouernaunce of the realme accordyng to his right and title laufully discended vnto him, & to the laud of God, profite and surety of the land, and vnto his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that y^t^ neuer prince reigned vpon any people that wer so glad to liue vnder his obeisaũce as the people of this realme vnder his.

III, vii, 46.

III, vii, 63.

III, vii, 101.

III, vii, 126-150.

When the protector had heard the proposicion, he loked very strangely therat

and made answer, that albeit he knewe partely the thynges by theim alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kynge Edward and his children, and so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, then the croune of any one, of which he was neuer desyrous, so that he could not find in his harte in this poinct to incline to their desire, for in al other nacions where the truth were not wel knowē, it shoulde parauenture be thought that it were his awne ambicious
mynde and deuise to depose the prince and to take hym selfe the **III, vii, 153.**
croune, with which infamy he would in no wise haue his honour
steined for any croune, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and pein, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onely pardoned
them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for **III, vii, 176.**
the loue and harty fauour they bare hym, praiying them for his sake
to beare the same to the prince vnder whom he was and would be content to liue and with his labour & counsaill as far as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doo his vttermoste deuoier to sette the realme in good estate which was all redye in the litle tyme of his protectourship (lauded be God,) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before ye occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, wer now partely by good policy, partely more by God his speciall prouidence, then mannes prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Vpon this answer geuen, the duke of Buckyngham by the protector his licence a litle rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the maire and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like perdō desired and obteined) he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, for a finall conclusion that the realme
was appointed that kynge Edward his line should no longer reigne **III, vii, 217.**
vpon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretee
to retreate (as for that thei thought it for ye weale vniuersal to take y^{t} way, although thei had not yet begon it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the croune vpon him, they would humbly beseache him therunto, and yf he would geue theim a resolute answere to the contrary (which the would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not faill to find some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may wit would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and his both to go from it, he saied to the lordes and commons, sithe it is wee percieue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we bee very sory) that they will not suffre in any wise kynge Edward his line to gouerne theim, whom no man earthely can gouerne against their willes: And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so iuste title
appertaine as to oure selfe as very righte heire laufully begotten of the **III, vii, 204.**
body of our most dread and dere father Richard late duke of Yorke
to which title is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, which we of all titles possible take for mooste effectual, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your peticion & request, and accordynge to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kyngdome of the twoo noble realmes Englande and Fraunce, the one from this day forwarde by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defende, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get again, subdue and establishe for euer in dewe obedience vnto this realme of Englande, the auauncement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue then we entende to procure and sette furthe. With this there was a

greate cry and shoute, criyng kyng Richard and so the lordes wente vp to the kynge, and so he was after that daie called. But the people departed talkynge
III, vii, 250. diuersely of the matter, euery man as his fantasye gaue him, but much they marueiled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on bothe partes made so straunge as though neuer the one parte had communed with the other parte therof before, when they wiste that there was no manne so dull that heard theim, but he perceyued well ynough that all the matter was made betweene them. Howbeit, some excused that again, saiynge: all thing must be done in good ordre, and menne must sometym for the maner sake not bee aknowen what they knowe. . . RICHARD the third of that name, vsurped ye croune of Englād & openly toke vpon hym to bee kyng, the nyntene daie of Iune, in the yere of our lord, a thousand foure hundred lxxxiii. and in the .xxv. yere of Lewes the leuenth then beeyng French kyng: and the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with great solempnite rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roial. . . On the
IV, ii, 2. sixt daie of Iuly, the kynge came toward his coronacion into Westminster hall, where his chapell and all the prelates mitred receiued him. [Here follows a circumstantial account of the coronation ceremonies.] Nowe after this triumphante coronacion, there fell mischiefes thicke and thicke, and as the thynge euill gotten is neuer well kept, so through all the tyme of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased there cruell murther, death and slaughter, till his awne destruccion end edit. But as he finished with the beste deathe and mooste rightewyse, that is to saie his awne, so beganne he with the mooste piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocente nephewes, the younge kynge and his tendre brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuerthelesse so far come in question that some remained longe in doubte whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. . . Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takyng his waie to Gloucester, to visite in his newe honour the towne, of whiche he bare the name of old, deuised as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephews liuynge, men woulde not recon
IV, ii, 9. that he coulde haue righte to the realme, he thoughte therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killynge of his kynsmen mighte ende his cause, and make hym kyndely kyng. Where vpon he sent Ihon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakēbury constable of the tower, with a letter and credēce also, that the same sir Roberte in any wyse should put the two childrē to death. This Ihon Grene dyd his errand to Brakenbury, knelynge before oure lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde neuer put them to deathe to dye therefore. With the which answere Grene returned, recomptyng the same to kynge Richard at Warwyke yet on his iourney, wherwith he toke suche displeasure and thoughte that the same night he sayde to a secrete page of his: Ah, whom shall a man truste; they that I haue brought vp my selfe,
IV, ii, 33. they that I went woulde haue moost surely serued me, euen those fayle me, and at my commaundemente wyll do nothynge for me. Nyr quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chambre with out that I dare wel say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by Iames Tirel, which was a man of goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a muche better prince, yf he had well
IV, ii, 41. serued God, and by grace obteyned to haue as muche trueth and good wyll, as he had strength and wytt. The man had an high harte and more longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had hoped, beynge hindered

and kepte vnder by sir Richarde Ratcliffe and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longyng for no more parteners of the Princes fauour, namely not for him, whose pride thei knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him by secrete driftes out of al secrete trust: which thynge this page had well marked and knowen: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall frendship spied his tyme to set him forwarde, and suche wyse to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him so much hurte and shame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard arose (for this communicacion had he sittyng on a drafte, a conuenient carpet for suche a counsail) and came out into the palet chambre, where he dyd fynde in bed the sayd Iames Tyrell and sir Thomas Tyrell of persone like and brethren of bloude, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then sayd the kyng merely to them, what syrs, be you in bed so sone: and called vp Iames Tyrell, & brake to him secretely his mynd in this mischeuous matter, in the which he found him nothing straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakyn- **IV, ii, 79.** bury with a letter by the which he was commaunded to delyuer to the sayd Iames all the keyes of the Towre for a night, to thende that he might there accomplish the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which lettre deliuered & the keyes receyued, Iames appoincted ye next night ensuyng to destroye them, deuisyng before and preparyng the meanes.

The prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kynge, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof aduertised and shewed that he should not reigne, but his vncle should haue the croune. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle would let me haue my life although I lese my kyngedome. Then he that tolde hym the tale vsed him with good woordes and put hym in the best conforte that he coulde, but furthewith he and his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Willyam Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and iiii. other to see them sure. After whiche tyme, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes.

For Iames Tirrel deuised that they shoulde be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe fleshe **IV, ii, 142.** bred in murther before tyme: and to him he ioyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horsekeper a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then al the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Ihon Dighton aboute mydnight, the sely children liyng in their beddes, came into ye chaũbre and sodenli lapped them vp amongest the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng doune by force the fetherbed and pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & styfled them, and their breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocẽt solles into the ioyes of heauen, leauyng to the tourmẽtours their bodies dead in the bed which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the strugglyng, with the panges of death, and after long liyng styl to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out vpon the bed, and fetched Iames Tirrell to see them, which when he sawe them perfightly dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely depe in the groũde vnder a great heape of stones.

Then rode Iames Tirrel in great hast to kyng Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him great thankes, and as men saye,
IV, ii, 170. there made hym knighte, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng, that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were a kynges sonnes. . . . Wherupon a priest of sir Robert Brackenburies toke them vp & buried them in such a place secretely as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortely after) which onely knewe it, the very trueth could neuer yet be very wel and perfightly knowen. . . And for a trueth, when sir Iames Tirrell was in the Towre for treason committed to kynge Henrye the seuen the: bothe he and Dighton were examined together of this poincte, and both they confessed the murther to be done in the same maner as you haue
IV, ii, 171. hard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they bothe affirmed they neuer knewe. . . I haue harde by credible reporte of suche as were secrete with his [King Richard's] chamberers that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mynde, he neuer thought him selfe sure where he went abroade, his body priuely feinted, his eyen wherled aboute, his hande euer on his dagger, his countenaunce and maner like alwaies to stricke againe, he toke euill reste on nightes, laye long wakyng and musyng, forweried with care
IV, i, 95. and watche, rather slombred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly somtyme stert vp, leapte out of his bed and loked about the chambre, so was his restlesse harte continually tossed and tombled with the tedious impression and stormy remembraunce of his abhominable murther and execrable tyrannye. . . .

But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead children yet being in sanctuary, no doubte but it strake to her
IV, iii, 12. harte, like the sharpe darte of death: for when she was first enformed of the murther of her .ii. sonnes, she was so sodainly amasyd with the greatnes of ye crueltie that for feare she sounded and fell doune to the ground, and there lay in a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to her memory and was reuyued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pitefull scriches she replenished the hole mancion, her breste she puncted, her fayre here she tare and pulled in peces & being ouercome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred death then life, calling by name diuers times her swete babes, accomptyng
IV, iii, 12. herself more then madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulente promises delyuered her yonger sonne out of the sanctuarie to hys enemye to be put to death, thinkynge that next the othe made to God brokē, & the dewtie of allegiaunce toward her childrē violated, she of all creatures in that poyncte was most seduced and disceaued: After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengynge otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the disceaytfull periurie, as who saide she nothyng mistrusted but once he would remember it. What ys he liuyng that if he remember and beholde these .ii. noble enfantes without deseruing, so shamefully murthered, that will not abhorre the fact, ye & be moued & tormented with pitie and mercie. . . From thence forth not onely all his counsailles, doynges and procedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her whele douneward from him, in so much that he lost his onely
IV, ii, 191. begotten sonne called Edwarde in the .iij. moneth aftter he had created hym prince of Wales. And shortely after, The .ii. yere he was vnquieted by a conspiracye, or rather a confederacye betwene the duke of Buck-

yngham and many other gentlemen against him, as ye shall heare: But ye occasion why the duke and the kynge fell out, is of diuerse folke diuersely pretended. . . Some say this occasyon was, that a litle before the coronacion, the duke required the kynge amongest other thynges to be restored to the erle of Herfordes landes: And forasmuche as the tytle whiche he claymed by inheritaunce, was somewhat interlaced, with the tytle of Lancaster, **IV, ii, 101.**
whiche house made a title to the croune, and enioyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, tyll the house of Yorke depriued the third kynge, whiche was Henry the sixte, Kynge Richarde some what mistrusted and conceiued suche an indignacion, that he reiected the dukes request, with many spitefull and minotary wordes, whiche so wounded the dukes harte with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to loke right on king Richard but euer feared his awne life. . . . In the meane ceason the countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Vrswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and sworne she vttred to him all her mynde & councell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth that he al his life had fauoured and taken part with kyng **IV, iv, 9.**
Henry the .vi. and as a speciall iuell put to her seruice by sir Lewes her physician. So the mother studious for ye prosperitie of her sonne appointed this Christopher Vrswike to saile into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare and to demonster to him al pactes & agrementes betwene her and the quene agreed & concluded. . . . Sir Edwarde Courtney and Peter his brother bishop of Exsetter, reised an army in deuonshire and cornewall. In kente, Richarde Guylforde and other gentlemen, collected **IV, iii, 534.**
a great companye of souldyoures and openly beganne warre. But king Richard which in the meane tyme had gotten together a great strengthe and puissaunce, thinkyng yt not moost for his parte beneficiall to disparse and deuyde his greate armye into small branches, and particulerely to **IV, iii, 538.**
persecute any one of the coniuracion by hym selfe, determined all other beynge set asyde, with hys whole puyssaunce to set on the chiefe hed whiche was the duke of Buckyngham. And so remouynge from London he tooke his journey towarde Salsburie, to thentente that in **IV, iii, 476.**
his iourney he mighte set on the dukes army yf he myghte knowe hym in any place encamped or in ordre of Battayle araied.

The king was scace .ii. daies iourney from Salsburie when the duke of Buckyngham accompanyed with a greate power of wilde Weleshmen, whome he beynge a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynste their willes had rather therto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundemente then by liberall wayges and gentle reteynoure, whiche thinge was the verie occasion why they lefte hym desolate and cowardely forsoke hym. The duke with all his power mershed through the forest of deane entendyng to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Gloucester, and ther to haue ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his confideracy and affinite, which if he had done no doubt but kyng Richard had bene in greate ieopardie either of priuacion of his realme or losse of his life or both. But se the chaûce, before he could attayne to Seuerne side, by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that yt ouerflowed all the countrey adioynyng, in somuch that men were drowned in their beddes, howses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, **IV, iii, 547.**
childrẽ were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drowned

on hilles, whiche rage of water lasted continually .x. dayes, insomuch that in the countrey adioynyng they call yt to this daie, the greate water, or the duke of Buckynghams greate water. By this inundacion the passages were so closed that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, durynge the whiche tyme, the Welshemen lyngerynge ydely and without money, vitayle, or wages, sodaynely scaled and departed: and for all the dukes fayre promyses, manaces and enforcementes, they woulde in no wise neither goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abandoned and left almost post alone was of necessite cōpelled to flye, and in his flight was with this sodeyne of fortune maruelously dismayed: and beinge vnpurueyed, what councell he shoulde take and what waie he shoulde folowe, like a man in despeire not knowynge what to do, of verie truste and confidence conueyghed him selfe into the house of Homfrey Banaster his seruaunt beside Shrewsburie. . . . But when yt was knowen to his adherentes whiche were readye to geue battayle, that his hoste was scaled and had lefte hym almoost alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynely amased and striken with a soden feare, that euery man like persones desperate shifted for hym selfe and fled, some wente to sanctuarye and to solitarie places, some fled by see, whereof the mooste parte within a fewe dayes after aryued sauely in the duchye of Britayne. . . . [King Richard] made proclamacion, that what person coulde shewe and reuele where the duke of Buckyngham was, shoulde be highly rewarded, yf he were a bondman he should be enfraunchised and set at libertie, yf he were of fre blood he shoulde haue a generall perdon and be remunerate with a thousand poundes. . . . Homfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he bewrayed his gest and and master to Ihon Mitton then shriefe of shropshire, whyche . . . apprehended the duke . . . and in greate hast and euill spede conueighed him appareled in a pilled blacke cloke to the cytie of Salsburie where kynge Richard then kepte his houshold. . . . The duke beyng by certayne of the kynges councel diligently vpon interrogatories examined . . . declared frankely and frely all the coniuracion . . . trustynge because he had truely & playnely confessed all thinges that were of hym required, that he should haue lycēce to speke to ye kyng which (whether it wer to sue for perdon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desyred and required. But when he had confessed the whole facte and conspiracye vpon Allsoulen day withoute arreignemente or iudgemente he was at Salsburye in the open merket place on a newe skaffolde behedded and put to death. . . .

IV, iii, 549.

IV, iii, 555.

V, i, 4.

V, i, 13.

While these thynges were thus hādeled and ordred in England, Henry Earle of Richemond prepared an army of fyue thousande manly Brytons, and fortie wele furnyshed shippes. When all thinges were prepared in aredynes and the daye of departynge and settynge forwarde was appoynted, whiche was the .xii. daye of the moneth of October in the yere of the incarnacion of oure redemer .M. CCCC. XLVIII [*sic*] and in the seconde yere of kynge Richardes reigne, the whole armye wente on shipboorde and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wynde tooke the sea: but towarde night the wynde chaunged and the wether tourned, and so houge and terrible a tempest sodaynely roase, that with the verie power and strength of the storme,

IV, iii, 460.

the shippes were disparcled, seuered and separate a sondre: some by force were dryuen into Normandye, some were compelled to retourne agayne into Britayne. The shippe wherein the Earle of Rychemonde was, associate onely with one other barcke was all nyghte tossed and turmoyled. In the mornynge after when the rage of the furious tempest was assuaged, and the Ire of the blusterynge wynde was some deale appeased, aboute the houre of none thesame daye, the erle approched to the southe parte of the realme of England even at the mouthe of the hauen of pole in the countie of dorcet, where he mighte playnely perceaue all the se bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldiouers appoynted and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landynge as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue streyghte charge and sore commaundemente, that no person should once presume to take land and goo to the shore, vntill suche tyme as the whole nauye were assembled and congregate. And while he expected and lyngered tariyenge for that purpose, he sente oute a shippe bote towarde the lande side to knowe, whyther they whiche stoode there in suche a nom- **IV, iii, 561.** bre and so well furnysshed in apparell defensiue were hys capitall foes and enemyes or elles his frendes fautoures and comforters. They that were sente in exploracion and message were instantely desyred of the men of warre kepynge the coast (whiche thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande, affirmynge that they were appoyncted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arryuall and **IV, iii, 564.** landyng of the erle of Richemond, and to conduicte sauely to the campe where the duke not far of laye encāped with a populous army and an host of great strength and vigor, to thentent that the duke and therle ioynynge in puyssaunces and forces together, mighte prosecute and chace king Richard beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate and fugityue, and so by that meanes and their awne laboures and industrie to obteine the ende of their enterprise which they had before begonne.

The erle of Richemonde suspectynge their flaterynge requeste to be but a fraud (as yt was in dede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to apere in sight, he weied vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles hauynge a prosperous and strenable wynde and a freshe gale sente euen by God to delyuer hym from that perell and ieopardie, arryued safe and in securitie in the duchy **IV, iii, 566.** of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his souldyours and people, tooke his recreacion by the space of .iii. dayes, and clerely determyned with parte of his companye to passe all by lande agayne into Britayne. And in the meane ceason he sent oratoures to the Frenche kynge called Charles the .viii. . . . requirynge hym of a safe conduicte and licence to passe through his countrey of Normandye into Britayne. . . .

In the meane ceason kyng Richard was crediblye aduertised what promyses and othes the erle and his cōfederates had made and sworne together at Renes; and how by the erles meanes all thenglishmē were passed oute of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beynge sore dysmaied and in maner desperate, because his craftie cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Brytayne ymagened and **IV, ii, 68.** deuysed how to infringe and disturbe the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he shoulde pretende no clayme nor tytle to the croune. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. . . . There came into his vngracious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more

cruel and abhominable to be put in execucion. For when he reuolued in his wauer-
ynge mynde how greate a founteyne of mischiefe towarde hym
IV, ii, 182. shoulde sprynge, yf the erle of Richmond should be auaunced to the
mariage of his nece, whiche thinge he hearde saye by the rumour
of the people that no small nombre of wyse and wittye personages enterprised to
compasse & brynge to conclusion. He clerely determined to reconcile to his
fauoure his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or
IV, iii, 210. liberall promises, firmely beleuynge her fauoure once obteined that
she would not sticke to commite and louyngly credite to him the
rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the
erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece should be vtterly defrauded and
beguyled. And yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be otherwise inuented to saue the
innumerable mischiefes whiche were euen at hand and like to falle, yf it shoulde
happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of this presente worlde,
IV, ii, 68. then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousyn and nece the
lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole realme shoulde
runne to ruyne, as who said, that yf he once fell from his estate and dignite, the
ruyne of the realme must nedes shortely ensue & folowe. Wherfore he sent to the
quene beynge in sanctuarye diuerse and often messengers, whiche firste shoulde
excuse and purge him of all thinges before againste her attempted or procured,
and after should so largely promes promocions innumerable and benefites, not
onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Dorcett, that they
should brynge her yf it were possible into some wanhope, or as some men saie
into a fooles paradise. The messengers beynge men bothe of wit and grauitie
so persuaded the quene with great & pregnaunte reasons, then with fayre &
large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to geue to theim no deffe
eare, in somuche that she faithfully promised to submyt & yelde her selfe
fully and frankely to the kinges will and pleasure. . . . Surely
IV, iii, 449. the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at,
yf all women had bene founde constante, but let men speake,
yet wemen of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kynde. After
that kynge Rycharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatterynge woordes
pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elizabeth which knewe
nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters
to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne receauyng, as though with
his newe familier and louyng entreteinement they should forget, and in their
myndes obliterate the olde committed iniurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe
nothinge was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his
mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adiudged necessary
to be done. But there was one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from
commyttynge this abhominable murther, because as you have hearde before he
beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and there-
fore he was afeard least ye sodeine and immature death of his wife once openly
knowen, he should lese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him,
without deserte conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll councell preuailed
in a witt lately mynded to mischiefe, and tourned from all goodnes. So that his
vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of
his ymagened entreprise, he abstayned bothe from the bed and companye of his
wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate

sterilite and barennes of his wife, because she brought foorth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishop of Yorke (whome lately he had delyuered oute of warde and captiuite) these impedymentes of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkyng that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trustynge the sequele herof to take his effecte, that she herynge this grudge of her husband, and takyng therefore an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a common rumour (but he woulde not haue the author knowen) to be published and spred abroade emonge the common people that the quene was ded, to thentent that she takyng some cõceipte of this straung fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuous maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by y^t^ or any other waies to lese her life, whyther ye people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would laie ye blame to him. Whẽ ye quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong emongest the comminaltie, she sore suspected and iuged ye world to be almost at an ende with her and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenaunce and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundynge of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare woordes, and with dissimulynge blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges comforted her, biddynge her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer y^t^ it fortuned, either by inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after the quene departed oute of this transitorie lyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the churche of seint Peter at Westminster. IV, ii, 58. IV, ii, 181.

This is the same Anne one of the daughters of ye erle of Warwyk, which as you haue heard before at the request of lewes ye French kyng, was maried to prince Edward sonne to kyng Henry the vi.

The kyng thus (accordyng to his long desire) losed out of the bõdes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe moost of all, detested and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnaturall copulacion, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ceason he was oppressed with great weightie and vrgent causes and busynesses on euery side considerynge that dailye parte of the nobilite sailed into Fraunce to the erle of Richmond. . . .Emongest the noble men whome he moost mystrusted, these were the principall, Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and .vi. hundred other, of whose purposes although kyng Richard were ignoraunt, yet he gaue nether confidence nor credence to any of theim, and least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was ioyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye maie perceaue. For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmõd at his arriuall in Englãd: the kyng in no wise would IV, iv, 15. IV, iii, 507. IV, iii, 521-528.

suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and heire. . . . The Earle of Richmonde because he woulde no lenger lynger and weery hys frendes lyuynge continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all conueniente hast to sett forwarde, and caried to his shippes armoure, weapons, vitayle and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre. . . After that the erle had made his humble peticion, and deuoute praier to allmightie God, . . . weyed vp his ancres and halsed vp his sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the .vii. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, and in cõtinēt tooke lande and came to a place called Dalle. . . And the earle at the sonne rysyng remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from dalle not fully ten myle, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with greate ioye, . . . he marched forward toward Shrewsbury, and in his passynge there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bād of Welshmen whiche makynge an othe and promyse to the erle, submitted himself whole to his ordre and commaundement. . . And thus his powre increasynge he arryued at the towne of Stafforde and there pawsed. To whome came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompaigned with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and he had communed no longe tyme together, he reuerted to his souldioures which he had congregate together to serue the Earle, whiche from thence departed to Lichefelde and laie without the walles in his camp all nyght.

IV, iii, 572.
IV, iv, 12.
IV, iv, 17.
V, iii, 90.

In the mean ceason kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure by the very deuyne iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshemente for his sclelerate merites and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for twoo battayles to encountre by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched his felde, refreshed his souldioures and toke his rest. The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful & a terrible dreame, for it semed to hym beynge a slepe y^{t} he sawe diuerse ymages lyke terrible deuelles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beynge almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsynge the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abasshed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenynge hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thynke this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience. . . . Now to retorne againe to oure purpose, ye next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished w^{t} men & all abilmētes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into ye plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēgth, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to thentēt to emprynte in ye hartes of thē y^{t} loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for ye great multitude of ye armed souldiours: & in the fore Frount he placed ye archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: ouer this battaile was captain

V, iii, 3.
V, iii, 133.
V, iii, 83.
V, iii, 338.

Ihon duke of Norfolke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg vāgard folowed king Richard hī self, w^t^ a strōg cōpaigny of chosen & approued mē of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ye sides of his battail.

After y^t^ therle of Richmond was departed from ye communicaciō of his frendes as you haue harde before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant courage, & w^t^ all diligēs pitchid his feld iuste by ye cāp of his enemies, & there he lodged y^t^ night. In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl thē selfes redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to ye lord Stanley (which was now come w^t^ his bāde in a place indifferently betwene both ye armies) requiryng him w^t^ his mē to approche nere to his army & to help to set ye souldiours in array, he answered y^t^ therle should set his awne mē in a good order of battaile, while he would array his cōpaigny, & cōme to him in time conuenient. Which answere made otherwise then therle thought or would haue iudged, considering ye oportunite of the time & the waite of ye busines, & although he was there w^t^all, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang ye hedde, yet he w^t^out any time delaiyng compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, accordyng to ye small nōber of his people. In ye Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain Ihō erle of Oxford: to the right wyng of ye battaill he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be ye leder: to ye left wing he assigned sir Ihon Sauage, & he w^t^ ye aide of ye lord Stāley accompaignied with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good compaignie of horsmen and a small nomber of footmen: For all his hole nōber exceded not .v. thousaide men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof .iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the stādard of sir William Stanley: The kynges nomber was doble as muche & more. When bothe these armies were thus ordered & al men redy to set forward, kyng Richard called his Cheuetains together & to thē sayde. . . . **V, iii, 14, 15.**

You se also, what a nōber of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arriued to distroy vs our wyfes and children. Which Imminent mischifes & apparaunt incōuenientes, if we wil withstond & refel, we must liue to gether like brethern, fight together like liōs, & feare not to dye together lyke men. And obseruyng and kepyng this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhoūd, nor ye sylye larke before ye sparow hauke, nor the symple shepe before the rauenous wolfe, then your proud bragging aduersaries astōned & amased with ye only sight of your manly visages, will flee, ronne & skyr out of the felde. For yf yow consider and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifeste causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe, a mā of small courage and lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of war, brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marcial affaires, by reason whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollicie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe adeption of the victory and ouerture of the enemyes. Secondarely feare not and put a way all doubtes, for when ye traitors & runagates of our realme, shall see vs w^t^ banner displaied come against them, remēbryng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & anoynted kyng, **V, iii, 357-380.** **V, iii, 368.**

they shal be so pricked & stimulate in ye botome of there scrupulous consciences y^{t} they for very remorce & dread of ye diuine plage will either shamefully flye, or humbly submitte them selfes to our grace and marcie. And as for the Frenshmē & Brytons, there valiātnes ys suche, y^{t} our noble progenitors & your valiaunt parētes, haue them oftener vāquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in ye beginnyng imagened possible to cōpasse & fynishe in a hole yere. What wil you make of thē, braggers w^{t}out audacite, dronkards w^{t}out discrescion, rybaudes w^{t}out reason, cowardes w^{t}out resistyng & in conclusion ye most effeminate & lasciuious people, y^{t} euer shewed them selfes in Frunt of battaile, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assaut ye brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherfore, consideryng al these auaūtages, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & avoide out of your mindes al feare, & like valiaunt chāpions auaūce furth your standards, & assaye whither your enemies can decide & trie ye title of battaile by dent of swerde, auaunce (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither pollicie wisdome nor puissaunce. Euery one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly ye iorney is ours. What preuayleth a hādfull to a hole realme: desiryng you for ye loue y^{t} you beare to me, & ye affeccion y^{t} you haue to your natiue and natural coūtrey, & to ye sauegard of your prince & your self, y^{t} you wyll this day take to you your accustumed corage, & couragious spirites for ye defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triūphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be maihmeed & out of ye palice of fame disgraded, diēg w^{t}out renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte ye perpetual honor of their natiue coūtrey, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remēber well y^{t} I am he which shall w^{t} high auauncementes, rewarde & preferre ye valiaunt & hardy chāpions, & punishe and turment the shameful cowardes & dreadfull dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as fauoured him, but suche as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed thē openly, whome they inwardly hated . . . other stode stil & loked on, entendynge to take part w^{t} the victors and ouercommers: So was his people to him vnsure and vnfaithfull at his ende, as he was to his nephewes vntrew and vnnatural in his beginnyng.

V, ii, 22-24.

When therle of Richmond knew by his forriders that the king was so nere embattayled he rode about his armye, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men. . . . And when he had ouer loked hys army ouer euery syde, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde spirite spake to his compaignions these or lyke wordes folowyng. If euer God gaue victorie to men fightynge in a iust quarrell?. . . No doubt my felowes and frendes, but he of hys bountefull goodnes wyll this daye sende us triumphaunt victorye and a luckey iourney ouer our prowde enemyes. . . . Our cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly or Godly quarell then to fight agaynste a Capitayne, beynge an homicide and murderer of hys awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destroyer of hys nobylytie, and to hys and oure countrey and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrye brande and a burden vntollerable? besyde hym, consyder who be of his bande and compaignye, suche as by murther and vntreuthe committed agaynste there awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynste theyr Prynce and souereygne Lorde haue disheryted me and you

V, iii, 276-309.

V, iii, 285.

and wrongefully deteyne and vsurpe ouer lawefull patrymonye and lyneall inheryt-
aunce. For he that calleth hym selfe kynge, kepeth from me the Crowne and regy-
mente of this noble realme and countrey contrarye to all iustice and equitie. Lyke-
wise, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes, cutt downe your
woddes and destroy your manners, letting your wifes and children **V, ii, 11.**
range a brode for their liuyng . . . besyde this I assure you that there
be yonder in that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, soul-
diours by force compelled and not w^t^ good will assembled: persons
which desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther master **V, iii, 282.**
and captayn: And fynally a multitude: wherof the most part will
be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. . . . Therfore let all feare be set a
syde and lyke sworne brethern let vs ioyne in one, for this shalbe thende of our
trauayle and the gaine of our labour eyther by honorable death or
famous victory. . . . And this one thyng I assure you, that in so **V, iii, 305.**
iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me
this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fre prisoner on a
carpet in a laydes chamber. . . . This is ye daie of gayne, & this is ye time of
losse, get this day victorie & be cõquerers, & lese this daies battail
& be villains & therefore in ye name of God & saĩct George let **V, iii, 308.**
euery mã coragiously auaũce forth his stãdard. . . .

He had scantly finyshed his saienge, but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastely the souldioures buckled their healmes, how quikly the archers bent their bowes and frushed theire feathers, how redely ye byllmen shoke there bylles and proued there staues, redy to approche & ioyne when the terrible trompet should sownde the bluddy blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Richemonde left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them, then the trompettes
blew & the souldiours showted and the kyngs archers couragiously **V, iii, 390.**
let fly there arrowes, the erles bowmẽ stode not still but paied thẽ
home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the armies ioyned, & came to hande strokes, where nother swerde nor byll was spared at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meane season feryng lest while his cõpaignie was fightyng, they should be compassed & circũuented w^t^ ye multitude of his enemies, gaue cõmaũdemẽt in euery ranke y^t^ no man should be so hardy as go aboue .x. fote from ye standard, whiche cõmaundement ons knowen, they knit thẽ selfes together, & ceased a littel frõ fightyng: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustynge some fraude or deceate, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the wylles of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therfore they fought very faintlye or stode stil. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on his ennemies freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thyne before and thicke and brode behynde, begynnynge againe hardely the battaill. While the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entendyng to vanquishe & conuince ye other, Kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, y^t^ therle of Richmõd accompaignied with a small nomber of men of armes was not farre of, & as he approched and marched toward him, he perfitely knew his personage

by certaine demonstracions & tokens whiche he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed w^t^ outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horse & rode out of the syde of ye range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fightyng, & like a hungery lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richemond perceyued wel the king furiusly commyng toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battaill, he gladly proferred to encountre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Richard set on so sharpely at the first Broũt y^t^ he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir
V, iii, 28. Charles Brandon by kynge Hēry ye VIII. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand w^t^ sir Ihon Cheinye, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & the saied Ihon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes poincte without auantage longer then his compaignions other thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victorie, were sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with .iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtynge in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

In the meane season therle of Oxforde with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight disconfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate nomber were slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest nomber whiche (compelled by feare of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie mocion) came to the feld, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauing no harme nor domage sauely departed, whiche came not thyther in hope to se the kynge prosper and preuaile, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battaile died fewe aboue the nomber of a thousande persons: And of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke, whiche was warned by
V, iii, 347. dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate:

Iack of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandynge he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythefull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from his mayster, but as he faythefully lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde. There were slayne besyde him Water lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Ratclyffe,
V, v, 19, 20. and Robert Brackenburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo. . . . On therle of Richmōds part were slaine scace one hundred persones, amongst whome the principall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer. This battaill was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the .xxii. daye of August in the yere of our redempcion a.M.CCCC.lxxxvi. the hole conflicte endured lyttell aboue two howres. Kyng Richard as the
V, iv, 12-14. fame went might haue escaped and gotten sauegarde by fliynge. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first ioynyng of the battaill the souldiours faintly and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies . . . they brought to hym a swyfte and a light horse to conuey hym away. He which was not ignorant of ye grudge and yll will y^t^ the

cõmõ people bare toward him . . . answered (as men saye) that on that daye he would make an ende of all battailes or els ther finish his lyfe. . . .

When therle had thus obteigned victorie and slain his mortal enemie, he kneled doune and rendred to almightie God his harty thãkes w^t^ deuoute & Godly orisons, besechyng his goodnes to sende hym grace to auaunce & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine iustice & cõcorde amõgest his subiectes & people, by God now to his gouernaũce cõmitted & assigned: Which praier finyshed, he replenyshed w^t^ incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a litell mountaine, where he not only praysed & lawded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto theim his harty thankes, w^t^ promyse of cõdigne recompence for their fidelite & valiaũt factes, willing & commaundyng al the hurt & woũded persones to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to ye sepulture. Then ye people reioysed & clapped hãdes criyng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kynge Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles hed, as though he had byne elected king by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicite. **V, v, 8-13.**

I must put you here in remembraunce how that kynge Richarde puttynge some diffidence in the lord Stanley, which had w^t^ hym as an hostage, the lorde straunge his eldest sonne, which lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioyned not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armye, for feare that kynge Richarde would haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kynge Richarde was come to Bosworth, he sent a purseuaũt to the lord Stanley, commaundyng hym to auaunce forward with hys compaignie and to come to his presence, whiche thynge yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde before he dined. The lorde Stanley aunswered the pursiuaunt that yf the kynge dyd so, he had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: when kynge Richarde harde this aunswere he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight eche of other. The counsaillers of kyng Richard pondering the time and the cause, knowynge also the Lorde Straunge to be innocente of his fathers offence, perswaded the kynge that it was now time to fight and not time to execucion, aduisynge him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battayll were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God woulde kyng Rycharde enfrynged hys holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kynges tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whyche when the felde was done and their master slayne and proclamacion made to knowe were the childe was, they submitted them selfes as prysoners to the Lord Straunge, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclamed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate ioye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and thesame nyght in the euenyng kynge Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester. . . . Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honestie before ambicion tyranny and myschiefe. **V, iii, 387-390.** **V, v, 15-17.**

THE LATIN TRAGEDY OF RICHARDUS TERTIUS

THE Latin Tragedy, *Richardus Tertius*, was acted at St John's College, Cambridge, some time before 1588; two allusions to this performance, by Harrington and by Heywood, are given in the notes on I, i, 1; to these should be added a third, first mentioned by STEEVENS: 'It appears from the following passage in the 'preface to Nashe's *Have With You to Saffron Walden*, 1596, that a Latin tragedy 'of *King Richard III.* had been acted at Trinity [*sic*] College, Cambridge: "—or his 'fellow codshead that in the Latine tragedie of King Richard, cried—*Ad urbs, ad 'urbs, ad urbs*, when his whole part was no more than—*Urbs, urbs, ad arma, ad 'arma.*"' Of this Latin Tragedy there are two copies in manuscript, one in the library of Emmanuel College, and the other in the University Library, Cambridge. Under the editorship of BARRON FIELD, it was printed from the Emmanuel College MS by the Shakespeare Society, vol. v, 1844. This was its first appearance in this form. The editor remarks that the University Library MS alone gives the following title: 'Thomae Legge legum doctoris | Collegii Caio-goneviliensis in | Academia Cantabrigiensi | magistri ac Rectoris. | Richardus tertius Tragedia | trivespa | habita Collegii Divi Johnis | Evangeliste | Comitii Bacchelaureorum | Anno Domini 1579 | Tragedia in tres accones divisa. |' Two contemporary allusions to the play are given by Field, and concerning Dr Thomas Legge he says: 'The author. . . probably wrote it for the purpose of being performed before 'the Queen. In the year 1592, he was Vice Chancellor of the University, "and," 'says Mr Collier, "in a communication to Lord Burghley, he refers to some offence 'given to the Queen, probably by requiring, in answer to her wishes to see a play at 'Cambridge, time and the use of the Latin tongue; and mentions that the University 'had sent some of its body to Oxford, to witness the entertainment there given to 'Her Majesty, in order to be better prepared hereafter to obey her directions." '(*Hist. of Dram. Poet.*, i, 296). Besides the play of *Richardus Tertius* . . . he 'wrote a tragedy called *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, and, to use Fuller's words: '"having at last refined it to the purity of the publique standard, some plageary 'filched it from him, just as it was to be acted." [*Worthies*, ii, 491; ed. 1840.] Fuller 'also informs us that Dr Palmer, afterwards Dean of Peterborough, was the original 'performer of Richard, and very successful in Legge's other play.'—Fuller's words in regard to Dr Palmer are delightfully characteristic: 'John Palmer. . . who 'acted King Richard, had his head so possessed with a prince-like humour, that 'ever after he did what then he acted, in his prodigal expences; so that (the cost of 'a sovereign ill befitting the purse of a subject) he died poor in prison, notwithstand-'ing his great preferment.'—*Worthies*, ii, 491. Fuller also tells us that: 'Dr Legge 'died July 12, 1607, in the 72nd year of his age.' FARMER and TYRWHITT both mention another Latin play of the same title as that by Legge; Farmer declares it to be but a 'childish imitation' of the older play written by Henry Lacy in 1586, CHURCHILL goes even further and shows (p. 395) that: 'It is in fact nothing less 'than a transcript of Legge's play, made, as appears from MS Harl. 6926, by Lacy, 'for presentation at Trinity College, Cambridge. . . . The establishment of this 'fact was due to the authors of the *Athenæ Cantabrigiensis*, 1861. cf. vol. ii, p. 41.'—This accounts, I think, for the apparent error in Steeven's note (quoted above) as to the locality of the performance of the Latin tragedy referred to by Nash in the preface to *Have With You*, etc.

In addition to the Lacy copy just mentioned, cited also at I, i, 1. by Farmer, Field says that there is another copy in the same collection, No. 2412, and adds: 'That these "University men" had acquired some reputation by their theatrical 'performances, is proved by the well-known dialogue in Nash's *Return from Par-* '*nassus*, reprinted in Hawkins [vol. iii] in which Kemp and Burbage are seen in 'treaty with two of them, called *Philomusus* and *Studioso*, for engagements as 'actors, and in which one of them gives a taste of his quality, by reciting the open- 'ing speech of Shakespeare's *Richard III.*'—[IV, iii, 1878.—Ed. Macray.] An elaborate account of Legge's play may be found in Churchill, pp. 265–395; in concluding his descriptive analysis he remarks: 'There is not enough to warrant 'the assertion of Legge's influence [on Shakespeare.] One can only venture the 'suggestion that if, as many critics think, Shakespeare's play is a revision of an 'anterior play, especially if this anterior play was Marlowe's, it may have been 'subject to Legge's influence, and so account for the presence in Shakespeare's 'play of some of the resemblances. It is difficult to compare the wooing scenes 'and not cherish a suspicion that such was the case.'

THE TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RICHARD THE THIRD

In the *Preliminary Remarks* on *Richard III.* in the *Variorum of* 1821, the editor, BOSWELL, says: 'I have been favoured by Mr Rhodes, of Lyons Inn, with the perusal of an ancient interlude which unfortunately has lost the title page and a few lines at the beginning, but which I have not a doubt is the very piece referred to in the *Stationers' Registers* [under the name of Thomas Creede, June 19, 1594]. As it is probably unique, and appears evidently to have been read and used by Shakespeare, that gentleman has very liberally permitted me to reprint it.' He also adds the following note at the end of the reprinted piece: 'I have not thought it necessary to point out the particular passages in which a resemblance may be traced between the foregoing drama and our author's *Richard III.*; but I think the reader will be satisfied that Shakespeare must have seen it when he sat down to the composition of his own play. Who the author was of the original performance is a question of minor importance; but I am inclined to think it was the same person who wrote *Locrine*, which has been absurdly ascribed to Shakespeare himself. If the reader will compare Richard's soliloquy, p. 542, with the following lines from the play I have mentioned, he will be able to judge how far I am justified in ascribing both to the same person:

'The boysterous Boreas thundreth forth revenge
The stonie rocks crie out on sharpe revenge
Now Corineus staie and see revenge.'
[Fourth Folio; p. 301, col. a.]

Again:

'What said I falshood? I that filthie crime,
For Locrine hath forsaken Guendoline.

Behold the heavens do waile for Guendoline.
The shining sunne doth blush for Guendoline.
The liquid aire doth weep for Guendoline.
The verie ground doth grone for Guendoline.
I. they are milder then the Brittaine King,
For he rejecteth luckleese Guendoline.'

[Fourth Folio; p. 300, col. b.]

A. SKOTTOWE (i, 206): Shakespeare did not, as on many other occasions, adopt the plan of the play before him, but grafted on his own view of the subject such hints as he deemed conducive to its improvement. [Hereupon follow four extracts from the *True Tragedie* which are compared to the following passages in *Richard III.*: IV, i, 24, 25; IV, iii, 517–528; V, iii, 209; V, v, 11; Skottowe's remarks on the similarity of these are incorporated in the notes on the above-mentioned passages, *q. v.*—ED.]

COLLIER (*Introd.*, p. 344): We cannot trace any resemblances [between The *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, and Shakespeare's play] but such as were probably purely accidental, and are merely trivial. Two persons could hardly take up the same period of our annals, as the ground-work of a drama, without some coincidences; but there is no point, either in the conduct of the plot or in the language in which it is clothed, where our great dramatist does not show his measureless superiority. The portion of the story in which the two plays make the nearest approach to each other is just before the murder of the princes, where Richard strangely takes a page into his confidence respecting the fittest agent for the purpose. In the *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, it is shown that Henslowe's company, subsequent to 1599, was either in possession of a play upon the story of Richard III., or that some of the poets he employed were engaged upon such a drama. From the sketch of five scenes there inserted, we may judge that it was a distinct performance from the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third*. By an entry in Henslowe's *Diary*, dated 22nd June, 1602, we learn that Ben Jonson received 10*l.* in earnest of a play called *Richard Crookback*, and for certain additions he was to make to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. Considering the success of Shakespeare's *Richard III.*, and the active contention, at certain periods, between the company to which Shakespeare belonged, and that under the management of Henslowe, it may be looked upon as singular that the latter should have been without a drama on that portion of English history until after 1599; and it is certainly not less singular that, as late as 1602, Ben Jonson should have been occupied in writing a new play upon the subject. Possibly, about that date Shakespeare's *Richard III.* had been revised with additions; and hence the employment of Jonson on a rival drama, and the publication of the third edition of Shakespeare's tragedy after an interval of four years. . . . As in the epilogue [to the *True Tragedie*] no allusion is made to the Spanish Armada, though other public events of less prominence are touched upon, we may infer that the drama was written before 1588. The style in which it is composed deserves observation: it is partly written in prose, partly in heavy blank verse (such as was penned before Marlowe had introduced his improvements, and Shakespeare had adopted and advanced them), partly in ten-syllable rhyming couplets and stanzas, and partly in the long fourteen syllable metre, which seems to have been popular even before prose was employed upon

our stage. In every point of view it may be asserted that few more curious dramatic relics exist in our language. It is the most ancient printed specimen of composition for a public theatre, of which the subject was derived from English history.

BARRON FIELD (*Introd.*, p. vi): Antiquity and priority to Shakespeare constituting the only interest of this piece, I have refrained from enforcing the metre and modernizing the spelling. . . and have made it, with the exception of palpable errors of the press, a *fac-simile* of the old edition, now reprinted through the liberality of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, the owner of the copy. . . . I have in the notes pointed out several parallel ideas. The following line in the battle-scene is, in my opinion, quite enough to show that Shakespeare considered Nature, as Moliére said of Wit, as his property, and that he had a right to seize it wherever he found it. 'A horse, a horse, a fresh horse.' Collier's [remark in regard to that 'portion of the story in which the two plays make the nearest approach to each other'] should hardly be called strange in our dramatist, since it is authorized in the history by Sir Thomas More. [In regard to the authorship, Field shows that little reliance can be placed upon the resemblance between the passages from *Locrine* and the *True Tragedie*, suggested by Boswell, as the repetition of a word 'is one of the commonest artifices of rhetoric, and has been beautifully employed by Shakespeare himself in the *Mer. of Ven.*, V, i, 193–202.']

VERPLANCK considers that 'beyond such straggling hints' as the line in the *True Tragedie*, 'A horse, a horse, a fresh horse!' and 'the substitution of the ghost-scene, in place of Richard's dream of devils related by Hall,' Shakespeare was but little indebted to the older play.

W. W. LLOYD (*Introd. Essay*): On the whole, I think it quite within the range of possibility that the plays that are to be assumed as the ground-work of Shakespeare's *Henry VI.* emanated from the same author as this wild and disorderly play of Richard III. That Shakespeare knew this play there can be little doubt, partly from agreement in general course, though that was aided by common dependence on another source and still more from correspondence of terms and of tone in particular passages. . . . From the custom of the stage at the time, it is probable enough that this drama may have been altered and realtered frequently and very variously before Shakespeare took the subject in hand. With all its defects it is at least free from the affectation of classical allusions, and, comparatively so, from frigid inflation and bombast; and the honest attempt of the author to convey the story he had to tell with some variety and force, has been worthily rewarded by some of his thoughts, here a phrase and there a trait, being recollected by Shakespeare. As to any further comparison of versification, characterization, and design, it is, of course, out of the question entirely. [See also note by Lloyd on I, iv, 123.]

C. KNIGHT (*Studies*, etc.; p. 22): There is not a trace in the *True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, of the *character* of Shakespeare's Richard:—in that play he is a coarse ruffian only—an intellectual villain. The author has not even had the skill to copy the dramatic narrative of Sir Thomas More in the scene of the arrest of Hastings. It is sufficient for him to make Richard display the brute force of the tyrant. The affected complacency, the mock passion, the bitter sarcasm of the Richard of the historian, were left for Shakespeare to imitate and improve.

F. G. FLEAY (*Biog. Chron. of English Drama*, ii, 315): *The True Tragedie* was played at court (see prayer at end), and therefore cannot date later than 1591; but as it was evidently meant as a continuation of the series *1 Henry VI.* and *The Contention of York and Lancaster*, it cannot be much earlier. . . . As to the authorship, I doubt not that the *Induction* is by Lodge; Sc. 1, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, including the death of Edward IV., and the smothering of the Princes, seem to be Peele's; Sc. 2, 6, 7, 9, 13, 10, and 14–20 I attribute, as also the *Epilogue* to Lodge. . . . Indications are not wanting that it is founded on an earlier play in which Kyd had a hand. Note especially in Sc. 9 the phrase: 'Blood is a threatener and will have revenge'; Nash, when twitting Kyd with his Seneca phrases in the address before *Menaphon*, quotes as one of them, 'Blood is a beggar.'

G. B. CHURCHILL (p. 398): As a history play the *True Tragedie* is undoubtedly the first in which the interest is fixed upon one central and dominating figure. It is not the first to abandon the loose and unorganised method of writing chronicle-histories which spread out the events of a period in their historical succession without attempt at unity; for in the *Edward II.* of Marlowe these plays had already advanced to a point where the historical events are not detailed purely for their own sake, but are unified by their relation to a central figure, and where the history play becomes in a high degree a study of character. . . . The Richard of *The True Tragedie* is not only central but dominating, not merely attracts the chief interest, but absorbs practically all of it. The play is not the chronicle-history of a reign, it is purely the history of a character. [For an exhaustive account of the 'historical position, nature, and style of the *True Tragedie*,' see Churchill, pp. 398–496.]

THE

TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RI-

CHARD THE THIRD:

Wherein is showne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two yoong Princes in the Tower:

With a lamentable ende of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women.

And lastly the coniunction and ioyning of the two noble Houses, *Lancaster* and *Yorke.*

As it was playd by the Queenes Maiesties Players.

LONDON

Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Newgate Market, neare Christ Church doore. 1594.

THE

TRUE TRAGEDIE OF RI-

CHARD THE THIRD

Enters *Truth* and *Poetrie*. To them the Ghoast of *George* Duke of *Clarence*.

Ghost.

Cresse cruor sanguinis, satietur sanguine cresse,
Quod spero scitio. O scitio, scitio, vendicta.

Exit.

Poetrie. Truth well met.
Truth. Thankes Poetrie, what makes thou vpon a stage?
Poet. Shadowes.
Truth. Then will I adde bodies to the shadowes,
Therefore depart and giue Truth leaue
To shew her pageant.
Poe. Why will Truth be a Player?
Truth. No, but Tragedia like for to present
A Tragedie in England done but late,
That will reuiue the hearts of drooping mindes.
Poe. Whereof?
Truth. Marry thus.
Richard Plantagenet of the House of Yorke,
Claiming the Crowne by warres, not by dissent,
Had as the Chronicles make manifest,
In the two and twentith yeare of Henry the sixth,
By act of Parliament intailed to him
The Crowne and titles to that dignitie,
And to his ofspring lawfully begotten,
After the decease of that forenamed King,
Yet not contented for to staie the time,
Made warres vpon King Henry then the sixth,
And by outrage suppressed that vertuous King,
And wonne the Crowne of England to himselfe,
But since at *Wakefield* in a battell pitcht,
Outragious Richard breathed his latest breath,
Leauing behind three branches of that line,
Three sonnes: the first was Edward now the King,
George of *Clarence*, and Richard *Glosters* Duke,
Then Henry claiming after his decease
His stile, his Crowne and former dignitie
Was quite suppressed, till this Edward the fourth.
Poe. But tell me truth, of Henry what ensued?

Tru. Imprisoned he, in the Tower of London lies,
By strict command, from Edward Englands King,
Since cruelly murthered, by Richard *Glosters* Duke.
Poe. Whose Ghoast was that did appeare to vs?
Tru. It was the ghost of George the duke of *Clarẽce*,
Who was attected in King Edwards raigne,
Falsly of Treason to his royaltie,
Imprisoned in the Tower was most vnnaturally,
By his owne brother, shame to parents stocke,
By *Glosters* Duke drowned in a but of wine.
Poe. What shield was that he let fall?
Tru. A shield conteining this, in full effect,
Blood sprinkled, springs: blood spilt, craues due reuenge:
Whereupon he writes, *Cresse cruor*,
Sanguis satietur, sanguine cresse,
Quod spero scilio: O scilio scilio, vendicta.
Poe. What manner of man was this Richard Duke of *Gloster?*
Truth. A man ill shaped, crooked backed, lame armed, withall,
Valiantly minded, but tyrannous in authoritie,
So during the minoritie of the yoong Prince,
He is made Lord Protector ouer the Realme.
Gentiles suppose that Edward now hath raigned
Full two and twentie yeares, and now like to die,
Hath summond all his Nobles to the Court,
To sweare alleageance with the Duke his brother,
For truth vnto his sonne the tender Prince,
Whose fathers soule is now neare flight to God,
Leauing behind two sonnes of tender age,
Fiue daughters to comfort the haplesse Queene,
All vnder the protection of the Duke of *Gloster:*
Thus gentles, excuse the length by the matter,
And here begins Truthes Pageant, Poetrie
Wend with me. *Exeunt.*

Enter *Edward* the fourth, Lord *Hastings*, Lord *Marcus*, and *Elizabeth*. To them *Richard.*

Hastings. Long liue my soueraigne, in all happinesse.
Marcus. An honourable age with *Cressus* wealth,
Hourely attend the person of the King.
King. And welcome you Peeres of England vnto your King.
Hast. For our vnthankfulnesse the heauens hath throwne thee downe.
Mar. I feare for our ingratitude, our angry God doth frowne.
King. Why Nobles, he that laie me here
Can raise me at his pleasure.
By my deare friends and kinsmen,
In what estate I now lie it is seene to you all,
And I feel myselfe near the dreadfull stroke of death.
And the cause that I haue requested you in friendly wise

To meete togither is this,
That where malice & enuy sowing sedition in the harts of men
So would I haue that admonished and friendly fauours,
Ouercome in the heart of you Lord *Marcus* and Lord *Hastings*
Both, for how I haue gouerned these two and twentie yeares,
I leaue it to your discretions.
The malice hath still bene an enemy to you both,
That in my life time I could neuer get any lege of amity betwixt you,
Yet at my death let me intreate you to imbrace each other,
That at my last departure you may send my soule
To the ioyes celestiall:
For leauing behinde me my yoong sonne,
Your lawfull King after my decease,
May be by your wise and graue counsell so gouerned,
Which no doubt may bring comfort
To his famous realme of England.
But (what saith Lord *Marcus* and Lord *Hastings*)
What not one word? nay then I see it will not be,
For they are resolute in their ambition.
Elizabeth. Ah yeeld Lord Hastings,
And submit your selues to each other:
And you Lord Marcus, submit your selfe,
See here the aged King my father,
How he sues for peace betwixt you both:
Consider Lord Marcus, you are son to my mother the Queene,
And therefore let me intreat you to mittigate your wrath,
And in friendly sort, imbrace each other.
King. Nay cease thy speech Elizabeth,
It is but folly to speake to them,
For they are resolute in their ambitious mindes,
Therefore Elizabeth, I feele my selfe at the last instant of death,
And now must die being thus tormented in minde.
Hast. May it be that thou Lord Marcus,
That neither by intreatie of the Prince,
Nor curtuous word of Elizabeth his daughter,
May withdraw thy ambition from me.
Marc. May it be that thou Lord Hastings,
Canst not perceiue the mark his grace aimes at.
Hast. No I am resolute, except thou submit.
Marc. If thou beest resolute giue vp the vpshot,
And perhaps thy head may paie for the losses.
King. Ah Gods, sith at my death you iarre,
What will you do to the yoong Prince after my decease?
For shame I say, depart from my presence, and leaue me to my self,
For these words strikes a second dying to my soule:
Ah my Lords I thought I could haue commanded
A greater thing then this at your hands,
But sith I cannot, I take my leaue of you both,
And so depart and trouble me no more.

Hast. With shame and like your Maiestie I submit therfore,
Craving humble pardon on my knees,
And would rather that my body shal be a pray to mine enemy,
Rather then I will offend my Lord at the houre
And instance of his death.
King. Ah thankes Lord Hastings.
Eliza. Ah yeeld Lord Marcus, sith Lord Hastings
Is contented to be vnited.
King. Ah yeeld Lord Marcus, thou art too obstinate.
Marc. My gracious Lord, I am content,
And humbly craue your graces pardon on my knee,
For my foule offence,
And see my Lord my brest opened to mine aduersary,
That he may take reuenge, then once it shall be said,
I will offend my gratious suffereinge.
King. Now let me see you friendly giue one an other your hands.
Hast. With a good will ant like your grace,
Therefore Lord Marcus take here my hand,
Which was once vowde and sworne to be thy death,
But now through intretie of my Prince,
I knit a league of amitie for euer.
Mar. Well Lord Hastings, not in show but in deed,
Take thou here my hand, which was once vowed
To a shiuered thy bodie in peecemeales,
That the foules of the ayre should haue fed
Their yoong withall,
But now vpon aleageance to my Prince, I vow perfect loue,
And liue friendship for euer.
King. Now for confirming of it, here take your oathes.
Hast. If I Lord Hastings falcifie my league of friendship
Vowde to Lord Marcus, I craue confusion.
Marcus. Like oath take I, and craue confusion.
King. Confusion.
Now my Lords, for your yoong King, that lieth now at *Ludlo*,
Attended with Earle Riuers, Lord Gray, his two vnkles,
And the rest of the Queenes kindred,
I hope you will be vnto him as you haue bene to me,
His yeares are but young, thirteene at the most,
Vnto whose gouernment, I commit to my brother the Protector,
But to thee Elizabeth my daughter,
I leaue thee in a world of trouble,
And commend me to thy mother, to all thy sisters,
And especially I giue thee this in charge vpon & at my death,
Be loyall to thy brother during his authoritie,
As they selfe art vertuous, let thy praiers be modest,
Still be bountifull in deuotion.
And thus leauing thee with a kisse, I take my last farewell,
For I am so sleepie, that I must now make an ende,
And here before you all, I commit my soule to almighty God,

My sauiour, and sweet redeemer, my bodie to the earth,
My Scepter and Crowne to the yoong Prince my sonne:
And now Nobles, draw the Curtaines and depart,
He that made me saue me,
Vnto whose hands I commit my spirit.
The King dies in his bed.

Enters *Shores* wife, and *Hursly* her mayde.

Shorse. O Fortune, wherefore wert thou called Fortune?
But that thou art fortunate?
Those whom thou fauourest be famous,
Meriting mere mercie,
And fraught with mirrors of magnanimitie,
And Fortune I would thou hadst neuer fauoured me.
Hurs. Why mistresse, if you exclaime against Fortune,
You condemne your selfe,
For who hath aduanced you but Fortune?
Shorse. I as she hath aduanced me,
So may she throw me downe:
But Hursly, doest not heare the King is sicke?
Hurs. Yes mistresse, but neuer heard that euerie sicke man died.
Shore. Ah Hursly, my minde presageth
Some great mishaps vnto me,
For last time I saw the King, me thought
Gastly death approached in his face,
For thou knowest this Hursly, I haue bene good to all,
And still readie to preferre my friends,
To what preferment I could,
For what was it his grace would deny Shores wife?
Of any thing, yea were it halfe his reuenewes,
I know his grace would not see me want,
And if his grace should die,
As heauens forfend it should be so,
I haue left me nothing now to comfort me withall,
And then those that are my foes will triumph at my fall,
And if the King escape, as I hope he will,
Then will I feather my neast,
That blow the stormie winter neuer so cold,
I will be throughly prouided for one:
But here comes Lodwicke, seruant to Lord Hastings,
How now Lodwicke, what newes?

Enters *Lodwicke.*

Lod. Mistresse Shore, my Lord would request you,
To come and speake with him.
Shore. I will Lodwicke.
But tell me what newes, is the King recouered?
Lod. I mistresse Shore, he hath recouered

That he long lookt for.

Shore. Lodwicke, how long is it since
He began to mend?

Lod. Euen when the greatest of his torments had left him.

Shore. But are the nobles agreed to the contentment of the Prince?

Lod. The Nobles and Peeres are agreed as the King would wish them.

Shorse. Lodwicke thou reuiuest me.

Lod. I but few thought that the agreement and his life would have ended togither.

Shore. Why Lodwicke is he dead.

Lod. In briefe mistresse Shore, he hath changed his life.

Shorse. His life, ah me vnhappie woman,
Now is misery at hand,
Now will my foes tryumph at this my fall,
Those whom I haue done most good, will now forsake me.
Ah Hursly, when I enterteined thee first,
I was farre from change, so was I Lodwicke,
When I restored thee thy lands.
Ah sweete Edward, farewell my gracious Lord and souereigne,
For now shall Shores wife be a mirrour and looking glasse,
To all her enemies.
Thus shall I finde Lodwicke, and haue cause to say,
That all men are vnconstant.

Lod. Why mistresse Shore, for the losse of one friend,
Will you abandon the rest that wish you well?

Shore. Ah Lodwicke I must, for when the tree decaies
Whose fruitfull branch haue flourished many a yeare,
Then farewell those ioyfull dayes and ofspring of my heart,
But say Lodwicke, who hath the King made Protector,
During the innormitie of the yoong Prince.

Lod. He hath made his brother Duke of Gloster Protector.

Shore. Ah me, then comes my ruine and decaie,
For he could neuer abide me to the death,
No he alwaies hated me whom his brother loued so well,
Thus must I lament and say, all the world is vnconstant.

Lod. But mistresse Shore, comfort your selfe,
And thinke well of my Lord,
Who hath alway bene a helper vnto you.

Shorse. Indeed Lodwicke to condemne his honour I cannot,
For he hath alway bene my good Lord,
For as the world is fickle, so changeth the minds of men.

Lod. Why mistresse Shore, rather then want should oppresse
You, that litle land which you beg'd for me of the King,
Shall be at your dispose.

Shorse. Thanks good Lodwicke.

Enters a Citizen and *Morton* a seruing man.

Citi. O maister Morton, you are very welcome met,
I hope you think on me for my mony.

Mor. I pray sir beare with me, and you shall haue it,
With thankes too.
Citi. Nay, I pray sir let me haue my mony,
For I haue had thankes and too much more then I lookt for.
Mor. In faith sir you shall haue it,
But you must beare with me a litle,
But sir, I marvell how you can be so greedie for your mony,
When you see sir, we are so vncertaine of our owne.
Citi. How so vncertaine of mine owne?
Why doest thou know any bodie wil come to rob me?
Mor. Why no.
Citi. Wilt thou come in the night and cut my throate?
Mor. No.
Citi. Wilt thou and the rest of thy companions,
Come and set my house on fire?
Mor. Why no, I tell thee.
Citi. Why how should I then be vncertaine of mine owne?
Mor. Why sir, by reason the King is dead.
Citi. O sir! is the King dead?
I hope he hath giuen you no quittance for my debt.
Mor. No sir, but I pray staie a while, and you shall haue it
Assoone as I can.
Citi. Well I must be content, where nothing is to be had,
The King looseth his right they say,
But who is this?
Mor. Marry sir it is mistresse Shore,
To whom I am more beholding too for my seruice,
Then the deerest friend that euer I had.
Citi. And I for my sonnes pardon.
Mor. Now mistresse Shore, how fare you?
Shore. Well Morton, but not so well as thou hast knowne me,
For I thinke I shal be driuen to try my friends one day.
Mor. God forfend mistresse Shore,
And happie be that Sunne shall shine vpon thee,
For preseruing the life of my sonne.
Shore. Gramercies good father.
But how doth thy sonne, is he well?
Citi. The better that thou liues, doth he.
Shore. Thankes father, I am glad of it,
But come maister Lodwicke shall we go?
And you Morton, youle beare vs company.
Lod. I mistresse Shore,
For my Lord thinkes long for our coming.

Exit omnes.

Citi. There there, huffer, but by your leaue,
The Kings death is a maime to her credit,
But they say, there is my Lord Hastings in the Court,
He is as good as the Ase of hearts at maw,
Well euen as they brew, so let them bake for me:

But I must about the streets, to see and I can meete
With such cold customers as they I met withall euen now,
Masse if I meete with no better,
I am like to keepe a bad hoshold of it.

Exit.

Enters *Richard*, sir *William Casbe*, Page of his chamber, and his traine.

Rich. My friends depart,
The Houre commands your absence.
Leaue me and euery man looke to his charge. *Exit traine.*

Casbie. Renowned and right worthie Protector,
Whose excelency far deserues the name of King then protector,
Sir William Casbie wisheth my Lord,
That your grace may so gouerne the yoong Prince,
That the Crowne of England may flourish in all happinesse. *Exit Casbie.*

Rich. Ah yoong Prince, and why not I?
Or who shall inherit Plantagines but his sonne?
And who the King deceased, but the brother?
Shall law bridle nature, or authoritie hinder inheritance?
No, I say no: Principalitie brookes no equalitie,
Much lesse superioritie,
And the title of a King, is next vnder the degree of a God,
For if he be worthie to be called valiant,
That in his life winnes honour, and by his sword winnes riches,
Why now I with renowne of a souldier, which is neuer sold but
By waight, nor changed but by losse of life,
I reapt not the gaine but the glorie, and since it becommeth
A sonne to maintaine the honor of his deceased father,
Why should I not hazard his dignitie by my brothers sonnes?
To be baser than a King I disdaine,
And to be more then Protector, the law deny,
Why my father got the Crowne, my brother won the Crowne,
And I will weare the Crowne,
Or ile make them hop without their crownes that denies me:
Haue I remoued such logs out of my sight as my brother *Clarēce*
And King Henry the sixt, to suffer a child to shadow me,
Nay more, my nephew to disinherit me,
Yet most of all, to be released from the yoke of my brother
As I terme it, to become subiect to his sonne,
No death nor hell shall not withhold me, but as I rule I wil raign,
And so raign that the proudest enemy shall not abide
The sharpest shoure. Why what are the babes but a puffe of
Gun-pouder? a marke for the soldiers, food for fishes,
Or lining for beds, deuices enough to make them away,
Wherein I am resolute, and determining, needs no counsell,
Ho, whose within?

Enters Page and Perciuall.

Perc. May it please your Maiestie.
Richard. Ha villaine, Maiestie.

Per. I speake but vpon that which shal be my good Lord.

Rich. But whats he with thee?

Page. A Messenger with a letter from the right honourable
The Duke of *Buckingham.* *Exit Page.*

Rich. Sirra giue place.
Ah how this title of Maiestie, animates me to my purpose,
Rise man, regard no fall, haply this letter brings good lucke,
May it be, or is it possible,
Doth Fortune so much fauour my happinesse
That I no sooner deuise, but she sets abroach?
Or doth she but to trie me, that raising me aloft,
My fall may be the greater, well laugh on sweete change,
Be as be may, I will neuer feare colours nor regard ruth,
Valour brings fame, and fame conquers death.
Perciuall.

Per. My Lord.

Rich. For so thy letter declares thy name,
Thy trust to thy Lord, is a sufficient warrant
That I vtter my minde fully vnto thee,
And seeing thy Lord and I haue bene long foes,
And haue found now so fit opportunitie to ioyne league,
To alaie the proude enemy, tell him thus as a friend,
I do accept of his grace, and will be as readie to put in practise
To the vttermost of my power, what ere he shalbe to deuise,
But whereas he hath writ that the remouing of the yoong
Prince from the Queenes friends might do well,
Tell him thus, it is the only way to our purpose,
For he shall shortly come vp to London to his Coronation,
At which instant, we will be both present,
And where by the helpe of thy Lord, I will so plaie my part,
That ile be more than I am, and not much lesse then I looke for
No nor a haire bredth from that I am,
Aiudge thou what it is *Perciual.*

Perc. God send it my Lord, but my Lord willed me to satisfie you, and to tell you by word of mouth that he hath in readinesse a braue company of men.

Rich. What power hath he?

Per. A braue band of his owne.

Rich. What number?

Per. My Lord, to the number of five hundreth footmen.
And horsemen ayders vnto him, is my Lord Chamberlaine, and my Lord Hastings.

Rich. Sounes, dares he trust the Lord Hastings.

Per. I my Lord as his owne life, he is secret I warrant you.

Rich. Well Perciuall, this matter is waightie and must not be slipt, therefore, return this answere to thy Lord, that to morrow I will meet him, for to day I cannot, for now the funerall is past I must set a screene before the fire for feare of suspition: again, I am now to strengthen my selfe by the controuersie that is betwixt the kindred of the King deceast, and the Queene thats liuing, the yoong Prince is yet in hucsters handling, and they not throughly friendes, now must I so worke, that the water that driues the mill may drowne it. I climbe Perciuall, I regard more

the glorie then the gaine, for the very name of a King redouble a mans life with fame, when death hath done his worst, and so commend me to thy Lord, and take thou this for thy paines.

Per. I thanke your grace, I humbly take my leaue. *Exit Percivall.*

Rich. Why so, now Fortune make me a King, Fortune giue me a kingdome, let the world report the Duke of Gloster was a King, therefore, Fortune make me King, if I be but King for a yeare, nay but halfe a yeare, nay a moneth, a weeke, three dayes, one day, or halfe a day, nay an houre, swounes half an houre, nay sweete Fortune, clap but the Crowne on my head, that the vassals may but once say, God saue King *Richards* life, it is inough. Sirrha, who is there?

Enters Page.

Page. My Lord.

Rich. What hearest thou about the Court?

Pag. Ioy my Lord of your Proctorship for the most part,
Some murmure, but my Lord they be of the baser sort.

Rich. A mightie arme wil sway the baser sort, authority doth terrifie.
But what other newes hearest thou?

Pag. This my Lord, they say the yong King is comming vp to his coronation, attended on by his two vnkles, Earle Rivers & Lord Gray, and the rest of the Queenes kindred.

Rich. A parlous bone to ground vpon, and a rush stifly knit, which if I could finde a knot, I would giue one halfe to the dogs and set fire on the other.

Pag. It is reported my Lord, but I know not whether it be true or no, that the Duke of Buckingham is vp in the Marches of *Wales* with a band of men, and as they say, hee aimes at the Crowne.

Rich. Tush a shadow without a substance, and a feare without a cause: but yet if my neighbours house bee on fire, let me seeke to saue mine owne, in trust is treason, time slippth, it is ill iesting with edge tooles, or dallying with Princes matters, Ile strike whillst the yron is hote, and Ile trust neuer a Duke of Buckingham, no neuer a Duke in the world, further then I see him. And sirrha, so follow me. *Exit Richard.*

Page. I see my Lord is fully resolued to climbe, but how hee climbes ile leaue that to your iudgements, but what his fall will be thats hard to say: But I maruell that the Duke of Buckingham and he are now become such great friends, who had wont to loue one another so well as the spider doth the flie: but this I haue noted, since he hath had the charge of Proctector, how many noble men hath fled the realme, first the Lord Marcus sonne to the Queene, the Earle of *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*, are secretly fled: how this geare will cotten I know not. But what do I medling in such matters, that should medle with the vntying of my Lordes points, faith do euen as a great many do beside, medle with Princes matters so long, til they proue themselues beggars in the end. Therefore I for feare I should be taken napping with any words, Ile set a locke on my lips, for feare my tongue grow too wide for my mouth. *Exit Page.*

Enter the yoong *Prince*, his brother, Duke of *Yorke*, Earle *Riuers*, Lord *Gray*, sir *Hapce*, sir *Thomas Vaughan*.

King. Right louing vnkles, and the rest of this company, my mother hath written, and thinks it conuenient that we dismisse our traine, for feare the towne

of *Northampton* is not able to receiue vs: and againe my vnckle of *Gloster* may rather thinke we come of malice against him and his blood: therefore, my Lords, let me here your opinions, for my words and her letters are all one: and besides I myselfe giue consent.

Riuers. Then thus may it please your grace, I will shewe my opinion. First note the two houses of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, the league of friendship is yet but greene betwixt them, and little cause of variance may cause it breake, and thereby I thinke it not requisite to discharge the cõpany because of this. The Duke of Buckingham is up in the Marches of *Wales* with a great power, and with him is ioyned the Protector, for what cause I know not, therefore, my Lords, I haue spoken my mind boldly, but do as your honours shall thinke good.

Vaugh. Why my Lord Riuers, wherefore is he Protector but for the Kings safetie?

Riu. I sir Thomas Vaughan, and therefore a traitor, because he is Protector.

Gray. We haue the Prince in charge, therefore, we neede not care.

Riu. We haue the Prince, but they the authoritie.

Gray. Why take you not the Duke of Buckingham for the Kings friend?

Riu. Yes, and yet we may misdoubt the Duke of Gloster as a foe.

Gray. Why then my Lord Riuers, I thinke, it is conunient that we leaue you here behind vs at *Northamton*, for conference with them, and if you heare their pretence be good towards the King, you may in Gods name make returne & come with them, but if not, leaue them and come to vs with speed. For my sister the Queene hath willed that we should dismisse our companie, and the King himselfe hath agreed to it, therefore, we must needs obey.

Riuers. If it please your grace I am content, and humbly take my leaue of you all. *Exit.*

King. Farewell good vnckle, ah gods, if I do liue my fathers yeares as God forbid but I may, I will so roote out this malice & enuie sowne among the nobilitie, that I will make them weary that were the first beginners of these mischiefes.

Gray. Worthily well spoken of your princely Maiestie,
Which no doubt sheweth a king-like resolution.

Vaughon. A toward yoong Prince, and no doubt forward to all vertue, whose raigne God long prosper among vs.

King. But come vnckle, let vs forward of our iourny towards London.

Riuers. We will attend vpon your Maiestie. *Exit omnes.*

Enters an old Inne-keeper, and *Richards* Page.

Page. Come on mine Oste, what doest thou vnderstand my tale or no?

Oste. I faith my guest you haue amazed mee alreadie, and to heare it again, it wil mad me altogither, but because I may think vpon it the better, I pray you let me heare it once more.

Page. Why then thus, I serue the right honourable the Lord Protector.

Oste. I, I know that too well.

Pag. Then this is his graces pleasure, that this night he will be lodged in thy house, thy fare must be sumptuous, thy lodgings cleanly, his men vsed friendly and with great curtesie, and that he may haue his lodging prepared as neare Lord Riuers as possible may be.

Oste. Why sir if this be all, this is done alreadie.

Page. Nay more.

Oste. Nay sir, & you loue me no more, heres too much already.

Page. Nay, my Lords graces pleasure is further, that when all thy guesse haue tane their chambers, that thou conuey into my Lords hands the keyes of euery seuerall chamber, and what my Lords pleasure is further, thou shalt know in the morning.

Oste. How locke in my guesse like prisoners, why doe you heare my guesse? mee thinkes there should be little better then treason in these words you haue vttered.

Page. Treason villaine, how darest thou haue a thought of treason against my Lord, therefore, you were best be briefe, and tell me whether you will do it or no?

Oste. Alasse what shall I do? who were I best to offend? shall I betraie that good olde Earle that hath laine at my house this fortie yeares? why and I doe hee will hang me: nay then on the other side, if I should not do as my Lord Protector commands, he will chop off my head, but is there no remedie?

Page. Come sir be briefe, there is no remedie, therefore, be briefe and tell me straight.

Oste. Why, then sir heres my hand, tell my Lord Protector he shall haue it, I will do as he commands mee, but euen against my will, God is my witnesse.

Page. Why then farewell mine Oste.

Oste. Farewell euen the woorst guest that euer came to my house. A maisters, maisters, what a troublesome vocation am I crept into, you thinke we that be In-keepers get all the world, but I thinke, I shall get a faire halter to my necke, but I must go see all things done to my great griefe. *Exit.*

Enters the mother Queene, and her daughter, and her sonne, to sanctuarie.

Earle *Riuers* speakes out of his chamber.

Ho mine Oste, Chamberlaine wheres my key?
What pend vp like a prisoner? But staie, I feare I am betraid,
The sodain sight of *Glosters* Duke, doth make me sore afraid:
Ile speake to him, and gently him salute,
Tho in my heart I enuie much the man,
God morrow my Lord Protector to your grace,
And Duke of Buckingham God morrow too,
Thankes noble Dukes for our good cheare, & for your cõpany.

Here enters *Buckingham* and *Gloster*, and their traine.

Rich. Thou wretched Earle, whose aged head imagine nought but treacherie,
Like *Iudas* thou admitted wast to sup with vs last night
But heauens preuented thee our ils, and left thee in this plight:
Greeu'st thou that I the Gloster Duke, shuld as Protector sway?
And were you he was left behind, to make vs both away?
Wilt thou be ringleader to wrõg, & must you guide the realme?
Nay ouer boord al such mates I hurl, whilst I do guid the helme:
Ile weed you out by one and one, Ile burne you vp like chaffe,
Ile rend your stock vp by the rootes, that yet in triumphs laffe.

Riu. Alas good Dukes for ought I know, I neuer did offend,
Except vnto my Prince vnloyall I haue bene,
Then shew iust cause, why you exclaime so rashly in this sort,

So falsly thus me to condemme, vpon some false report:
But am I here as prisoner kept, imprisoned here by you?
Then know, I am as true to my Prince, as the proudest in thy crue.
Buc. A brauely spokē good old Earle, who tho his lims be num,
He hath his tongue as much at vse, as tho his yeares were yong.
Ri. Speakest y^{u} the truth, how darst y^{u} speak, for iustice to apeale?
When as thy packing with thy Prince, thy falshood do reueale.
A Riuers blush, for shame to speake, like traitor as thou art.
Riu. A brayd you me as traitor to your grace:
No altho a prisoner, I returne defiance in thy face.
The Chronicles I record, talk of my fidelitie, & of my progeny,
Wher, as in a glas y^{u} maist behold, thy ancestors & their trechery.
The wars in France, Irish cōflicts & *Scotland* knowes my trust,
When thou hast kept thy skin vnscard, and let thine armor rust:
How thou vniustly here exclaim'st,
Yea far from loue or kin,
Was this the oath which at our princes death,
With vs thou didst combine?
But time permits [1] now, to tell thee all my minde:
For well tis known that but for fear, you neuer wold have clind.
Let Commons now haue it in hand, the matter is begun,
Of whom I feare the lesser sort, vpon thy part will run.
My Lords, I cannot breath it out in words like to you: but this,
My honor, I will set to sale, let any comman man come in,
And say Earle Riuers faith vnto his Prince did quaile,
Then will I lose my lands and life, but if none so can doo,
Then thou Protector iniur'st me, and thy copartner too:
But since as Iudges here you are, and taking no remorce,
Spare me not, let me haue law, in iustice do your worst.
Buc. My Lord, lay down a cooling card, this game is gone too far,
You haue him fast, now cut him off, for feare of ciuill war.
Iniurious Earle I hardly brooke, this portion thou hast giuen,
Thus with my honor me to touch, but thy ruth shall begin.
Ri. But as thou art I leaue thee here,
Vnto the officers custody,
First bare him to *Pomphret* Castle,
Charge them to keep him secretly:
And as you heare from me so deale,
Let it be done immediatly:
Take from our Garrison one whole band,
To guard him thither safely.
Riu. And send'st thou me to common Iayle?
Nay then I know thy minde:
God blesse these yoong and tender babes,
That I do leaue behinde.
And God aboue protect them day and night,
Those are the marks thou aim'st at, to rid them from their right.

[1] This should certainly be 'permits not,' as Mr. Boswell suggests.

Farewell sweet England and my country men,
Earle Riuers leades the way:
Yet would my life might rid you from this thrall,
But for my stock and kinred to the Queen, I greatly feare thē all.
And thus disloyal Duke farewell, when euer this is knowne,
The shame and infamy thereof, be sure will be thine owne. *Exit.*

Rich. So now my Lord of Buckingham, les vs hoyst vp saile while the winde serues, this hot beginning must haue a quicke dispatch, therefore I charge and commaund straightly, that euerie high way be laid close, that none may be suffered to carrie this newes before we our selues come, for if word come before vs, then is our pretence bewraid, and all we haue done to no effect. If any aske the cause why they may not passe, vse my authoritie, and if he resist shoote him through. Now my Lord of Buckingham, let vs take post horse to Stony Stratford, where happily we say such grace to the Princes dinner, that I will make the devoutest of them forget what meat they eate, and yet all for the best I hope. *Exit.*

Enter the Yoong *Prince*, Lord *Gray*, sir *Thomas Vaughon*, sir *Richard Hape* and their traine.

Hape. Lord Gray, you do discomfort the King by reason of your heauinesse.

Gray. Alasse sir Richard, how can I be merry when we haue so great a charge of his grace: and again this makes me to greeue the more, because wee cannot heare from Earle Riuers, which makes me think the Protector and he haue bene at some words.

King. Why good vnkle comfort your selfe, no doubt my vnkle Earle Riuers is well, & is comming no doubt with my vnkle of Gloster to meete vs, else we should haue heard to the contrarie. If any haue cause to feare, it is my selfe, therefore good vnkle comfort your selfe and be not sad.

Gray. The sweete ioyce of such a grape would comfort a man were he halfe dead, and the sweete words of such a Prince would make men carlesse of mishaps, how dangerous soeuer.

Hap. Lord Gray, we heare now by all likelihoods the Protector not to be farre, therefore wee are to entertaine him and the Duke of Buckingham with curtesie, both for the Princes behalfe and for our owne.

Gray. Sir Richard Hape, I shall hardly shew the Protector or the Duke of Buckingham any mery countenance, considering how hardly I haue been vsed by them both, but yet for love to my prince I will bridle my affectiō, but in good time they come.

Enters *Richard*, Duke of *Buckingham*, and their traine.

Rich. Long liue my Princely Nephew in all happinesse.

King. Thankes vnckle of Gloster for your curtesie, yet you haue made hast, for we lookt not for you as yet.

Rich. Therein I shew my humble dutie to your grace, whose life I wish to redouble your deceased fathers dayes.

King. Thankes good vnckle.

Buc. Long liue my gratious Prince.

King. Thankes Buckingham, but vnckle you will beare vs company towards London?

Rich. For that cause we came.

Buc. Gentlemen on afore keep your roomes, how now Lord Gray doo you iustle in the presence of the King? This is more then needs.

Gray. My Lord, I scarce touched you, I hope it be no offence.

Rich. Sir no great offence, but inward enuy will burst out,
No Lord Gray, you cannot hide your malice to vs of the Kings blood.

King. Why good vnkle let me know the cause of your suddaine quarrell?

Rich. Marry thus noble Nephew, the old wound of enuy, being rubbed by Lord Grayes venomous rashnesse, is growne to such a venomous sore that it is incurable, without remooue of dead flesh.

Buc. Lord Gray, I do so much dislike thy abuse, that were it not in presence of the Prince, I would bid thee combate; but thus and it shal like your grace, I arest, & atache this Lord Gray, Sir Thomas Vaughon, and Richard Hapce, of high treason to your grace. And that Lord Gray hath conueyed money out of the Tower to relieue our enemies the Scots, and now by currying favor with your maiestie, he thinkes it to be hid.

Rich. Only this I adde, you gouerne the Prince without my authoritie, allowing me no more then the bare name of Protector, which I wil haue in the despight of you, and, therefore, as your competitor Earl Riuers is alreadie imprisoned, so shall you be, till time affoord the law to take place.

Gray. But whereas we are atacht as traytors to his grace, and gouerne him without your authoritie, why we have authoritie from the mother Queene. And for the deliuery of the mony to the Scots, it was done by a generall consent of you all, and that I haue your hands to shew for my discharge, therefore, your arest & atachment is not lawfull: & yet as lawful as your quarell is right.

Rich. Thy presumption condemnes thee Lord Gray, thy arest is lawfull. Therefore, see them speedily and secretly imprisoned, and after the coronation they shall answer it by law, meane while, Officers looke to your charge.

King. A Gods, and is it iustice without my consent? Am I a King and beare no authoritie? My louing kindred committed to prison as traytors in my presence, and I stand to giue aime at them. A Edward, would thou laist by thy fathers side, or else he had liued till thou hadst bin better able to rule. If my neere kindred be committed to prison, what remaines for me, a crowne? A but how? so beset with sorrows, that the care & grief wil kil me ere I shall enioy my kingdome. Well since I cannot command, I wil intreat. Good vnkle of Gloster, for all I can say little, but for my vnkle lord Gray, what need he be a theef or conuey money out of the Tower, when he hath sufficient of his own? But good vnkle let me baile them all: If not, I will baile my vnkle Lord Gray if I may.

Rich. Your grace vndertakes you know not what, the matters are perillous, especially against the Lord Gray.

King. What perilous matters, considering he is a friend to vs?

Rich. He may be a friend to win fauour, & so climbe to promotion in respect of his equals. His equals, nay his betters.

King. I know my vnkle will conceale no treason, or dangerous secresie from vs.

Ric. Yes secrets that are too subtil for babes. Alasse my Lord you are a child, and they vse you as a child: but they consult and conclude of such matters, as were we not carefull, would proue preiudiciall to your Maiesties person. Therefore, let not your grace feare any thing by our determination, for as my authoritie is onely vnder your grace, so shall my loyaltie deserue hereafter the iust recompence

of a true subiect, therefore, I hauing charge frō my brother your father, & our late deceased king, during the minoritie of your grace, I wil vse my authoritie as I see good.

King. Ay me vnhappie king.

Grey. Nay let not your grace be dismaid for our imprisonmēt, but I would we could warrant your grace from harme, & so we humbly take our leaues of your grace, hoping that ere long we shall answer by law to the shame & disgrace of you all. *Exit.*

Rich. Go, you shall answere it by law.

Kin. But come vnkle shal we to Lon. to our vntimely coranatiō?

Rich. What else and please your maiestie, where by the way I will appoint trustie Officers about you.

Buc. Sound Trumpet in this parley, God saue the King.

Rich. Richard.

Enter the mother Queene, and her yoong sonne the Duke of *Yorke*, and *Elisabeth*.

Yorke. May it please your grace to shew to your children the cause of your heavines, that we knowing it, may be copartners of your sorrowes.

Q. Ay me poore husbandles queene, & you poore fatherlesse princes.

Elis. Good mother expect the liuing, and forget the dead. What tho our Father be dead, yet behold his children, the image of himselfe.

Queene. Ay poore Princes, my mourning is for you and for your brother, who is gone vp to an vntimely crownation.

Elis. Why mother he is a Prince, and in handes of our two vnckles, Earle Riuers, & Lord Gray, who wil no doubt be carefull of his estate.

Queen. I know they will, but kings haue mortall enemies, as well as friends that esteeme and regard them. A sweet children, when I am at rest my nightly dreames are dreadful. Me thinke as I lie in my bed, I see the league broken which was sworne at the death of your kingly father, tis this my children and many other causes of like importance, that makes your aged mother to lament as she doth.

Yorke. May it please your grace.

Queene. A my son, no more grace, for I am so sore disgraced, that without Gods grace, I fall into dispaire with my selfe, but who is this?

Enter a Messengcr.

York. What art thou that with thy gastly lookes preaseth into sanctuary, to affright our mother Queene.

Messen. A sweet Princes, doth my countenance bewray me?
My newes is doubtfull and heauie.

Elis. Then vtter it to vs, that our mother may not heare it.

Queene. A yes my friend, speake what ere it be.

Mess. Then thus may it please your grace, The yong prince comming vp to his coronation, attended on by his two vnckles, Earle Riuers, and Lord Gray, and the rest of your kindred, was by the Duke of Buckingham and the Protector, met at stonie *Stratford*, where on a suddaine grew malice betweene the Duke of Buckingham and the Lord Gray, but in the end, the Duke of Buckinghams malice grew so great, that he arested and attached all those of your kindred of high treason,

whereupon the Protector being too rash in iudgement, hath committed them all to *Pomphret* Castle.

Queene. Where I feare he will butcher them all, but where is the Prince my sonne?

Messen. He remains at London in the Bishops palace, in the hands of the Protector.

Queene. A traitors, will they laie hands on their Prince, and imprison his Peeres, which no doubt meanes well towards him: But tell me, art not thou seruant to the Arch-Bishop of *Yorke?*

Messen. Yes and it please your grace, for himselfe is here at hand with Letters from the Councell, and here he comes.

Enter *Cardinall.*

Queene. But here my friend, griefe had almost made me forget thy reward. A come my Lord, thou bringest the heauie newes, come shoote thine arrow, and hit this heart that is almost dead with griefe alreadie.

Car. What ere my newes be, haue patience, the Duke of Gloster greets your grace.

Queene. Draw home my Lord, for now you hit the marke.

Car. The Prince your sonne doth greete your grace.

Queene. A happie gale that blew that arrow by, A let me see the Letter that he sent, perhaps it may prolong my life awhile.

Yorke. How doth my brother, is he in health my Lord?

Card. In health sweete Prince, but longes to haue thy companie.

Yorke. I am content, if my mother will let me go.

Card. Content or not, sweete Prince it must be so.

Queene. Hold, and haue they persuaded thee my sonne to haue thy brother too away from me, nay first I will know what shall become of thee, before I send my other sonne to them.

Card. Looke on this Letter and aduise yourselfe, for thus the Councell hath determined.

Queene. And haue they chosen thee among the rest, for to persuade me to this enterprise? No my Lord, and thus persuade your selfe, I will not send him to be butchered.

Card. Your grace misdoubts the worst, they send for him only to haue him bedfellow to the King, and there to staie & keep him company. And if your sonne miscary, then let his blood be laid vnto my charge: I know their drifts and what they do pretend, for they shall both this night sleepe in the Tower, and to morrow they shall come forth to his happie cronation. Vpon my honour this is the full effect, for see the ambusht nobles are at hand to take the Prince away from you by force, if you will not by faire meanes let him go.

Queene. Why my Lord will you breake Sanctuary, and bring in rebels to affright vs thus? No, you shall rather take away my life before you get my boy away from me.

Card. Why Madame haue you taken Sanctuary?

Queene. I my Lord, and high time too I trow.

Card. A heauie case when Princes flie for aide, where cut-throates, rebels, and bankerouts should be. But Madame what answere do you returne, if I could persuade you, twere best to let him go.

Queene. But for I see you counsell for the best, I am content that you shall haue my son, in hope that you will send him safe to me, here I deliuer him into your hands.
Farewell my boy, commend me to thy brother.

Yorke. Mother farewell, and farewell sister too, I will but see my brother and returne to you.

Queene. Teares stops my speech. Come let vs in my Lord. *Exit.*

Car. I will attend vpon your grace. Hold take the Prince, the Queen & I haue done, Ile take my leaue, and after you ile come. *Exit Car.*

Yorke. How now my friend, shall I go to my brother?

Cates. What else sweete Prince, and for that cause wee are come to beare you company. *Exit omnes.*

Enter foure watch-men. Enter *Richards* Page.

Pag. Why thus by keeping company, am I become like vnto those with whom I keepe company. As my Lorde hopes to weare the Crown, so I hope by that means to haue preferment, but in steed of the Crowne, the blood of the headles light vpon his head: he hath made but a wrong match, for blood is a threatner and will haue reuenge. He makes hauocke of all to bring his purpose to passe: all those of the Queens kinred that were committed to *Pomphret* Castle, hee hath caused them to be secretly put to death without iudgemēt: the like was neuer seen in England. He spares none whom he but mistrusteth to be a hinderer to his proceedings, he is straight chopt vp in prison. The valiant Earle of Oxford being but mistrusted, is kept close prisoner in *Hames* Castle. Againe how well Doctor Shaw hath pleased my Lord, that preached at Paules Crosse yesterday, that proued the two Princes to be bastards, whereupon in the after noone came downe my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen to *Baynards* Castle, and offered my Lord the whole estate vpon him, and offered to make him King, which he refused so faintly, that if it had bene offered once more, I know he would haue taken it, the Duke of Buckingham is gone about it, and is now in the Guild Hall making his Oration. But here comes my Lord.

Enter *Richard* and *Catesby.*

Ric. Catesby content thee, I haue warned the Lord Hastings to this Court, and since he is so hard to be wonne, tis better to cut him off then suffer him, he hath bene all this while partaker to our secrets, and if he should but by some mislike vtter it, then were we all cast away.

Cates. Nay my Lord do as you will, yet I haue spoken what I can in my friends cause.

Rich. Go to no more ado Catesby, they say I haue bin a long sleeper to day, but ile be awake anon to some of their costs. But sirrha are those men in readiness that I appointed you to get?

Pag. I my Lord, & giue diligent attendance vpon your grace.

Rich. Go to, looke to it then Catesby, get thee thy weapons readie, for I will enter the Court.

Cat. I will my Lord. *Exit.*

Pag. Doth my Lord say he hath bene a long sleeper to day? There are those of the Court that are of another opinion, that thinks his grace lieth neuer lōg inough a bed. Now there is court held to day by diuerse of the Councell, which I feare me wil cost the Lord Hastings and the Lord Standley their best cappes: for my

Lord hath willed mee to get halfe a dozen ruffians in readinesse, and when he knocks with his fist vpon the boord, they to rush in, and to crie, treason, treason, and to laie hands vpon the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stannley, which for feare I should let slip, I will giue my diligent attendance.

Enter *Richard, Catesby,* and others, pulling Lord *Hastings.*

Rich. Come bring him away, let this suffice, thou and that accursed sorceresse the mother Queene hath bewitched me, with assistance of that famous strumpet of my brothers, Shores wife: my withered arme is a sufficient testimony, deny it if thou canst: laie not Shores wife with thee last night?

Hast. That she was in my house my Lord I cannot deny, but not for any such matter. If.

Rich. If villain, feedest thou me with Ifs & ands, go fetch me a Priest, make a short shrift, and dispatch him quickly. For by the blessed Saint Paule I sweare, I will not dine till I see the traytors head, away sir Thomas, suffer him not to speak, see him executed straight & let his copartner the Lord Standly be carried to prison also, tis not his broke head I haue giuen him, shall excuse him.

Exit with *Hastings.*[1]

Catesbie goe you and see it presently proclaimed throughout the Citie of London by a Herald of Armes, that the cause of his death and the rest, were for conspiring by Witchcraft the death of me and the Duke of Buckingham, that so they might gouern the King and rule the realme, I thinke the proclamation be almost done.

Cate. I my good Lord, and finished too.

Rich. Well then about it. But hearest thou Catesbie, meane while I will listen after successe of the Duke of Buckingham, who is labouring all this while with the Citizens of London to make me King, which I hope shall be shortly, for thou seest our foes now are fewer, and we neerer the marke then before, and when I haue it, looke thou for the place of thy friend the Lord Hastings, meane while about thy businesse.

Cat. I thanke your grace. *Exit Catesbie.*

Rich. Now sirrha to thee, there is one thing more vndone, which grieues me more then all the rest, and to say the truth, it is of more importance then all the rest.

Page. Ah that my Lord would vtter it to his Page, then should I count my selfe a happie man, if I could ease my Lord of that great doubt.

Rich. I commend thy willingnesse, but it is too mightie and reacheth the starres.

Pag. The more waightie it is, the sooner shall I by doing it, increase your honours good liking toward me.

Rich. Be assured of that, but the matter is of waight & great importance, and doth concerne the state.

Pag. Why my Lord, I will choake them with gifts that shall performe it, therefore, good my Lord, trust me in this cause.

Rich. Indeed thy trust I know to be so true, that I care not to vtter it vnto thee. Come hither, & yet the matter is too waightie for so meane a man.

Page. Yet good my Lord, vtter it.

Rich. Why thus it is, I would haue my two Nephewes the yoong Prince and

[1] Compare Shakespeare's play, Act III, sc. iv.

his brother secretly murthered, Sownes villaine tis out, wilt thou do it? or wilt thou betray me?

Page. My Lord you shall see my forwardnesse herein, I am acquainted with one Iames Terrell, that lodgeth hard by your honors chamber, with him my Lord will I so worke, that soone at night you shall speake with him.

Rich. Of what reputation or calling is that Terrell, may we trust him with that which once knowne, were the vtter confusion of me and my friends for ever?

Page. For his trust my Lord, I dare be bounde, onely this, a poore gentleman he is, hoping for preferment by your grace and vpon my credit my Lord, he will see it done.

Rich. Well in this be verie circumspect and sure with thy diligence, be liberall, and looke for a day to make thee blesse thy self, wherein thou seruedst so good a Lord. And now that Shores wifes goods be confiscate, goe from me to the Bishop of London, and see that she receiue her open penance, let her be turnd out of prison, but so bare as a wretch that worthily hath deserued that plague: and let there be straight proclaimation made by my Lord the Mayor, that none shall releeue her nor pittle her, and priuie spies set in euerie corner of the Citie, that they may take notice of them that releeues her: for as her beginning was most famous aboue all, so will I haue her end most imfamous aboue all. Haue care now my boy, and winne thy maisters heart for euer.

Enter *Shores* wife.

Shores. Ah unfortunate Shores wife, dishonour to the King, a shame to thy countrey, and the onely blot of defame to all thy kindred. Ay why was I made faire that a King should fauour me? But my friends should haue preferd discipline before affection: for they know of my folly, yea my owne husband knew of my breach of disloyaltie, and yet suffered me, by reason hee knew it bootlesse to kicke against the pricke. A sweet King Edward, little didst thou thinke Shores wife should haue bene so hardly vsed, thy vnnaturall brother not concent with my goods which are yet confiscate in his custodie, but yet more to adde to my present miserie, hath proclaimed vpon great penaltie, that none whatsoeuer, shall either aide or succour me, but here being comfortlesse to die in the streets with hunger. I am constrained to beg, but I feare tis in vaine, for none will pittie me. Yet here come one to whom I haue done good, in restoring his lands that were lost, now will I trie him to see if he will giue mee any thing.

Enters *Lodowicke.*

Lo. A time how thou suffrest fortune to alter estates, & changest the mindes of the good for the worst. How many headlesse Peeres sleepe in their graues, whose places are furnish with their inferiours? Such as are neither nobly borne, nor vertuously minded. My heart hardly bewailes the losse of the yoong King, by the outrage of the Protector, who hath proclamed himselfe King, by the name of Richard the third. The Commons murmure at it greatly, that the yoong King and his brother should be imprisoned, but to what end tis hard to say, but many thinks they shall neuer come forth againe. But God do all for the best, and that the right heires may not be vtterly ouerthrowne.

Shore. A gods what a griefe is it for me to aske, where I haue giuen.

Lod. A my good Lord Hastings, how innocently thou diedst the heauens beare witnesse.

Shores wife. Good sir, take pittie vppon mee, and releeue mee.

Lod. Indeed this pittie to see so faire a face to aske for almes, But tell me, hast thou no friends?

Shore. Yes sir I had many friends, but when my chiefest friend of all died, the rest then forsooke me.

Lod. Belike then thy fact was notorious, that thy friends leauing thee would let thee go as a spoyle for villaines. But hearst thou I prethie tell me the truth, and as I am a gentleman, I will pittie thee.

Shore. A Lodowick, tell thee the truth, why halfe this intreatie serued thee, when thy lands had bene cleane gone had it not bene for Shores wife, and doest thou make me so long to begge for a little.

Lod. Indeed my lands I had restored me by mistresse Shore, but may this be she?

Shore. I Lodowicke, I am she that begged thy lands of King Edward the fourth, therefore, I pray thee bestow something on me.

Lod. A gods what is this world, and how vncertaine are riches? Is this she that was in such credit with the King? Nay more that could command a King indeed? I cannot deny but my lands she restored me, but shall I by releeuing of her hurt my selfe, no: for straight proclamation is made that none shall succour her, therefore, for feare I should be seene talke with her, I will shun her company and get me to my chamber, and there set downe in heroicall verse, the shamefull end of a Kings Concubin, which is no doubt as wonderfull as the desolation of a kingdome. *Exit.*

Shores. A Lodowick if thou wilt giue me nothing, yet staie and talke with me. A no he shuns my company, all my friends now forsake mee: In prosperitie I had many, but in aduersitie none. A gods have I this for my good I haue done, for when I was in my cheefest pomp, I thought that day wel spent wherein I might pleasure my friend by sutes to the King, for if I had spoken, he would not have said nay. For tho he was King, yet Shores wife swayd the swoord. I where neede was, there was I bountifull, and mindfull I was still vppon the poore to releeue them, and now none will know me nor succour me: therefore, here shall I die for want of sustenance. Yet here comes another whom I haue done good vnto in sauing the life of his sonne, wel I will trie him, to see if he will giue me any thing.

Enter a Citizen and another.

Cit. No men no lawes, no Princes no orders, alls husht neighbour now hees king, but before he was king how was the tems thwackt with ruffians? what fraies had we in the streets? Now he hath proclaimed peace betweene Scotland and England for sixe yeares, to what end I know not, vsupers had need to be wise.

Shores. A good sir releeue me, and bestow something vpon me.

Cit. A neighbour, hedges haue eyes, and high-wayes haue eares, but who ist a beggar-woman? the streets are full of them Ifaith. But heeres thou, hast thou no friends that thou goest a begging so?

Shore. Yes sir I had friendes, but they are all dead as you are.

Citi. Why am I dead neighbor? why thou arrant queane what meanst thou by that?

Shore. I meane they are dead in charitie. But I pray sir, had not you the life of your sonne saued in the time of king Edward the fourth by one Shores wife?

Citi. Yes marry had I, but art thou a sprig of the same bough? I promise you neighbor I thoght so, that so idle a hus-wife could not be without the acquaintance of so noble a strumpet: well for her sake ile giue thee somewhat.

Shore. Nay then know, that I am shee thatt saued the life of thy condemned sonne.

Citi. Who art thou Shores wife? Lye still purse, neighbour I would not for twentie pounds haue giuen her one farthing, the proclamation is so hard by king Richard. Why minion are you she that was the dishonour to the King? the shame to her husband, the discredit to the Citie? Heare you, laie your fingers to worke, and get thereby somewhat to maintaine you. O neighbour I grow verie choloricke, and thou didst saue the life of my sonne, why if thou hadst not, another would: and for my part, I would he had bene hangd seuen yeeres ago, it had saued me a great deale of mony then. But come let vs go in, & let the quean alone.

(*Exeunt.*)

Shore. Alasse thus am I become an open shame to the world, here shall I die in the streets for want of sustenance, alasse is my fact so heinous that none will pitie me? Yet heere comes another to whom I haue done good, who is least able to pleasure me, yet I will trie him, to see if he will giue me any thing.

Enter *Morton*, a Seruing man.

Mort. Now sir, who but king Richard beares sway, and hath proclaimed Iohn Earle of *Lincolne*, heire aparant to the Crown, the yoong Princes they are in the Tower, nay some saies more, they are murthered. But this makes me to muse, the Duke of Buckingham and the King is at such variance, that did all in all to helpe him to the Crowne, but the Duke of Buckingham is rid downe to Breaknock-Castle in *Wales*, and there he meanes to raise vp a power to pull down the vsurper: but let them agree as they will, for the next faire winde ile ouer seas.

Shore. A Shores Wife, so neere driuen, to beg of a seruing man, I, necessitie hath no law, I must needs. Good sir releeue me, and giue me something.

Seru. Why what art thou?

Shore. In briefe Morton, I am Shores wife, that haue done good to all.

Seru. A foole, and euer thy owne enemy. In troth mistresse Shore, my store is but small, yet as it is, weele part stakes, but soft I cannot do what I would, I am watcht.

Enters *Page.*

Shore. Good Morton releeue me.

Seru. What should I releeue my Kings enemy?

Shore. Why thou promist thou wouldst.

Seru. I tell thee I wil not, & so be answered. Sownes I would with all my heart, but for yonder villaine, a plague on him. *Exit.*

Page. An honest fellow I warrant him. How now Shores wife will none releeue thee?

Shore. No one will releeue her, that hath bene good to all.

Page. Why twere pitie to do thee good, but me thinkes she is fulsome and stinkes.

Shore. If I be fulsome shun my company, for none but thy Lord sought my miserie, and he hath vndone me.

Page. Why hath he vndone thee? nay thy wicked and naughtie life hath vndone thee, but if thou wantest maintenance, why doest thou not fall to thy old trade againe?

Shore. Nay villaine, I haue done open penance, and am sorie for my sinnes that are past.

Page. Sownes is Shores wife become an holie whoore, nay then we shall neuer haue done.

Shore. Why hang thee, if thy faults were so written in thy forehead as mine is, it would be as wrong with thee. But I prethie leaue me, and get thee from me.

Page. And cannot you keepe the Citie but you must runne gadding to the Court, and you staie here a little longer, ile make you be set away, and for my part, would all whoores were so serued, then there would be fewer in England then there be. And so farewell good mistresse Shore. *Exit.*

Shore. And all such vsurping kings as thy Lord is, may come to a shamefull end, which no doubt I may liue yet to see.
Therefore, sweet God forgiue all my foule offence:
And though I haue done wickedly in this world,
Into hell fire, let not my soule be hurld. *Exit.*

Enter Maister *Terrill*, and sir *Robert Brokenbery.*

Broken. Maister Terrell, the King hath written, that for one night I should deliuer you the keyes, and put you in full possession. But good M. Terrell, may I be so bold to demand a question without offence?

Ter. Else God forbid, say on what ere it be.

Bro. Then this maister Terrell, for your comming I partly know the cause, for the king oftentimes hath sent to me to haue them both dispacht, but because I was a seruant to their father being Edward the fourth, my heart would neuer giue me to do the deed.

Ter. Why sir Robert you are beside the matter, what neede you vse such speeches what matters are betweene the King and me, I pray you leaue it, and deliuer me the keyes.

Broken. A here with teares I deliuer you the keyes, and so farwell maister Terrell. *Exit.*

Ter. Alasse good sir Robert, hee is kinde hearted, but it must not preuaile, what I haue promised the King I must performe. But ho Myles Forest.

For. Here sir.

Ter. Myles Forest, haue you got those men I spake of, they must be resolute and pittilesse.

For. I warrant you sir, they are such pittilesse villaines, that all London cannot match them for their villainie, one of their names is Will Sluter, yet the most part calles him blacke Will, the other is Iack Denten, two murtherous villaines that are resolute.

Ter. I prethie call them in that I may see them, and speake with them.

Forest. Ho Will and Iack.

Will. Here sir, we are at hand.

For. These be they that I told you of.

Ter. Come hither sirs, to make a long discourse were but a folly, you seeme to be resolute in this cause that Myles Forest hath deliuered to you, therefore,

you must cast away pitie, & not so much as thinke upon favour, for the more stearne that you are, the more shall you please the King.

Will. Zownes sir, nere talke to vs of fauour, tis not the first that Iack and I haue gone about.

Ter. Well said, but the Kings pleasure is this, that he wil haue no blood shead in the deed doing, therefore, let me heare your aduises?

For. Why then I thinke this maister Terrell, that as they sit at supper there should be two dags readie charged, and so suddeinly to shoote them both through.

Terrell. No, I like not that so well, what saiest thou Will, what is thy opinion?

Will. Tush, heeres more adoo then needes, I pray bring mee where they are, and ile take them by the heeles and beate their braines against the walles.

Ter. Nay that I like not, for tis too tyrannous.

Dout. Then heare me maister Terrell, let Will take one, and ile take another, and by the life of Iack Douton weele cut both their throates.

Ter. Nay sirs, then heare me, I will haue it done in this order, when they be both a bed and at rest, Myles Forest thou shalt bring them vp both, and betweene two feather beds smother them both.

For. Why this is verie good, but stand aside, for here comes the Princes, ile bring you word when the deed is done. *Exit Terrill.*

Enter the Princes.

Yorke. How fares my noble Lord and louing brother?

King. A worthie brother, Richard Duke of *Yorke*, my cause of sorrow is not for my selfe, but this is it that addes my sorrow more, to see our vnckle whom our father left as our Protector in minoritie, should so digresse from dutie, loue and zeale, so vnkindly thus to keepe vs vp prisoners, and know no sufficient cause for it.

Yorke. Why brother comfort your selfe, for tho he detaine vs a while, he will not keepe vs long, but at last he will send vs to our louing mother againe: whither if it please God to send vs, I doubt not but our mother would keepe vs so safe, that all the Prelates in the worlde should not depriue her of vs againe: so much I assure myselfe of. But here comes Myles Forest, I prethy Myles tell my kingly brother some mery storie to passe away the time, for thou seest he is melancholy.

King. No Myles, tell me no mery storie, but answere me to one question, what was he that walked with thee in the Gardeine, me thought he had the keyes?

For. My Lord, it was one that was appointed by the King to be an ayde to sir Thomas Brokenbury.

King. Did the King, why Myles Forest, am not I King?

For. I would have said my Lord your vnkle the Protector.

King. Nay my kingly vnkle I know he is now, but let him enoy both Crowne and kingdome, so my brother and I may but enjoy our liues and libertie. But tell me, is sir Robert Brokenbery cleane discharged?

For. No my Lord, he hath but charge for a night or two.

King. Nay then, new officers, new lawes, would we had kept the old still. But who are they whose gastly lookes doth present a dying feare to my liuing bodie. I prethee tell me Myles what are they?

For. One my Lord is called Iack Denten, the other is called Will Slawter. But why starts your grace?

King. Slawter, I pray God he come not to slaughter my brother and me, for

from murther and slaughter, good Lord deliver us. But tell me Myles is our lodging prepared?

For. I my Lord, if it please your brother & you to walke vp.

King. Then come brother, we will go to bed.

For. I will attend vpon your grace.

Yorke. Come Myles Forest beare vs company.

For. Sirs staie you two here, and when they are a sleep ile call you vp.

Dent. I promise thee Will, it greeues mee to see what mone these yoong Princes make, I had rather then fortie pounds I had nere tane it in hand, tis a dangerous matter to kill innocent princes, I like it not.

Will. Why you base slaue, are you faint hearted, a little thing would make me strike thee, I promise thee.

Dent. Nay go forward, for now I am resolute: but come, lets too it.

Will. I prethee staie, heele call vs vp anon. But sirrha Iacke, didst thou mark how the King started when he heard my name. What will he do when he feeles me.

For. But ho sirs, come softly, for now they are at rest.

Will. Come we are readie, by the masse they are a sleepe indeed.

For. I heare they sleep, and sleepe sweet Princes, neuer wake no more, for you haue seene the last light in this world.

Iack. Come presse them downe, it bootes not to cry againe, Iack vpon them so lustily. But maister Forest now they are dead what shall we do with them?

For. Why goe and bury them at the heape of stones at the staire foote, while I goe and tell maister Terrell that the deed is done.

Will. Well we will, farewell maister Forest.

Enter *Terrell.*

Ter. How now Myles Forest, is this deed dispatcht?

For. I sir, a bloodie deed we haue performed.

Ter. But tell me, what hast thou done with them?

For. I have conueyd them to the staires foote among a heape of stones, and anon ile carry them where they shall be no more founde againe, nor all the cronicles shall nere make mentiõ what shall become of them: yet good maister Terrell, tell the King my name that he may but reward me with a kingly thanks.

Ter. I will go certifie the King with speed, that Myles Forest, Will Slawter, and Iack Denten, they three haue done the deed. And so farewell.

Exeunt omnes.

Enter the Duke of *Buckingham* with his dagger drawne.

Ban. Ah good my Lord, saue my life.

Buc. Ah villaine, how canst thou aske for mercie, when thou hast so vniustly betraied me?

Ban. I desire your grace but giue me leaue to speake.

Buc. I speake thy last villain, that those that heare it, may see how vniustly thou hast betraied me.

Ban. Then thus my Lord. First, the proclamation was death to him that harboured your grace.

Buc. Ah villaine, and a thousand crownes to him that could betraie me.

Ban. Ah my Lord, my obeysance to my Prince is more.

Buc. Ah vallain, thou betraiedst me for lucre, and not for dutie to thy Prince, why Banister, a good seruant thinkes his life well spent, that spends it in the quarrel of his maister. But villain make thyselfe readie, and here receiue thy death.

Enter a Herald.

Herald. Henry Duke of Buckingham, I arest thee in King Richards name as a traytor.

Buc. Well Herald, I will obey thy rest. But am I arrested in King Richardes name, vsurping Richard, that insatiate blood succour, that traitor to God & man. Ah Richard, did I in Guild Hall pleade the Orator for thee, and held thee in all thy slie and wicked practises, and for my reward doest thou alot me death? Ah Buckingham, thou plaidst thy part and made him King, and put the lawfull heires besides: why then is Buckingham guiltie now of his death? yet had not the Bishop of *Ely* fled, I had escaped.

Enters sixe others to rescue the Duke.

All. Come, the Duke of Buckingham shall not die: We will take him away by force.

Herald. Why villaines, will you bee Traytours to your Prince?

Buckingham. Nay good my friends giue me leaue to speake, and let me intreate you to laie your weapons by. Then know this countrey men, the cause I am arested this, Is for bringing in your lawfull King, which is Henry Earle of Richmond now in *Brittaine*, and meanes ere long to land at *Milford* Hauen in Wales, where I doo know hee shall haue ayde of the cheefest of the Welch, hee is your lawfull King, and this a wrongfull vsurper. When you shall heare of him landed in that place, then take vp weapons and amaine to him, bee is the man must reaue you of this yoake, and send the vsurper headlesse to his home, and poore Buckingham praies upon his knees, to blesse good Richmond in his enterprise, and when the conquest shall be giuen to him, graunt he may match with Ladie Elizabeth, as promise hath to fore by him bene past, while then my friendes, leaue mee alone to death, and let me take this punishment in peace. Ah Buckingham, was not thy meaning good in displacing the vsurper, to raise a lawfull king? Ah Buckingham it was too late, the lawfull heires were smothered in the Tower, sweet Edward and thy brother, I nere slept quiet thinking of their deaths. But vaunt Buckingham, thou wast altogither innocent of their deaths. But thou vilain, whom of a child I nurst thee vp, and hast so vniustly betraied thy Lorde? Let the curse of Buckingham nere depart from thee. Let vengeance, mischiefes, tortures, light on thee and thine. And after death thou maist more torture feele, then when *Exeon* turnes the restlesse wheele. And banne thy soule where ere thou seeme to rest. But come my friends, let me away.

Herald. My Lord we are sorie. But come laie handes on Banister.

Exeunt.

Enter King *Richard*, sir *William Catesbie* and others.

King. The goale is got, and golden Crowne is wonne,
And well deseruest thou to weare the same,

That ventured hast thy bodie and thy soule,
But what bootes Richard, now the Diademe
Or kingdome got, by murther of his friends,
My fearefull shadow that still followes me,
Hath summond me before the seuere iudge,
My conscience witnesse of the blood I spilt,
Accuseth me as guiltie of the fact,
The fact a damned iudgement craues,
Whereas impartiall iustice hath condemned.
Meethinkes the Crowne which I before did weare,
Inchast with Pearle and costly Diamonds
It turned now into a fatall wreathe,
Of fiery flames, and euer burning starres,
And raging fiends hath past ther vgly shapes,
In studient [1] lakes, adrest to tend on me,
If it be thus, what wilt thou do in this extremitie?
Nay what canst thou do to purge thee of thy guilt?
Euen repent, craue mercie for thy damned fact,
Appeale for mercy to thy righteous God,
Ha repent, not I, craue mercy they that list.
My God, is none of mine. Then Richard be thus resolu'd,
To pace thy soule in vallence with their blood,[2]
Soule for soule, and bodie for bodie, yea mary Richard,
Thats good, Catesbie.

Cat. You cald my Lord, I thinke.

King. It may be so. But what thinkst thou Catesbie?

Cat. Of what my Lord.

King. Why of all these troubles.

Cat. Why my Lord, I hope to see them happily ouercom'd.

King. How villain, doest thou hope to see me happily ouercom'd?

Cat. Who you my Lord?

King. Ay villaine, thou points at me, thou hopest to see me ouercom'd.

Cat. No my good Lord, your enemies or else not.

King. Ha ha, good Catesbie, but what hearest thou of the Duke of Buckingham?

Cat. Why he is dead my Lord, he was executed at *Salisbury* yesterday.

King. Why tis impossible, his friends hopes that he shall outliue me, to be my head.

Cat. Out-liue you, Lord thats straunge.

King. No Catesbie, if a do, it must be in fames,
And since they hope he shall out liue me, to be my head,
He hops without his head, & rests among his fellow rebels.

Cat. Mary no force my Lord.

King. But Catesbie, what hearest thou of Henry Earle of *Richmond?*

---

[1] Mr. Boswell proposes stygian for this word; and he may be right.

[2] This line seems corrupt. Archdeacon Nares interprets to valance, to adorn with drapery, and quotes from Hamlet:—

"Thy face is valanc'd (bearded) since I saw thee last."

Perhaps we should read To place thy soul in balance?

Cat. Not a word my Lord.
King. No: hearest thou not he lines in *Brittaine*,
In fauour with the Duke.
Nay more, Lady Margaret his mother conspires against vs,
And perswades him that hee is lineally descended from Henry
The fourth, and that he hath right to the Crowne,
Therefore, tell me what thinkst thou of the Earle?
Cat. My Lord, I thinke of the Earle as he doth deserue,
A most famous gentleman.
King. Villaine doest thou praise my foe, and commend him to my face?
Cat. Nay my Lord, I wish he were as good a friend as he is a foe, else the due deserts of a traytor.
King. Whats that?
Cat. Why my Lord, to loose his head.
King. Yea mary, I would twere off quickly, then.
But more to the strengthening of his title,
She goes about to marry him to the Queenes eldest daughter,
Ladie Elizabeth.
Cat. Indeed my Lord that I heard was concluded,
By all the nobilitie of *Brittaine*.
King. Why then there it goes,
The great diuell of hell go with all.
A marriage begun in mischiefe, shall end in blood:
I thinke that accursed sorceresse the mother Queene,
Doth nothing but bewitch me, and hatcheth conspiracies,
And brings out perillous birds to wound
Their Countries weale,
The Earle is vp in Armes,
And with him many of the Nobilitie,
He hath ayde in *France*,
He is rescued in *Brittaine*,
And meaneth shortly to arriue in England:
But all this spites me not so much,
As his escape from *Landoyse* the Dukes Treasurer,
Who if he had bene prickt foorth for reuenge,
He had ended all by apprehending of our foe,
But now he is in disgrace with the Duke,
And we farther off our purpose then to fore,
But the Earle hath not so many byting dogs abroad,
As we haue sleeping curres at home here,
Readie for rescue.
Cat. But my Lord, I maruell how he should get aide there,
Considering he is no friend to *Brittaine*.
King. Ay so thou maist maruell how the Duke of *Brittaine*,
Durst wake such a foe as England against him,
But euill fare makes open warre.
But who comes there Catsbie?
Ha one of our spurres to reuenge:
The Lord Standley, father in law to Ladie Margaret,

His comming is to vs Catesbie,
Wert not that his life might serue,
For apprehension against our foe,
He should haue neither Iudge nor Iury,
But guiltie death, without any more ado.
Now Lord Standley, what newes?
Haue you receiued any letters of your late embassage into *Brittaine*? What answere have you receiued of your letters?

Enter Lord *Standley*, and his sonne *George*.

Stand. Why my Lord, for that I sent, I haue receiued.

King. And how doth your sonne then, is he in health?

Standley. For his health my Lord, I do not mistrust.

King. Faith tell vs, when meanes he to arriue in England?
And how many of our Nobilitie is with him?
And what power is with him?

Standley. And please your grace,
His power is unknowne to me,
Nor willingly would not I be priuy to such causes.

King. Oh good wordes Lord Standley, but giue me leaue to gleane out of your golden field of eloquence, how braue you pleade ignorance, as though you knew not of your sonnes departure into *Brittaine* out of England.

Stand. Not I my Lord.

King. Why is not his mother thy wife, & dares he passe ouer without the blessing of his mother, whose husband thou art?

Stand. I desire your maiestie but giue me leaue to speake?

King. Yea speak Standley, no doubt some fine coloured tale.

Stand. And like your grace, whereas you mistrust that I knew of my sonnes departure, out of England into Brittaine, God I take to record it was vnknowne to me, nor know not yet what his pretence is: for at his departure, was I one of the priuy councell to your brother King Edward the fourth, and that she was able to relieue him without my helpe: I hope her sufficiencie is knowne to your grace. Therefore, I humbly craue pardon.

King. Well Standley, I feare it will be proued to the contrarie, that thou didst furnish him both with mony and munition, which if it be, then looke for no fauour at my hands, but the due deserts of a traitor: but let this passe. Whats your repaire to our presence?

Stan. Only this my Lord, that I may repaire from the court, to my house in the country.

King. Ay sir, that you might be in *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, then should your Postes passe inuisible into *Brittaine*, and you to depart the realme at your pleasure, or else I to suffer an intollerable foe vnder me, which I will not. But Standley to be brief, thou shall not go. But soft Richard, but that it were better to be alone then to haue noysome company, hee shall goe, leauing for his loyaltie a sufficient pledge. Come hither Standley, thou shalt goe, leauing me here thy sonne and heire George Standley for a pledge, that hee may perish for thy fault if neede should be, if thou likest this, goe, If not, answere me briefly, and say quickly no.[1]

[1] See Shakespeare, act IV, iii, 526.

Stand. I am to answere my selfe vpon a secret cause, and of a matter that concernes me neare: my Lord that I leaue my sonne with the King, and that I should not take Earle Richmond, my sonne George Standley dies, but if my Earle be here then my Prince George Standley liues. Well I will except the Kings promise. And please your grace I am content, and will leaue my sonne in pledge.

King. Here come hither and with thee take this [illegible].
Then art free for our defence.
Then what euer thy pledge make this promise.
See only to make the hinderance of the Earle.
But to preuent his purpose with thy power.
Then what we wrote by any meanes to aide or rescue him.
This done, of my life thy sonne doth liue:
But otherwise thy sonne dies and then too, if I catch thee:
And it shall go hard but I will catch thee.

Stand. And you shall go apace, and yet go without me.
But I humbly take my leaue of your grace. Farewell George.

King. How now, what do you giue him letters?

Stand. No my Lord I haue done:
The wicked sight is sweet, of such a sonne. *Exit.*

King. Carry George Standley to prison.

George. Alasse my Lord, shall I go to prison?

King. Shall you go to prison, what a questions that?
So pricke the lambe, and wound the damme.
How likest thou this Catesbie?

Cat. Oh my Lord so excellent, that you haue imprisoned his sonne.

King. Nay now will we looke to the rest,
But I sent the Lord Louell to the mother Queene,
Concerning my sute to her daughter Elizabeth,
But see in good time here he is.
How now Louell, what newes?
What saith the mother Queene to my sute?

Enters *Louell.*

Lou. My Lord very strange she was at the first.
But when I had told her the cause, she gaue concent:
Desiring your maiestie to make the nobilitie priuie to it.

King. God haue mercy Louell, but what said Lady Elizabeth?

Lou. Why my Lord, straunge, as women will be at the first,
But through intreatie of her mother, she quickly gaue consent.
And the Queene wild me to tel your grace, that she meanes to leaue Sanctuary, and to come to the court with al her daughters.

King. I marry Louell let no that opportunitie slippe, looke to it Catesbie, be carefull for it Louell, for thereby hangs such a chance, that may inrich vs and our heires for euer. But sirs hard ye nothing of the Scottish Nobles that met at Nottingham, to conferre about the marriage of my Neece.

Cat. Not a word my Lord.

Enters Messenger.

King. Gods wounds who is that? search the villaine, has he any dags about him?

Mess. No my Lord I haue none.

King. From whence comes thou?

Mess. From the Peeres at *Nottingham* and *Scotland*, & they greete your Maiestie.

Lou. Sirrha is the marriage concluded betweene the Scottish Earle and the faire Lady *Rosa?*

Cat. Prethie tell vs, is it concluded?

Page. How saies thou, is it concluded?

King. Nay will you giue me leaue to tell you that? Why you villaines will you know the secrets of my letter by interrupting messengers that are sent to me? Away I say, begone, it is time to looke about: away I say, what here yet villaines?

Mess. My Lord, I haue some what to say besides?

King. Then speake it, what hast thou to say?

Mess. This my Lord, when the Peeres of England and *Scotland* met at *Nottingham* togither, to confer about the marriage of your Neese, it was straight determined that she shuld be married with the Scottish Earle. And further my Lord, the Councel commanded me to deliuer vnto your grace the treasons of Captain Blunt, who had the Earle of *Oxford* in charge in *Hames* castle, now are they both fled, and purposeth to ayde the Earle of Richmond against your grace. Now my Lord I take my leaue.

King. Messenger staie, hath Blunt betraied, doth Oxford rebell and aide the Earle Richmond, may this be true, what is our prison so weake, our friends so fickle, our Ports so ill lookt too, that they may passe and repasse the seas at their pleasures, then euerie one conspires, spoyles our Conflex, conqueres our Castles, and Armes themselues with their owne weapons vnresisted? O villaines, rebels, fugetives, theeues, how are we betrayd, when our owne swoordes shall beate vs, and our owne subiects seekes the subuertion of the state, the fall of their Prince, and sack of their country, of his,[1] nay neither must nor shall, for I will Army with my friends, and cut off my enemies, & beard them to their face that dares me, and but one, I one, one beyond the seas that troubles me: wel his power is weake, & we are strong, therefore I wil meet him with such melodie, that the singing of a bullet shal send him merily to his lõgest home. Come follow me.

Enter Earle *Rich.* Earle *Oxford*, *P. Landoys*, & captain *Blunt.*

Rich. Welcome deare friends and louing country-men
Welcome I say to Englands blisfull Ile,
Whose forwardnesse I cannot but commend,
That thus do aide vs in our enterprise,
My right it is, and sole inheritance,
And Richard but vsurps in my authoritie,
For in his tyrannie he slaughtered those
That would not succour him in his attempts,
Whose guiltlesse blood craues daily at Gods hands,

[1] There seems to be some corruption here.

Reuenge for outrage done to their harmlesse liues:
Then courage countrymen, and neuer be dismayd,
Our quarels good, and God will helpe the right,
For we may know by dangers we haue past,
That God no doubt will giue vs victorie.
Oxf. If loue of gold, or feare of many foes,
Could once haue danted vs in our attempts,
Thy foote had neuer toucht the English shoare,
And here Earle Oxford plites his faith to thee,
Neuer to leaue in what we haue vndertane,
But follow still with resolution,
Till thou be crowned as conquerer in the field,
Or lose thy life in following of thy right:
Thy right braue Richmond, which we wil maintaine
Maugre the proudest bird of Richards brood.
Then cousin Richmond being resolued thus,
Let vs straight to Arms, & God and S. *George* for vs.
Blunt. As this braue Earle haue said, so say we all,
We will not leaue thee till the field be wonne,
Which if with fortunate successe we can performe,
Thinke then Earle Richmond that I followed thee,
And that shall be honour inough for mee.
Lan. So saith Landoyse that honors Richmond so
With loue vnfeined for his valure past,
That if your honour leade the way to death,
Peeter Landoys hath sworne to follow thee.
For if Queen mother do but keepe her word,
And what the Peeres haue promised be performed,
Touching the marriage with Elizabeth,
Daughter to our King Edward the fourth,
And by this marriage ioyne in vnitie
Those famous Houses *Lancashire* and *Yorke*,
Then England shall no doubt haue cause to say,
Edwards coronation was a ioyfull day.
And this is all Landoys desires to see.
Richm. Thanks Landoys, and here Earle Richmonds vows,
If their kinde promises take but effect,
That as they haue promised I be made King,
I will so deale in gouerning the state,
Which now lies like a sauage shultred groue,
Where brambles, briars, and thornes, ouer-grow those sprigs,
Which if they might but spring to their effect,
And not be crost so by their contraries,
Making them subiect to these outrages,
Would proue such members of the Common-weale,
That England should in them be honoured,
As much as euer was the Romane state,
When it was gouernd by the Councels rule,
And I will draw my swoord braue country-men,

And neuer leaue to follow my resolue,
Till I haue mowed those brambles, briars, and thornes
That hinder those that long to do vs good.

Oxf. Why we have scapt the dangeroust brunt of all,
Which was his garrison at *Milford* Hauen,
Shall we dismay, or dant our friends to come?
Because he tooke the Duke of Buckingham?
No worthie friends, and louing country-men,
Oxford did never beare so base a minde,
He will not winke at murthers secretly put vp,
Nor suffer vpstarts to enioy our rightes,
Nor liue in England vnder an vsurping king,
And this is Oxfords resolution.

Rich. But Blunt, looke whose that knocks.

Blunt. My Lord, tis a messenger from the mother Queene,
And the Ladie Standley your mother, with letters.

Rich. Admit him straight, now shall we heare some newes.

Enters *Messenger.*

Mess. Long liue Earle Richmond.
The mother Queene doth greet your honour.

Rich. Welcome my friends, how fares our mother & the rest?

Mess. In health my Lord, and glad to hear of your ariual safe.

Rich. My friend, my mother hath written to me of certaine that are comming in our aide, the report of whose names are referd to thee to deliuer.

Mess. First, theirs the Lord Talbut, the Earle of Shreuesbury sonne and heire, with a braue band of his owne.

There is also the Lord Fitz Harbart, the Earle of Pembrookes sonne and heire.

Of the Gentlemen of the Welch, there is sir Prise vp Thomas and Sir Thomas vp Richard, and sir Owen Williams, braue gentlemen my Lord. These are the chiefe.

Rich. Are these the full number of all that come?

Mess. Only two more my Lord, which I haue left vnnamed, the one is sir Thomas Denis a Westerne gentleman, and ioynd with him one Arnoll Butler, a great many are willing, but dares not as yet.

Rich. Doth Arnoll Butler come, I can hardly brooke his trecherie, for hee it was that wrought my disgrace with the King.

Oxf. Well my Lord, wee are now to strengthen our selues with friends, and not to reape vp olde quarrels, say that *Arnoll Butler* did iniurie you in the time of peace, the mendes is twise made, if he stand with you in time of warres.

Rich. Well my friend, take this for thy good newes,
And commend me to our mother and the rest.
Thus my Lords, you see God still prouides for vs:
But now my Lords touching the placing of our battell best,
And how we may be least indangered,
Because I will be foremost in this fight,
To incounter with that bloodie murtherer,
My selfe wil lead the vaward of our troope,

My Lord of Oxford, you as our second selfe,
Shall haue the happie leading of the reare,
A place I know which you will well deserue,
And Captaine Blunt, Peter Landoyse and you,
Shall by in quarters as our battels scowtes,
Prouided, thus your bow-men Captaine Blunt,
Must scatter here and there to gaull their horse,
As also when that our promised friends do come,
Then must you hold hard skirmish with our foes,
Till I by cast of a counter march,
Haue ioyned our power with those that come to vs,
Then casting close, as wings on either side,
We will giue a new prauado on the foe,
Therefore, let vs towards *Aderstoe* amaine,
Where we this night God-willing will incampe,
From thence towards Lichfield, we will march next day,
And neerer London, bid King Richard play. *Exit.*

Enters the *Page.*

Page. Where shall I finde a place to sigh my fill,
And waile the griefe of our sore troubled King?
For now he hath obtained the Diademe,
But with such great discomfort to his minde,
That he had better liued a priuate man, his lookes are gastly,
Hidious to behold, and from the priuie sentire of his heart,
There comes such deepe fetcht sighes and fearefull cries,
That being with him in his chamber oft,
He mooues me weepe and sigh for company,
For if he heare one stirre he riseth vp,
And claps his hand vpon his dagger straight,
Readie to stab him, what so ere he be,
But he must thinke this is the iust reuenge,
The heauens haue powred vpon him for his sinnes,
Those Peeres which he vnkindly murthered,
Doth crie for iustice at the hands of God,
And he in iustice sends continuall feare,
For to afright him both at bed and boord,
But staie, what noyse is this, who haue we here?

Enters men to go to *Richmond.*

How now sirs, whither are you going so fast?
Men. Why to Earle Richmonds Camp to serue with him,
For we haue left to serue King Richard now.
Page. Why comes there any more?
Men. A number more. *Exit.*
Page. Why these are the villaines my Lord would haue put his life into their hands.
A Richard, now do my eyes witnesse that thy end is at hand, For thy commons

make no more account of thee then of a priuate man, yet will I as dutie bindes, giue thee aduertisements of their vniust proceedings. My maister hath lifted out many, and yet hath left one to lift him out of all, not onely of his Crowne, but also of his life. But I will in, to tell my Lord of what is happened.

Enters *Richmond*, and *Oxford*.

Rich. Good my Lord depart, and leaue me to myselfe.

Oxf. I pray my Lord, let me go along with you.

Rich. My Lord it may not be, for I haue promised my father that none shall come but my selfe, therfore good my Lord depart.

Oxf. Good my Lord haue a care of your selfe, I like not these night walkes and scouting abroad in the euenings so disguised, for you must not now that you are in the vsurpers dominions, and you are the onely marke he aimes at, and your last nightes absence bred such amazement in our souldiers, that they like men wanting the power to follow Armes, were on a sodaine more liker to flie then to fight: therefore, good my Lorde, if I may not stand neare, let me stand aloofe off.

Rich. Content thee good Oxford, and tho I confesse myself bound to thee for thy especiall care, yet at this time I pray thee hold me excused. But farewell my Lord, here comes my Lord and father.

Enters *Standley* and another.

Stan. Captaine I pray thee bring me word when thou doest discrie the enemy. And so farewell, and leaue me for a while.

Rich. How fares my gratious Lord and father?

Stan. In good health my sonne, & the better to see thee thus foreward in this laudable enterprise, but omitting vain circumstances, and to come briefly to the purpose, I am now in fewe words to deliuer much matter. For know this, when I came to craue leaue of the King to depart from the court, the king verie furiously began to charge me that I was both acquainted with thy practises and drifts, and that I knew of thy landing, and by no meanes would grant me leaue to go, till as pledge of my loyaltie and true dealing with the king, I should leaue my yoong sonne George Standley. Thus haue I left my son in the hands of a tyrant, onely of purpose to come and speake with thee.

Rich. But omitting this, I pray tell me, shall I looke for your helpe in the battell?

Stan. Sonne I cannot, for as I will not go to the vsurper, no more I will not come to thee.

Rich. Why then it is bootlesse for us to staie, for all we presumed vpon, was on your aide.

Stan. Why sonne, George Standlyes death would doo you no pleasure.

Rich. Why the time is too troublesome, for him to tend to follow execution.

Stan. O sonne, tyrants expect no time, and George Standley being yoong and a grissell, is the more easie to be made away.

Rich. This newes goes to my heart, but tis in vaine for mee to looke for victorie, when with a mole-hill, we shall encounter with a mountaine.

Stand. Why sonne, see how contrarie you are, for I assure you, the chiefest of his company are liker to flie to thee, then to fight against thee: and for me, thinke me not so simple but that I can at my pleasure flie to thee, or being with them,

fight so faintly, that the battell shall be wonne on thy part with small incountring. And note this besides, that the King is now come to *Lester*, and means to morrow to bid thee battel in *Bosworth*.

Enters *Messenger*.

Mess. Come my Lord, I do discry the enemy.

Stand. Why then sonne farewell, I can staie no longer.

Richm. Yet good father, one word more ere you depart,
What number do you thinke the kings power to be?

Stand. Mary some twentie thousand. And so farewell.

Richm. And we hardly fiue thousand, being beset with many enemies, hoping vpon a few friends, yet dispair not Richmond, but remember thou fightest in right, to defende thy countrey from the tyrannie of an vsurping tyrant, therefore, Richmond goe forward, the more dangerous the battell is in atteining, it prooues the more honourable being obteined. Then forward Richmond, God and Saint *George*, for me.

Quisquam regna gaudit, ô fallex bonum.[1]

Enters the King, and the Lord *Louell*.

King. The hell of life that hangs vpon the Crowne,
The daily cares, the nightly dreames,
The wretched crewes, the treason of the foe,
And horror of my bloodie practise past,
Strikes such a terror to my wounded conscience,
That sleep I, wake I, or whatsoeuer I do,
Meethinkes their ghoasts comes gaping for reuenge,
Whom I haue slaine in reaching for a Crowne.
Clarence complaines, and crieth for reuenge,
My Nephues bloods, Reuenge, reuenge, doth crie.
The headlesse Peeres come pressing for reuenge.
And euery one cries, let the tyrant die.
The Sunne by day shines hotely for reuenge.
The Moone by night eclipseth for reuenge.
The Stars are turnd to Comets for reuenge.
The Planets chaunge their courses for reuenge.
The birds sing not, but sorrow for reuenge.
The silly lambes sits bleating for reuenge.
The screeking Rauen sits croking for reuenge.
Whole heads of beasts comes bellowing for reuenge.
And all, yea all the world I thinke,
Cries for reuenge, and nothing but reuenge.
But to conclude, I have deserued reuenge.
In company I dare not trust my friend,
Being alone, I dread the secret foe:
I doubt my foode, least poyson lurke therein.
My bed is vncoth, rest refraines my head.

[1] Read, Quisquam regno gaudet, o fallax bonum!

Then such a life I count far worse to be,
Then thousand deaths vnto a damned death:
How wast death I said? who dare attempt my death?
Nay who dare so much as once to thinke my death?
Though enemies there be that would my body kill,
Yet shall they leaue a neuer dying minde.
But you villaines, rebels, traitors as you are
How came the foe in, preasing so neare?
Where, where, slept the garrison that should a beat them back?
Where was our friends to intercept the foe?
All gone, quite fled, his loyaltie quite laid a bed?
Then vengeance, mischiefe, horror, with mischance,
Wilde-fire, with whirlewinds, light upon your heads,
That thus betrayd your Prince by your vntruth.

King.[1] Frantike man, what meanst thou by this mood?
Now he is come more need to beate him backe.

Lou. Sowre is his sweete that sauours thy delight, great is his power that threats thy ouerthrow.

King. The bad rebellion of my foe is not so much, as for to see my friends to flie in flocks from me.

Lou. May it please your grace to rest your selfe content, for you haue power inough to defend your land.

Kin. Dares Richmond set his foote on land with such a small power of straggling fugatiues?

Lou. May it please your grace to participate the cause that thus doth trouble you?

King. The cause Buzard, what cause should I participate to thee? My friends are gone away, and fled from me, keep silence villaine, least I by poste do send thy soule to hell, not one word more, if thou doest loue thy life.

Enters *Catesbie.*

Cat. My Lord.

King. Yet againe vilaine, ô Catesbie is it thou? What comes the Lord Standley or no?

Cat. My Lord, he answeres no.

King. Why didst not tell him then, I would send his sonne George Standleys head to him.

Cat. My Lord I did so, & he answered, he had another sonne left to make Lord Standley.

King. O vilaine vilde, and breaker of his oath, the bastardes ghoast shall hant him at the heeles, and crie reuenge for his vild fathers wrongs, go Louell, Catsbie, fetch George Standly forth, him with these handes will I butcher for the dead, and send his headlesse bodie to his sire.

Catesbie. Leaue off executions now the foe is heere that threatens vs most cruelly of our liues.

---

[1] This seems to be a continuation of the King's speech, but a change of his mood, from delirium to reason. Compare Richard's dream in Shakespeare, and the whole of our poet's act v. scene 3, with this scene.

King. Zownes, foe mee no foes, the fathers fact condemnes the sonne to die.

Lou. But guiltlesse blood will for reuengement crie.

King. Why was not he left for fathers loyaltie?

Lou. Therein his father greatly iniured him.

King. Did not your selues in presence, see the bondes sealde and assignde?

Lo. What tho my Lord, the vardits own, the titles doth resign.

King. The bond is broke and I will sue the fine, except you will hinder me, what will you haue it so?

Lou. In doing true iustice, else we answere no.

King. His trecherous father hath neglect his word and done imparshall past by dint of sword, therefore, sirrha go fetch him. Zownes draw you cuts who shall go, I bid you go Catesby.[1] A Richard, now maist thou see thy end at hand, why sirs why fear you thus? why we are ten to one, if you seeke promotion, I am Kinge alreadie in possession, better able to performe then he. Louell, Catesby, lets ioyne louingly and deuoutly togither, and I will diuide my whole kingdome amongst you.

Both. We will my Lord.

King. We will my Lord, a Catesbie, thou lookest like a dog, and thou Louell too, but you will runne away with them that be gone, and the diuel go with you all, God I hope, God, what talke I of God, that haue serued the diuell all this while. No, fortune and courage for mee, and ioyne England against mee with England, Ioyne Europe with Europe, come Christendome, and with Christendome the whole world, and yet I will neuer yeeld but by death onely. By death, no die, part not childishly from thy Crowne, but come the diuell to claime it, strike him down, & tho that Fortune hath decreed, to set reuenge with triumphs on my wretched head, yet death, sweete death, my latest friend, hath sworne to make a bargaine for my lasting fame, and this, I this verie day, I hope with this lame hand of mine, to rake out that hateful heart of Richmond, and when I haue it, to eate it panting hote with salt, and drinke his blood luke warme, tho I be sure twil poyson me. Sirs you that be resolute follow me, the rest go hang your selues.

Exit.

The battell enters, *Richard* wounded, with his Page.

King. A horse, a horse, a fresh horse.

Page. A flie my Lord, and saue your life.

King. Flie villaine, looke I as tho I would flie,[2] no first shall this dull and senceless ball of earth receiue my bodie cold and void of sence, you watry heauens rowle on my gloomy day, and darksome cloudes close vp my cheerfull sownde, downe is thy sunne Richard, neuer to shine againe, the birdes whose feathers should adorne my head, houers aloft & dares not come in sight, yet faint not man, for this day if Fortune will, shall make thee King possest with quiet Crown, if Fates deny, this ground must be my graue, yet golden thoughts that reache for a Crowne, danted before by Fortunes cruell spight, are come as comforts to my drooping heart, and bids me keepe my Crowne and die a King. These are my last, what more I haue to say, ile make report among the damned soules.

Exit.

---

[1] See Shakespeare, act iv., scene 4.

[2] See Shakespeare, act v., scene 4.

Enters *Richmond* to battell againe, and kils *Richard.*

Enters *Report* and the *Page.*

Report. How may I know the certain true report of this victorious battell fought to day, my friend what ere thou beest, tel vnto mee the true report, which part hath wonne the victorie, whether the King or no?

Page. A no the King is slaine and he hath lost the day, and Richmond he hath wonne the field, and tryumphs like a valiant conquerer.

Report. But who is slaine besides our Lord and soueraigne?

Page. Slaine is the worthie duke of Northfolke he, & with him Sir Robart Brokenby, Lieftenant of the Tower, besides Louell, he made also a partner in this Tragedie.

Report. But wheres sir William Catsby?

Page. Hee is this day beheaded on a stage at *Lester*, because he tooke part with my Lord the King. But stay Report, & thou shalt heare me tell the briefe discourse. And how the battell fell then knowe Report, that Richard came to fielde mounted on horsback, with as high resolue as fierce *Achillis* mongst the sturdie Greekes, whom to encounter worthie Richmond, came accompanied with many followers, and then my Lord displayde his colours straight, and with the charge of Trumpet, Drum and Fyfe, these braue batalians straight encountred, but in the skirmish which cõtinued long, my Lord gan faint, which Richmond straight perceiued, and presently did sound a fresh alarme, but worthie Richard that did neuer flie, but followed honour to the gates of death, straight spurd his horse to encounter with the Earle, in which encountry Richmond did preuaile, & taking Richard at aduantage, then he threw his horse and him both to the ground, and there was woorthie Richard wounded, so that after that he nere recouered strength. But to be briefe, my maister would not yeeld, but with his losse of life he lost the field. Report farewell.

Enter Earle *Richmond*, Earle *Oxford*, L. *Standley*, and their traine, with the Crowne.

Rich. Now noble Peeres and woorthie country-men, since God hath giuen vs fortune of the day, let vs first giue thankes vnto his Deitie, & next with honors fitting your deserts, I must be gratefull to my country men, and woorthie Oxford for thy scruice showne in hote encountring of the enemy, Earle Richmond bindes himselfe in lasting bondes of faithfull loue and perfect vnitie. Sory I am for those that I haue lost by our so dangerous encountring with the foe, but sorrow cannot bring the dead to life: and, therefore, are my sorrows spent in vaine. Onely to those that liue, thus much I say, I will maintain them with a manuall paie. And louing father, lastly to your self, tho not the least in our expected aide, we giue more thankes for your vnlooked for aide, then we haue power on sodaine to declare, but for your thanks I hope it shall suffise that I in nature loue & honor you.

L. Stan. Well spoken sonne, and like a man of worth, whose resolutiõ in this battell past, hath made thee famous mongst thy enemies. And thinke my son, I glory more to heare what praise the common people gaue of thee, then if the Peeres by general full consent had set me down to weare the Diadem. Then liue my sonne thus loued of thy friends, and for thy foes prepare to combate them.

Oxf. And Oxford vowes perpetuall loue to thee, wishing as many honours to Earle Richmond, as *Cæsar* had in conquering the world, & I doubt not but if faire fortune follow thee, to see thee honoured amongst thy country men, as *Hector* was among the Lords of *Troy* or *Tulley* mongst the Romane Senators.

Rich. How fares our louely mother Queene?

Enters mother *Queene* and *Elizabeth.*

Queene. In health Earle Richmond, glad to heare the newes that God hath giuen thee fortune of the day. But tell me Lords, where is my sonne Lord Marquesse Dorset, that he is not here? what was he murthered in this Tragedie?

Rich. No louely Queene your sonne doth liue in *France*, for being distrest and driuen by force of tempest to that shore, and many of our men being sicke and dead, we were inforst to aske the King for aide, as well for men as for munition, which then the King did willingly supply, prouided, that as hostage for those men, Lord Marquesse Dorset should be pledge with thē. But Madame now our troubled warre is done, Lord Marquesse Dorset shall come home againe.

Queene. Richmond, gramercies for thy kinde good newes, which is no little comfort to thy friends, to see how god hath beene thy happie guide in this late conquest of our enemies. And Richmond, as thou art returned with victorie, so we will keepe our words effectually.

Rich. Then Madame for our happie battelles victorie, first thankes to heauen, next to my foreward country-men, but Madame pardon me tho I make bold to charge you with a promise that you made, which was confirmed by diuerse of the Peeres, touching the marriage of Elizabeth, and hauing ended what I promised you, Madam, I looke and hope to haue my due.

Stand. Then know my sonne, the Peeres by full consent, in that thou hast freed them from a tyrants yoke, haue by election chosen thee as King, first in regard they account thee vertuous, next, for that they hope all forraine broyles shall seace, and thou wilt guide and gouerne them in peace, then sit thou downe my sonne, and here receiue the Crowne of England as thy proper owne, sit downe.

Oxf. Henry the seuenth, by the grace of God, King of England, *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, God saue the King.

All. Long liue Henry the seuenth, King of England.

Rich. Thanks louing friends and my kind country-men, and here I vow in presence of you all, to root abuses from this common welth, which now flowes faster then the furious tyde that ouerflowes beyond the bankes of *Nile*. And louing father, and my other friends, whose ready forwardnesse hath made me fortunate, Richmond will still in honourable loue count himselfe to be at your dispose, nor do I wish to enioy a longer life, then I shall liue to think vpon your loue. But what saith faire Elizabeth to vs? for now wee haue welcommed our other friends, I must bid you welcome Ladie amongst the rest, and in my welcome craue to be resolued, how you resolve touching my profered loue vnto you, here your mother and the Peeres agree, and all is ended, if you condescend.

Eliz. Then know my Lord, that if my mother please, I must in dutie yeeld to her command, for when our aged father left his life, he willed vs honour still our mothers age: and, therefore, as my dutie doth command, I do commit my self to her dispose.

Queene. Then here my Lord, receive thy royall spouse, vertuous Elizabeth, for both the Peeres and Commons do agree that this faire Princesse shall be wife to thee. And we pray all, that faire Elizabeth may liue for aye, and neuer yeeld to death.

Rich. And so say I, thanks to you all my Lords, that thus haue honoured Richmond with a Crowne, and if I liue, then make account my Lords I will deserue this with more then common loue.

Stan. And now were but my sonne George Standley here,
How happie were our present meeting then,
But he is dead, nor shall I euer more see my sweete
Boy whom I do loue so deare, for well I know the vsurper
In his rage hath made a slaughter of my aged ioy.

Rich. Take comfort gentle father, for I hope my brother George will turne in safe to vs.

Stand. A no my sonne, for he that ioyes in blood, will worke his furie on the innocent.

Enters two Messengers with *George Standley.*

Stan. But how now what noyse is this?

Mess. Behold Lord Standley we bring thy sonne, thy sonne George Standley, whom with great danger we haue saued from furie of a tyrants doome.

L. Stan. And liues George Standley? Then happie that I am to see him freed thus from a tyrants rage. Welcome my sonne, my sweete George welcome home.

George Stan. Thanks my good father, and George Standley ioyes to see you ioynd in this assembly. And like a lambe kept by a greeide Woolfe within the inclosed sentire of the earth, expecting death without deliuerie, euen from this daunger is George Standley come, to be a guest to Richmond & the rest: for when the bloodie butcher heard your honour did refuse to come to him, hee like a sauage tygre then inraged, commanded straight I should be murdered, & sent these two to execute the deed, but they that knew how innocēt I was, did post him off with many long delayes, alleaging reasons to alaie his rage, but twas in vaine, for he like to a starued Lionesse still called for blood, saying that I should die. But to be briefe, when both the battels ioyned, these two and others, shifted me away.

Rich. Now seeing that each thing turnes to our content,
I will it be proclaimed presently, that traytrous Richard
Be by our command, drawne through the streets of Lester,
Starke naked on a Colliers horse let him be laide
For as of others paines he had no regard,
So let him haue a traytors due reward.
Now for our marriage and our nuptiall rytes,
Our pleasure is they be solemnized
In our Abby of Westminter, according to the ancient custom due,
The two and twentith day of August next,
Set forwards then my Lords towards London straight,
There to take further order for the state.

Mess. Thus Gentles may you heere behold, the ioyning of these Houses both in one, by this braue Prince Henry the seauenth, who was for wit compared to *Saloman*, his gouernment was vertuous euery way, and God did wonderously increase his store, he did subdue a proud rebellious Lord, that did encounter him vpon blacke heath. He died when he had raigned full three and twentie yeares eight moneths, and some odde dayes, and lies buried in Westminster. He died & left behind a sonne.

Mess. A sonne he left, a Harry of that name, a worthie, valiant and victorious Prince, for on the fifth yeare of his happie raigne, hee entered *France*, and to the Frenchmens costs, hee wonne *Turwin* and *Turney*. The Emperor serued this King for common pay, and as a mersonary prince did follow him. Then after *Morle* and *Morles*, conquered he, and still did keepe the French men at a bay.

And lastly in this Kings decreasing age he conquered *Bullen*, and after when he was turned home he died, when he had raigned full thirtie eight yeares, nine moneths and some odde dayes, and was buried in *Windsore*. He died and left three famous sprigs behinde him.

Edward the sixt, he did restore the Gospell to his light, and finished that his father left vndone. A wise yoong Prince, giuen greatly to his booke. He brought the English seruice first in vse, and died when he had raigned six yeares, fiue moneths & some odde dayes, and lieth buried in Westminster.

Eliza.[1] Next after him a Mary did succeede, which married Philip King of Spaine, she raigned fiue yeares, foure moneths and some odde dayes, and is buried in Westminster. When she was dead, her sister did succeed.

Queene.[1] Worthie Elizabeth, a mirrour in her age, by whose wise life, and ciuill gouernment, her country was defended from the crueltie of famine, fire and swoord, warres fearefull messengers.

This is that Queene as writers truly say,
That God had marked downe to liue for aye.
Then happie England mongst thy neighbor Iles,
For peace and plentie still attends on thee:
And all the fauourable Planets smiles
to see thee liue in such prospertie.
She is that lampe that keeps faire Englands light,
And through her faith her country liues in peace:
And she hath put proud Antichrist to flight,
And bene the meanes that ciuill wars did cease.
Then England kneele upon thy hairy knee,
And thanke that God that still prouides for thee.
The Turke admires to heare her gouernment,
And babies in *Iury*, sound her princely name,
All Christian Princes to that Prince hath sent,
After her rule was rumord foorth by fame.
The Turke hath sworne neuer to lift his hand,
To wrong the Princesse of this blessed land.
Twere vaine to tell the care this Queene hath had,
In helping those that were opprest by warre:
And how her Maiestie hath stil bene glad,
When she hath heard of peace proclaim'd from far.
Ieneua, *France*, and *Flanders* hath set downe,
The good she hath done, since she came to the Crowne.
For which, if ere her life be tane away,
God grant her soule may liue in heauen for aye.
For if her Graces dayes be brought to end,
Your hope is gone, on whom did peace depend.

FINIS.

[1] It is so absurd that the Queen and her daughter should take this Chorus out of the mouths of the two Messengers, that I at one time thought that the words Eliza., Queene, were misplaced from a marginal note in the manuscript, calling the attention of the reader that Queen Elizabeth was now the subject of the Chorus; but that King Richard's two murderers should speak this Epilogue is perhaps equally preposterous.

ON THE CHARACTER OF RICHARD

For SIR THOMAS MORE'S account, the earliest, see *Source of the Plot.*

POLYDORE VERGIL (p. 226): King Rycherd. . . was lyttle of stature, deformyd of body, thone showlder being higher than thother, a short and sowre cowntenance, which semyd to savor of mischief, and utter evydently craft and deceyt. The whyle he was thinking of any matter, he dyd contynually byte his nether lyppe, as thowgh that crewell nature of his did so rage agaynst yt self in that lyttle carkase. Also he was woont to be ever with his right hand pulling out of the sheath to the myddest, and putting in agane, the dagger which he did alway were. Trewly he had a sharp witt, provydent and subtyle, apt both to counterfayt and dissemble; his corage also hault and fearce, faylyd him not in the very death, which, whan his men forsooke him, he rather yealded to take with the swoord, than by fowle flyght to prolong his lyfe, uncertane what death perchance soon after by sicknes or other vyolence to suffer.

SIR GEORGE BUCK (p. 148): To give you [King Richard] in his equal Draught and Composition: He was of a mean or lowe compact, but without disproportiõ & uneveness either in lineaments or parts (as his severall Pictures present him) His aspect had most of the Souldier in it; so his natural inclination (Complexions not uncertainly expounding our Dispositions) but what wants of the Court-Planet, effeminate Censurers think must needs be harsh and crabbed (and Envie will pick quarrels with an hair, rather then want Subject.) The Judgement and Courage of his Sword-actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratified with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own default, for lack of Valour or Policie. At Court, and in his general deportment, of an affable respect and tractable cleerenesse. In his dispence, of a magnificent liberal hand, somewhat above his power (as Sir *Tho. Moor* sets down.) And surely the many Churches, with other good works he founded, (more then any one former King did in so short a time) must commend him charitable and religious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his wisedom and strain of Government, which all men confesse of the best. So having (even from those his bitterest times) the esteem of a valiant, wise, noble, charitable and religious Prince, why should ours deprave him so much upon trust, & deny works their character and place? [For an account of Buck's *Life of Richard the Third*, see *Source of Plot.*]

W. WHATELY (p. 9): Every Play of Shakespeare abounds with instances of his excellence in distinguishing characters. It would be difficult to determine which is the most striking of all that he drew; but his merit will appear most conspicuously by comparing two opposite characters, who happen to be placed in similar circumstances:—not that on such occasions he marks them more strongly than others, but because the contrast makes the distinction more apparent; and of these none seem to agree so much in situation, and to differ so much in disposition, as Richard the Third and Macbeth. Both are soldiers, both usurpers; both attain the throne by the same means, by treason and murder; and both lose it too in the same manner, in battle against the person claiming it as lawful heir. Perfidy, violence, and tyranny are common to both; and those only, their obvious qualities,

would have been attributed indiscriminately to both by an ordinary dramatic writer. But Shakespeare, in conformity to the truth of history as far as it led him, and by improving upon the fables which have been blended with it, has ascribed opposite principles and motives to the same designs and actions, and various effects to the operation of the same events upon different tempers. Richard and Macbeth, as represented by him, agree in nothing but their fortunes.

The periods of history, from which the subjects are taken, are such as at the best can be depended on only for some principal facts; but not for the minute detail, by which characters are unravelled. That of Macbeth is too distant to be particular; that of Richard, too full of discord and animosity to be true: and antiquity has not feigned more circumstances of horror in the one, than party violence has given credit to in the other. Fiction has even gone so far as to introduce supernatural fables into both stories: the usurpation of Macbeth is said to have been foretold by some witches; and the tyranny of Richard by omens attending his birth. From these fables, Shakespeare, unrestrained and indeed uninformed by history, seems to have taken the hint of their several characters; and he has adapted their dispositions so as to give to such fictions, in the days he wrote, a show of probability. The first thought of acceding to the throne is suggested and success in the attempt is promised, to Macbeth by the witches: he is, therefore, represented as a man, whose natural temper would have deterred him from such a design, if he had not been immediately tempted, and strongly impelled to it. Richard, on the other hand, brought with him into the world the signs of ambition and cruelty: his disposition, therefore, is suited to those symptoms; and he is not discouraged from indulging it by the improbability of succeeding, or by any difficulties and dangers which obstruct his way.

Agreeably to these ideas, Macbeth appears to be a man not destitute of the feelings of humanity. . . . His reluctance to commit the murther is owing in a great measure to reflexions which arise from sensibility; and giving way to his natural feelings of kindred, hospitality, and gratitude, he for a while lays aside his purpose. A man of such a disposition will esteem, as they ought to be esteemed, all gentle and amiable qualities in another: and therefore Macbeth is affected by the mild virtues of Duncan; and reveres them in his sovereign when he stifles them in himself. . . . The frequent references to the prophecy in favour of Banquo's issue, is another symptom of the same disposition: for it is not always from fear, but sometimes from envy, that he alludes to it: and being himself very susceptible of those domestic affections, which raise a desire and love of posterity, he repines at the succession assured to the family of his rival, and which in his estimation seems more valuable than his own actual possession. Thus, in a variety of instances, does the tenderness in his character show itself; and one who has these feelings, though he may have no principles, cannot easily be induced to commit a murder. The intervention of a supernatural cause accounts for his acting so contrary to his disposition. But that alone is not sufficient to prevail entirely over his nature: the instigations of his wife are also necessary to keep him to his purpose. . . The argument [she uses] is, that the strongest and most natural affections are to be stifled upon so great an occasion: and such an argument is proper to persuade one who is liable to be swayed by them; but is no incentive either to his courage or his ambition.

Richard is in all these particulars the very reverse to Macbeth. He is totally destitute to every softer feeling: 'I that have neither pity, love, nor fear.'—*3 Hen.*

VI; V, vii, 68, is the character he gives of himself, and which he preserves throughout; insensible to his habitudes with a brother, to his connection with a wife, to the piety of the king, and the innocence of the babes, whom he murders. The deformity of his body was supposed to indicate a similar depravity of mind; and Shakespeare makes great use both of that, and of the current stories of the times concerning the circumstances of his birth, to intimate that his actions proceeded not from the occasion, but from a savageness of nature. Henry, therefore, says to him: 'Teeth hadst thou in thy head when thou wast born, To signify thou cam'st to bite the world.'—*3 Hen. VI;* V, vii, 53, which does not affect Richard as a reproach; it serves him only for a pretence to commit the murder he came resolved on; and his answer while he is killing Henry is, 'For this among the rest was I ordained.'—l. 57. Immediately afterwards he resumes the subject himself; and, priding himself that the signs given at his birth were verified in his conduct, he says: 'Then, since the Heavens have shaped my body so, Let Hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.'—l. 78. Several other passages to the same effect imply that he has a natural propensity to evil; crimes are his delight: but Macbeth is always in an agony when he thinks of them. He is sensible of '—the heat oppressed brain,' he feels '—the present horror of the time Which now suits with it,' and immediately after he has committed the murder, he is '—afraid to think what he has done.' He is pensive even while he is enjoying the effect of his crimes; but Richard is in spirits merely at the prospect of committing them; and what is effort in the one, is sport in the other. An extraordinary gaiety of heart shows itself upon those occasions, which to Macbeth seem most awful; and whether he forms or executes, contemplates the means, or looks back on the success, of the most wicked and desperate designs, they are at all times subjects to him of merriment. Upon parting from his brother, he says: 'I do love thee so That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven If heaven will take the present at our hands.' His amusement, when he is meditating the murder of his nephews, is the application of some proverbs to their discourse and situation: 'So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long,' and, 'Short summers lightly have a forward spring.' His ironical address to Tirrel, 'Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?' is agreeable to the rest of his deportment: and his pleasantry does not forsake him when he considers some of his worst deeds, after he has committed them; for the terms in which he mentions them are, that, 'The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom; And Anne my wife hath bid the world good night.' But he gives still a greater loose to his humour, when his deformity, and the omens attending his birth, are alluded to, either by himself or by others, as symptoms of the wickedness of his nature. His joy at gaining the consent of Lady Anne to marry him, together with his determination to get rid of her, are expressed in the same wanton vein. And yet, that nothing might be wanting to make him completely odious, Shakespeare has very artfully mixed with all this ridicule, a rancorous envy of those who have greater advantages of figure. . . . There is, besides, another subject on which he sometimes exercises his wit, which is his own hypocrisy. . . . To himself he laughs at the sanctified appearances which he assumes, and makes ridiculous applications of that very language by which he imposed on others. His answer to his mother's blessing, 'Amen! and make me die a good old man!' is an example both of his hypocrisy and his humour: his application of the story of Judas to the affection he had just before expressed for Edward's family, 'To say the truth, so Judas kiss'd his master,' is another instance of the same kind; and there are many more. But

still all this turn to ridicule does not proceed from levity; for Macbeth, though always serious, is not so considerate and attentive in times of action and business. But Richard, when he is indulging that wickedness and malice which he is so prone to and fond of, expresses his enjoyment of it by such sallies of humour; on occasions he is alert, on these only is he gay; and the delight he takes in them gives an air to his whole demeanor, which induces Hastings to observe that as: 'His grace looks cheerfully and smooth today: There's some conceit or other likes him well,' which observation is made at the moment when he is meditating, and but just before he accomplished, the destruction of the nobleman who makes it. That Macbeth, on the other hand, is constantly shocked and depressed with those circumstances which inspire Richard with extravagant mirth and spirits, is so obvious, that more quotations are unnecessary to prove it.

The total insensibility to every tender feeling, which distinguishes the character of Richard, makes him consider the mild virtues of Henry as so many weaknesses, and insult him for them, at the very moment when they would have been allowed all their merit, and have attracted some compassion from any other person.

'See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death!' is the taunt he utters over his bloody corse: and when afterwards Lady Anne aggravates the assassination of Henry by exclaiming: 'O he was gentle, mild, and virtuous!' His answer is: 'The fitter for the King of Heaven that hath him.' Richard despises Henry for his meekness, and turns it into a jest, when it is urged against himself as a matter of reproach. But Macbeth esteems Duncan for the same quality; and of himself, without being reminded, reflects upon it with contrition. It would have been an inconsistency to have attributed to Richard any of those domestic affections which are proper in Macbeth: nor are they only omitted; but Shakespeare has with great nicety shown that his zeal for his family springs not from them, but from his ambition, and from that party-spirit which the contention between the houses of York and Lancaster had inspired. His animosity, therefore, is inveterate against all 'who wish the downfall of our House,' and he eagerly pursues their destruction, as the means of his own advancement. But his desire for the prosperity of his family goes no further: the execration he utters against his brother Edward, 'Would he were wasted, marrow, bones, and all!' is to the full as bitter as any against the Lancastrians. The fear of children from Edward's marriage provokes him to this curse; yet not a wish for posterity ever crosses him: and tho' childless himself, he does not hesitate to destroy the heirs of his family. He would annihilate the House he had fought for all his life, rather than be disappointed of the throne he aspired to; and after he had ascended it, he forgets the interests of that House, whose accession had opened the way to his usurpation. He does not provide, he does not wish, for its continuance; the possession, not the descent, of the crown is his object: and when afterwards it is disputed with him, he considers Richmond only as a pretender. The circumstance of his being also a Lancastrian does not occur to him; and he even, when he seems to contemn him more, does not hate him so much as he did Henry, though Richmond was far the less amiable, as well as the less despicable, of the two: all which conduct tallies with the principle he avows when he declares: 'I have no brother, I am like no brother: And this word love, which grey-beards call divine, Be resident in men like one another, And not in me: I am myself alone.'—*3 Hen. VI;* V, vii, 80–84. But the characters of Richard and Macbeth are marked not only by opposite qualities, but even the same qualities, in each, differ so much in the cause, the kind, and the degree,

that the distinction in them is as evident as in the others. Ambition is common to both; but in Macbeth it proceeds only from vanity, which is flattered and satisfied by the splendour of a throne: in Richard it is founded upon pride; his ruling passion is the lust of power, and so great is that joy, that enumerates among the delights of war 'To fright the souls of fearful adversaries,' which is a pleasure brave men do not very sensibly feel. But, in Richard, the sentiments natural to his high courage are lost in the greater satisfaction of trampling on mankind, and seeing even those whom he despises crouching beneath him: at the same time, to submit himself to any authority, is incompatible with his eager desire of ruling over all; nothing less than the first place can satiate his love of dominion. . . He hardly ever mentions the crown except in swelling terms of exultation; and, even after he has obtained it, he calls it 'The high imperial type of this earth's glory.' But the crown is not Macbeth's pursuit through life: he had never thought of it till it was suggested to him by the witches; he receives their promise, and the subsequent earnest of the truth of it, with calmness. . . . His wife complains of his moderation; the utmost merit she can allow him is that he is 'not without ambition'; but it is cold and faint, for the subject of it is that of a weak mind; it is only pre-eminence of place, not dominion. He never carries his idea beyond the honour of the situation he aims at; and, therefore, he considers it as a situation which Lady Macbeth will partake of equally with him: and in his letter so tells her [in his letter to her]. But it was his rank alone, not his power, in which she could share: and that in deed is all which he afterwards thinks he has attained by his usurpation. He styles himself 'High-plac'd Macbeth,' but in no other light does he ever contemplate his advancement with satisfaction; and when he finds that it is not attended with that adulation and respect which he had promised himself, and which would have soothed his vanity, he sinks under the disappointment, and complains that: '—that which should accompany old age As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends I must not look to have.' These blessings, so desirable to him, are widely different from the pursuits of Richard. He wishes not to gain the affections, but to secure the submission of his subjects, and is happy to see men shrink under his control. But Macbeth, on the contrary, reckons among the miseries of his condition, '—Mouth-honour, breath, Which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not,' and pities the wretch who fears him.

The towering ambition of Richard, and the weakness of that passion in Macbeth, are further instances wherein Shakespeare has accommodated their characters to the fabulous parts of their stories. The necessity for the most extraordinary incitements to stimulate the latter thereby becomes apparent; and the meaning of the omens, which attended the birth of the former, is explained. Upon the same principle a distinction still stronger is made in the article of courage, though both are possessed of it in an eminent degree; but in Richard it is intrepidity, and in Macbeth no more than resolution: in him it proceeds from exertion not from nature; in enterprise he betrays a degree of fear, though he is able, when occasion requires, to stifle and subdue it. When he and his wife are concerting the murder, his doubt, 'if we should fail,' is a difficulty raised by apprehension; and as soon as that is removed by the contrivance of Lady Macbeth, he runs with violence into the other extreme of confidence, and cries out: 'Will it not be received, When we have mark'd with blood these sleepy two. . . . That they have done it?' which question he puts to her, who but the moment before had suggested the thought of it; and his asking it again proceed from that extravagance with which

a delivery from apprehension and doubt is always accompanied. . . . Nothing can be conceived more directly opposite to the agitations of Macbeth's mind, than the serenity of Richard in parallel circumstances. Upon the murder of the Prince of Wales, he immediately resolves on the assassination of Henry. It is a thought of his own, which just then occurs to him: he determines upon it without hesitation; it requires no consideration and admits of no delay: he is eager to put it in execution; but his eagerness proceeds from ardor not from anxiety; and is not hurry, but dispatch. He does not wait to communicate to the king his brother; he only hints the thought as he conceived it, to Clarence; and supposes that the name alone of the Tower will sufficiently indicate his business there. When come thither, he proceeds directly without relenting; it is not to him, as to Macbeth, *a terrible feat*, but only *a serious matter:* and 'Sir, leave us to ourselves, we must confer,' is all the preparation he makes for it; and, indeed, with him it is little more than a conference with an enemy: his animosity and his insolence are the same, both before and after the assassination; and nothing retards, staggers, or alarms him. . . . The same determined spirit carries him through the bloody business of murdering his nephews: and when Buckingham shows a reluctance to be concerned in it, he immediately looks out for another. Had Macbeth been thus disappointed in the person to whom he had opened himself, it would have disconcerted any design he had formed: but Richard does not suffer such an accident to delay his pursuit for a moment; he only wonders at the folly of the man. . . . He is able to put on a general character, directly the reverse of his disposition; and it is ready to him upon every occasion. But Macbeth cannot effectually conceal his sensations, when it is most necessary to conceal them; nor act a part which does not belong to him with any degree of consistency: and the same weakness of mind which disqualifies him from maintaining such a force upon his nature, shows itself still further in that hesitation and dullness to dare, which he feels in himself and allows in others. His whole proceeding in his treason against Duncan is full of it. Against Banquo he acts with more determination, and yet he most unnecessarily acquaints the murderers with the reasons of his conduct; and even informs them of the behaviour he proposes to observe afterwards; this particularity and explanation to men who did not desire it; the confidence he places in those who could only abuse it; and the very needless caution of secrecy implied in his speech [to them], are so many symptoms of a feeble mind; which again appears, when, after they had undertaken the business, he bids them 'resolve' themselves 'apart'; and thereby leaves them an opportunity to retract, if they had not been more determined than he is, who supposes time to be requisite for settling such resolutions. His sending a third murderer to join the others, just at the moment of action, and without any notice, is a further proof of the same imbecility.

Richard, always determined, and taking his determination himself, never waits to be incited, nor ever idly accounts for his conduct; but, fixed to his purpose, makes other men only his instruments, not his confidants or advisers. Even Buckingham is no more; he discards him as soon as he begins to have any judgement of his own. . . . Prompt in decision, he does not hesitate upon collateral circumstances, but attends to the principal point only, and resolves upon it instantly, though it be the doom of death which he pronounces. . . .

From the beginning of their histories to their last moments the characters of Macbeth and Richard are preserved entire and distinct. . . . The picture of Macbeth is much the more highly finished of the two; for it required a greater

variety, and a greater delicacy of painting, to express and to blend with consistency all the several properties which are ascribed to him. That of Richard is marked by more careless strokes, but they are, notwithstanding, perfectly just. Much bad composition may indeed be found in the part; it is a fault from which the best of Shakespeare's plays are not exempt, and with which this play particularly abounds . . . After every reasonable allowance, they must still remain blemishes ever to be lamented; but happily, for the most part, they only obscure, they do not disfigure, his draughts from nature. [I cannot believe that any student who has carefully read the foregoing will begrudge the space allotted to it.—ED.]

W. RICHARDSON (p. 6): The catastrophe of a good tragedy is only the completion of our pleasure, and not the chief cause of it. The fable, and the view which the poet exhibits of human nature, conducted through a whole performance, must produce our enjoyment. But in the work now before us there is scarcely any fable; and there is no character of eminent importance but that of Richard. He is the principal agent; and the whole tragedy is an exhibition of guilt, where abhorrence for the criminal is much stronger than our interest in the sufferers, or esteem for those who, by accident rather than great exertion, promote his downfall. We are pleased no doubt with his punishment; but the display of his enormities, and their progress to this completion, are the chief objects of our attention. Thus Shakespeare, in order to render the shocking vices of Richard an amusing spectacle, must have recourse to other expedients than those usually practised in similar situations. Here, then, we are led to enquire into the nature of these resources and expedients: for why do we not turn from the Richard of Shakespeare, as we turn from his Titus Andronicus? Has he invested him with any charm, or secured him by some secret talisman from disgust and aversion? The subject is curious and deserves our attention. Here, then, we may observe in general that the appearance is produced, not by veiling or contrasting offensive features and colours, but by so connecting them with agreeable qualities residing in the character itself, that the disagreeable effect is entirely suppressed, or by its union with coalescing qualities, is converted into a pleasurable feeling. In particular, though Richard has no sense of justice, nor indeed of any moral obligation, he has an abundant share of those qualities which are termed intellectual. Destitute of virtue, he possesses ability. He shows discernment of character; artful contrivance in forming projects; great address in the management of mankind; fertility of resource; a prudent command of temper; much versatility of deportment; and singular dexterity in concealing his intentions. He possesses, along with these, such perfect consciousness of the superior powers of his own understanding above those of other men, as leads him not ostentatiously to treat them with contempt, but to employ them, while he really contemns their weakness, as engines of his ambition. Now, though these properties are not the objects of moral approbation, and may be employed as the instruments of fraud no less than of justice, yet the native and unmingled effect which *most* of them produce on the spectator, independent of the principle that employs them, is an emotion of pleasure. The person possessing them is regarded with deference, with respect, and with admiration. Thus, then, the satisfaction we receive in contemplating the character of Richard, in the various situations in which the poet has shown him, arises from a mixed feeling; a feeling compounded of horror, on account of his guilt; and of admiration, on account of his talents. By the concurrence of these two emotions the mind is thrown into a

state of unusual agitation; neither painful nor pleasant, in the extremes of pain or of pleasure, but strangely delightful. Surprise and amazement, excited by the striking conjunctures which he himself very often occasions, and which give exercise to his talents, together with astonishment at the determined boldness and success of his guilt, give uncommon force to the general impression. . . We may also observe that suspense, wonder, and surprise, occasioned by the operation of great abilities, under the guidance of uncontrolled inhumanity, by their awful effects and the postures they assume, together with anxiety to see an union so unworthy dissolved, give poignancy to our indignation, and annex to it, if I may use the expression, a certain wild and alarming delight.

N. DRAKE (*Sh. and His Times*, ii, 373): The character of Richard the Third . . . is the picture of a demoniacal incarnation, moulding the passions and foibles of mankind, with superhuman precision, to its own iniquitous purposes. Of this isolated and peculiar state of being Richard himself seems sensible when he declares: 'I am myself alone.' From a delineation like this Milton must have caught many of the most striking features of his Satanic portrait. The same union of unmitigated depravity and consummate intellectual energy characterises both, and renders what would otherwise be loathsome and disgusting, an object of sublimity and shuddering admiration. Richard, stript as he is of all the softer feelings, and all the common charities, of humanity, possessed of 'neither pity, love, nor fear,' and loaded with every dangerous and dreadful vice, would, were it for his unconquerable powers of mind, be insufferably revolting. But, though insatiate in his ambition, envious and hypocritical in his disposition, cruel, bloody, and remorseless in all his deeds, he displays such an extraordinary share of cool and determined courage, such alacrity and buoncy of spirit, such constant self-possession, such an intuitive intimacy with the workings of the human heart, and such matchless skill in rendering them subservient to his views, as so far to subdue our detestation and abhorrence of his villainy, that we, at length, contemplate this fiend in human shape with a mingled sensation of intense curiosity and grateful terror. The task, however, which Shakespeare undertook was, in one instance, more arduous than that which Milton subsequently attempted; for, in addition to the hateful constitution of Richard's moral character, he had also to contend against the prejudices arising from personal deformity, and yet, in spite of striking personal defects, which were considered also, also, as indicatory of the depravity and wickedness of his nature, the poet has contrived, through the medium of the high mental endowments just enumerated, not only to obviate disgust, but to excite extraordinary admiration. One of the most prominent and detestable vices indeed, in Richard's character, his hypocrisy, connected, as it always is, in his person, with the most profound skill and dissimulation, has, owing to the various parts which it induces him to assume, most materially contributed to the popularity of this play, both on the stage, and in the closet. He is one who can '—frame his face to all occasions,' and accordingly appears, during the course of his career, under the contrasted forms of a subject and a monarch, a politician and a wit, a soldier and a suitor, a sinner and a saint; and in all with such apparent ease and fidelity to nature that while to the explorer of the human mind he affords, by his penetration and address, a subject of peculiar interest and delight, he offers to the practised performer a study well calculated to call forth his fullest and finest exertions. He, therefore, whose histrionic powers are adequate to the just exhibition of this character, may

be said to have attained the highest honours of his profession; and, consequently, the popularity of *Richard III.*, notwithstanding the moral enormity of its hero, may be readily accounted for, when we recollect that the versatile and consummate hypocrisy of the tyrant has been embodied by the talents of such masterly performers as Garrick, Kemble, Cooke, and Kean. So overwhelming and exclusive is the character of Richard that the comparative insignificancy of the other persons of the drama may be necessarily inferred; they are reflected to us, as it were, from his mirror, and become more or less important, and more or less developed, as he finds it necessary to act upon them; so that our estimate of their character is entirely founded on his relative conduct, through which we may very correctly appreciate their strength or weakness. The only exception to this remark is in the person of Queen Margaret, who, apart from the agency of Richard, and dimly seen in the darkest recesses of the picture, pours forth, in union with the deep tone of the tragedy, the most dreadful curses and imprecations, with such a wild and prophetic fury, indeed, as to involve the whole scene in tenfold gloom and horror. We have to add that the moral of this play is great and impressive.

R. CUMBERLAND (*The Observer*, No. 69): It is manifest that there is an essential difference in the development of these characters [Richard the Third and Macbeth], and that in favour of Macbeth: in his soul cruelty seems to dawn, it breaks out with faint glimmerings, like a winter morning, and gathers strength by slow degrees: in Richard it flames forth at once, mounting like the sun between the tropics, and enters boldly on its career without a herald. As the character of Macbeth has a moral advantage in this distinction, so has the drama of that name a much more interesting and affecting cast: the struggles of a soul, naturally virtuous, whilst it holds the guilty impulse of ambition at bay, affords the noblest theme for the drama, and puts the creative fancy of our poet upon a resource, in which he has been rivalled only by the great father of tragedy, Æschylus, in the prophetic effusions of Cassandra, the incantations of the persian Magi for raising the ghost of Darius, and the imaginary terrific forms of his furies; with all which our countryman probably had no acquaintance, or at most a very obscure one.

G. C. VERPLANCK: The Poet has made the usurper a nobler and loftier spirit than the historians had done, while he deepened every dark shadow of guilt they had gathered around his mind or his acts. The mere animal courage of the soldier he has raised into a kindling and animated spirit of daring; he has brought out his wit, his resource, his talent, his mounting ambition, far more vividly than prior history had exhibited them. His deeds of blood are made to appear, not as in the Tudor *Chronicles*, as prompted by gratuitous ferocity or envious malignity, but as the means employed by selfish ambition for its own ends, careless of the misery it inflicts, or the moral obligations on which it tramples. The Richard of Shakespeare has no communion with his kind—he feels himself at once aloof from others and above them—he is 'himself alone'; and he, therefore, neither partakes in the hatred, nor the love or pity, of 'men like one another.' Accordingly, everything that gives the poetic cast and dramatic life and spirit to the character—everything which elevates Richard above the cruel, artful, cold-blooded tyrant of the old historians—all that mingles a sort of admiring interest with our abhorrence of him, and invests the deformity of his nature with a terrible majesty—is the Poet's own conception; and he produces these effects not by the invention of new incident,

but by the pervading spirit with which he has animated the language and sentiments, and the vivid colouring over the old historical representation.

HENRY REED (p. 324): It is not possible to discover, either in the history or the drama of Richard, a single point for even a momentary sympathy to rest on—there is no room for the least transient pity of the misery of guilt. Richard had no suffering that we can see—he is happy in his crimes, and they make him prouder of his power. He has no compunctions of conscience, no remorseful remembrances; and it is in this he is represented so differently from the Scottish usurper and tyrant. There is scope for a grand contrast between Richard and Macbeth, but let me only notice that never from Richard's lips do we hear the piteous utterance of the guilt-oppressed weariness of life that weighed down the once guiltless spirit of Macbeth. Richard never felt that he had lived long enough; and, as to troops of friends, the lonely hearted and proud man set no value on them. The tyrant's indurated and stony conscience seemed to sustain with ease the superstructure of his crimes; the prospect of what he thought a necessity of more and more guilt—'sin plucking on sin'—disturbs him with no such agony of ineffectual reluctance as that which appears in Macbeth's brief utterance to Lady Macbeth—'Oh, full of scorpions is my mind, dear wife!' When Richard's crimes are perpetrated, he seems to think of them no more—by a strong effort of the will he dismisses them from his mind. The guilty past is no burden to him; there is no such heart-wasting, hopeless memory as appears in the solemn irony of Macbeth's words: 'Canst thou not minister to mind diseased? Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow.' The long-sustained obduracy of Richard's spirit at length breaks down, like that of the strong-willed woman, Lady Macbeth, in the mysterious condition of perturbed sleep.

W. W. LLOYD (*Introd. Essay*): Richard is the very personation of confidence in self-conduct and self-control, in his absolute command of every form of dissimulation, and still more difficult, of simulation. He is arrogant no less, on the strength of his superiority to any natural stirrings of love or pity, of terror or remorse. Like Iago he believes in the absolute sway of will-wielded intellect to subject and mould passion to its own determinations, while both are, unconsciously to themselves, overmastered and enslaved by a tyrannous passion, that ever keeps out of their own sight, as if lurking and shifting place behind them. Richard's true fall and punishment is his humiliation on his point of reliance and pride; he comes to require friends when friends fail in heart or in heartiness, he regrets affection, would fain be pitied, admits terror, and believes in the power of conscience if he endeavours to defy it. The involuntary forces of his being rise in insurrection against the oppression of the voluntary.

J. H. JESSE (*Memoirs of King Rich. III.*, etc.; p. 242): If King Richard's subjects still remembered and shuddered at the one terrible crime of which he was more than suspected of having committed, they had, on the other hand, every reason to be grateful to him for having arrested the horrors of civil war, and for having extended to them a wise and humane administration. They recognised in him, at all events, an active, wise, temperate, and valiant prince; a prince sensitively jealous of the honour of the English nation, and an anxious well-wisher for its prosperity. They beheld in him a prince who sought to win their suffrages and their affections; not by the low arts with which those who have suddenly achieved

greatness too often pander for popularity, but by reforming immemorial abuses, by introducing laws calculated to secure the safety and welfare of his subjects; by insisting on an equal administration of justice; by taking measures for the suppression of vice and immorality; by removing restrictions from trade, and encouraging commerce and the arts of industry and peace. His patronage of learning and the encouragement which he extended to architecture merit especial commendation. He released the University of Oxford of twenty marks of the fee due to him in the first year of his reign; and endowed Queen's College, Cambridge, with five hundred marks a year. He encouraged the newly discovered art of printing, and, in order to extend learning in the universities, caused an act to be passed which was afterward repealed by Henry VIII., permitting printed books to be brought into and sold by retail in England. Moreover, so far from Richard having been the moody and morose tyrant, such as the venal writers who wrote under the Tudor dynasty delight to describe him, we have evidence from contemporary records that he followed the manly amusements which are popular with Englishmen, and enjoyed those tastes which throw a grace over human nature. His grants to the master of his hawks and the keeper of his news by Charing Cross, and his payments to the keeper of his hart-hounds, tend to the presumption that he was no less the keen sportsman than the redoubted warrior and accomplished statesman. Lastly, that he delighted in music is shown by the number of minstrels who came to his court from foreign lands, as well as by the annuities which he settled on musicians born on English soil. That Richard's nature was originally a compassionate one there seems to be every reason for believing. His kindness to the female sex has been especially commented upon. To the Countess of Oxford, the wife of his arch-enemy, he granted a pension of one hundred pounds a year. To the widow of Earl Rivers, he secured the jointure which had been settled on her in the lifetime of her lord; and, notwithstanding the ingratitude which he had encountered from the late Duke of Buckingham.

C. COWDEN-CLARKE (*Sh. Characters*, p. 456): Let not English playgoers profess a veneration for the genius of Shakespeare while they allow Colley Cibber's tiger-cat version of *Richard III.* to keep possession of their stage, and to have the poet's name affixed as being the author of it. *The* Richard of our poet is a thorough man of the world—bold, practical, direct, and prompt. He is gratuitously as well as politically cruel. Expediency with him is law; it were even his religion, if such a word could be combined with such a being. He will pause at no obstacle to achieve a purpose; and at no result, however revolting, does he ever relent. The wonderful elasticity of his genius carries him over all barriers. 'At one slight bound, high overleaps all bound' or limit to his desire. The whole of his career, to its close—and most especially at the close—excites our admiration from the wonderful energy and skill with which he uses his resources. In our astonishment we almost lose sight of the former tyrant; and—so innate is the love and reverence of power, with resolution, in the human mind—we contemplate him as a brave man who has been overmastered and crushed by numbers. The leading characteristics of Richard's mind are scorn, sarcasm, and an overweening contempt. It appears as if contempt for his victims—rather than active hatred and cruelty—were the motive for murdering them. Upon our first meeting him, in the play bearing his name, he sounds the key-note to his whole character—that of contempt—in the celebrated apostrophe to his own person: 'I, that am curtail'd of this fair

proportion, Cheated of feature by dissembling nature, Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time Into this breathing world scarce half made up.' His ambitious nature, his bounding, elastic intellect, but, above all, his want of faith in goodness, conspire to produce this tendency to despise and degrade every surrounding being and object, even (as just quoted) his own person. He is never sincere and truly in earnest but when he is about to commit a murder. 'Then, since the heavens have shap'd my body so, Let Hell make crook'd my mind to answer it.' This is his introduction to the reader; and in his last scene he indulges the bitterness of his soul in a sneer at those visions which, but a few moments since, have so appalled him; and he recklessly attacks the very power whose influence he had just before been compelled to acknowledge. It is to be observed, moreover, that the first feeling every victim excites in him is that of 'contempt.' The instant they leave him, his first ejaculation—even in the throb of triumph at the success obtained by his own intellect—is always one of contempt for his dupe. Upon Lady Anne's quitting him after that keen encounter of their wits. . . he breaks forth into that demoniacal sarcasm: 'Was ever woman in this humour woo'd? Was ever woman in this humour won?' After his scene with the Court, in the 1st Act, he says, in all the boldness of a contemptuous supremacy: 'I do the wrong; and first begin to brawl. . . . Clarence,—whom I indeed have cast in darkness,—I do beweep to many simple gulls.' And the scene itself where Clarence is being conducted by Brackenbury and his guard to the Tower, and his making the 'simple Clarence,' as he sneeringly calls him, believe that he has been doomed to prison through the machinations of the queen and her family, is another instance of the contempt resulting from his sense of intellectual superiority over all others that come in collision with him. . . . When the party have gone out, he says, with a diabolical jeer: 'I do love thee so That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven, If heaven *will take the present at our hands.*' This should be the very triumph of insolence and contempt, with calculating cruelty. Again, when Queen Elizabeth leaves him, after his arguments have won her sanction to his addressing her daughter, his contempt again breaks forth: 'Relenting fool, and shallow, changing woman!' Even upon slight and casual occasions the same tone occurs, and thus the harmony of the character is maintained. His muttered sneer, upon receiving his mother's benediction: 'And make me die a good old man; That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing.' Again, his lightly and carelessly sending the Bishop of Ely for strawberries from the prelate's garden in Holborn, in the midst of their conversation. Here we have an act of insolence with contempt. And, lastly, his cruelty and ingratitude towards his jackal, Buckingham, who wrought hard to help him to his bad eminence; who had performed for him the ninety-nine time-serving villainies, but cannot do the hundredth—that of murdering the children in the Tower. All these examples, I think, warrant our pronouncing the master-key in Richard's mind to be 'contempt,' and which adds a venom to his cruelty. And thus, again, the position so often maintained in behalf of Shakespeare's genius—that, let us only lay hold of a clue in any of his characters, and pursue it to the end, we shall find all to be clear, harmonious, and consistent. In the character of Richard I am not sure that the poet does not mean to convey that his cruelty towards his species, for the purpose of achieving the end of his ambition, is not the result of the great leading characteristic of his mind—that of 'contempt.' In all this complication of high intellectual qualities in the character and conduct of Richard, Shakespeare makes manifest his own instructive and powerful sagacity in

selecting, and in his style of fashioning, such a being for the hero of a great dramatic poem. A mere human tiger, roused into action only by the smell of blood, would have been but the subject for a third-rate poet, and would have made a regular Sawney Beane of the character. But Shakespeare has invested his Richard with a halo of accomplishment—he is infinitely superior to the persons by whom he is surrounded. Speaking of his own genius, he says, and with a just appreciation: 'Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top, And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.' With these qualities he has conjoined a wanton hardness of heart; a politic and, upon occasion, even a ribald cruelty; and a total defiance and scorn of all faith in a principle of goodness. He is as perfect an incarnation of evil as that Satanic conception of the great epic poet.

C. KNIGHT (*Studies*, etc., p. 193): To understand the character of the Richard III. of Shakespeare, we must have traced its development by the author of *The Contention*. The character was a creation of the early author; the unity was preserved between the last of these four dramas, which everybody admits to be the work of the 'greatest name in all literature,' in an unbroken link with the previous drama, which everybody has been in the habit of assigning to some obscure and very inferior writer. We are taught to open *The Life and Death of King Richard III.*, and to look upon the extraordinary being who utters the opening lines as some new creation, set before us in the perfect completeness of self-formed villainy. We have not learnt to trace the growth of the mind of this bold bad man; to see how his bravery became gradually darkened with ferocity; how his prodigious talents insensibly allied themselves with cunning and hypocrisy; how, in struggling for his house, he ultimately proposed to struggle for himself; how, in fact, the bad ambition would be naturally kindled in his mind, to seize upon the power which was sliding from the hands of the voluptuous Edward, and the 'simple, plain Clarence.' He that wrote:—'I have no brothers, I am like no brothers: And this word *love*, which greybeards term divine, Be resident in men like one another, And not in me; I am myself alone'—prepared the way for the Richard that was to tell us—'If I fail not in my deep intent, Clarence hath not another day to live: Which done, God take king Edward to his mercy, And leave the world for me to bustle in.' The poet of the *Richard III.* goes straightforward to his object; for he has made all the preparation in the previous dramas. No gradual development is wanting of the character which is now to sway the action. The struggle of the houses up to this point has been one only of violence; and it was therefore anarchical. 'The big-boned' Warwick, and the fiery Clifford, alternately presided over the confusion. The power which changed the 'Dreadful marches to delightful measures' seemed little more than accident. But Richard proposed to himself to subject events to his domination, not by courage alone, or activity, or even by the legitimate exercise of a commanding intellect, but by the clearest perception of the strength which he must inevitably possess who unites the deepest sagacity to the most thorough unscrupulousness in its exercise, and is an equal master of the weapons of force and of craft. The character of Richard is essentially different from any other character which Shakespeare has drawn. His bloody violence is not that of Macbeth; nor his subtle treachery, that of Iago. It is difficult to say whether he derives a greater satisfaction from the success of his crimes, or from the consciousness of power which attends the working of them. This is a feature which he holds in common with Iago. But then he does not labour with a 'motiveless malignity,'

as Iago does. He has no vague suspicions, no petty jealousies, no remembrance of slight affronts, to stimulate him to a disproportioned and unnatural vengeance. He does not *hate* his victims; but they stand in his way, and, as he does not *love* them, they perish. He chuckles in the fortitude which this alienation from humanity confers upon him: 'Simple plain Clarence! I do love thee so, That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven, If Heaven will take the present at our hands.' Other men, the most obdurate, have been wrought upon by a mother's tears and a mother's prayers: they are to him a jest: 'Amen; and make me die a good old man! That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing; I marvel that her grace did leave it out.'

Villains of the blackest dye disguise their crimes even from themselves. Richard shrinks not from their avowal to others, for a purpose. The wooing of Lady Anne is, perhaps, the boldest thing in the Shakespearean drama. It is perpetually on the verge of the impossible; yet the marvellous consistency of character with which it is conducted renders the whole of this conduct probable, if we once get over the difficulty which startles Richard himself: 'Was ever woman in the humour woo'd? Was ever woman in this humour won?' His exultation at having accomplished his purpose by the sole agency of 'the plain devil, and dissembling looks' is founded on his unbounded reliance upon his mental powers; and that reliance is even strong enough to afford that he should abate so much of his self-love as to be joyous in the contemplation of his own bodily deformity. It is the result of the peculiar organisation of Richard's mind, formed as it had been by circumstances as well as by nature, that he invariably puts himself in the attitude of one who is playing a part. It is this circumstance which makes the character (clumsy even as it has been made by the joinery of Cibber) such a favourite on the stage. It cannot be over-acted. It was not without a purpose that the author of *The Contention* put in the mouth of Henry: 'What scene of death hath Roscius now to act?'. . . This aptitude for subjecting all his real thoughts and all his natural impulses to the exigencies of the scene of life in which he was to play the chief part, equally govern his conduct whether he is wooing Lady Anne—or denouncing the relations of the Queen—or protesting before the King: ''Tis death to me to be at enmity'—or mentioning the death of Clarence as a thing of course—or begging the strawberries from the Bishop of Ely when he is meditating the execution of Hastings—or appearing on the Tower walls in rusty armour—or rejecting the crown which the citizens present to him—or dismissing Buckingham with 'Thou troublest me, I am not in the vein'—or soliciting the mother of his murdered nephews to win for him her daughter, 'As I intend to prosper and repent.' It is only in the presence of a powerful enemy that Richard displays any portion of his *natural* character. His bravery required no dissimulation to uphold it. In his last battle-field he puts forth all the resources of his intellect in a worthy direction. But the retribution is fast approaching. It was not enough for offended justice that he should die as a hero: the terrible tortures of conscience were to precede the catastrophe. The drama has exhibited all it could exhibit—the palpable images of horror haunting a mind already anticipating the end. 'Ratcliff, I fear, I fear,' is the first revelation of the true inward man to a fellow-being. But the terror is but momentary: 'Let not our babbling dreams affright our souls.' To the last the poet exhibits the supremacy of Richard's intellect, his ready talent and his unwearied energy. The tame address of Richmond to his soldiers, and the spirited exhortation of Richard, could not have been the result

of accident. It appears to us, then, that the complete development of the character of Richard was absolutely essential to the completion of the great idea upon which the poet constructed these four dramas. There was a man to be raised up out of the turbulence of the long contest—not cruel, after the mere fashion of Clifford's cruelty—not revengeful, according to the passionate impulses of the revenge of a Margaret and of an Edward—not false and perjured, in imitation of the irresolute weakness of a Clarence—but one who was cruel, and revengeful, and treacherous, upon the deepest premeditation and with the most profound hypocrisy. That man was also to be so confident in his intellectual power, that no resolve was to be too daring to be acted upon, no risk too great to be encountered. Fraud and force were to go hand in hand, and the one was to exterminate what the other could not win. This man was to be an instrument of that justice which was to preside to the end of this 'sad eventful history.' By his agency was the house of York to fall, as the house of Lancaster had fallen. The innocent, by him, were to be swept away with the guilty. Last of all, the Fate was to be appeased—the one great criminal was to perish out of the consequences of his own enormities.

H. GILES (p. 117): Richard the Third, like Iago, is a man of mind, but of mind that works outwardly, and on an extensive scale. He has all the advantages of high birth and of imperial situation. His mind is vigourous as well as cunning, and his purpose of invincible resolve. He has hold of that external sway which, even with a feeble understanding, can sometimes make a weak man feared. But the interior energy of Richard's spirit reaches to the utmost exaltation of his opportunity and ambition. His is not the pomp of force, but its power; not the glowing show, but the burning substance. This correspondence between energy in intellect and energy in act gives a certain grandeur to Richard even in his crimes; and in mortal defeat itself there is a glory about his end which does not belong to the victor who conquered and who survived him. If we compare Richard and Iago, Iago has the most of mind, but is the baser villain. Richard destroys others to raise himself, and destroys them with a speedy death. On the contrary, Iago destroys others as if in their destruction alone he had a sufficient end; he destroys them carefully, deliberately, and in every way with malice aforethought; he destroys them slowly by the consuming torture of their dearest life in bitter anguish and in fierce despair. It is no wonder that Othello, at the last, should look for some sign of the devil on him.

Macbeth, also, I suppose, we may class among the intellectual men of Shakespeare. Intellect in Macbeth is not, as it is in Hamlet, philosophic; or piercing, as it is in Iago; or direct, as it is in Richard. . . . He loves power: he is aware that only by treason, treachery, and murder, can he reach it; his will is firm, but his nerves are weak; he has sensibility; he has a sort of moral sentimentalism, but he has no principle, no practical energy towards what is right. . . . Murder was to Macbeth, as it was to Richard, the path to kingship—murder, if possible, of grosser order and of darker crime: to keep the sceptre which he grasped in blood, he has even to outstrip Richard in continued and multiplied assassination; but by his disposition he is compelled to *moralize*, when Richard is compelled only to *act*. With ethics or sentiment Richard has no concern; and wherever he adopts the phraseology of either, you see plainly that it is for a purpose. . . that it is merely on his lip, but in no way native to his life. Talk as he will before others, he never conceals his character or his objects from himself; and so in his soliloquies he is

always straightforward and sincere. Now, it is in Macbeth's self-communion that we notice the profoundest self-illusion; it is in his soliloquies that we have things of wisdom, new and old, brought from the treasury of contemplation—the most frequent generalizations of experience and philosophy, all showing that the inward character of the man is thoughtful, introspective, moody, and melancholy. Richard's fine or formal sayings are 'got up'—things of art, reserved for show and intended for effect. Macbeth's deepest moral eloquence is natural—seeks no audience—is uttered for no end—is excited by solitude, and is uttered when the speaker is alone. With Richard *death* is a political agency, *murder*, a state necessity; and he uses both strictly in reference to the object which his ambition covets. His motives and his deeds have 'this extent—no more.' But Macbeth cannot help but reflect on his motives and his deeds: he must 'look before and after'; he has to hold account in conscious thought with the past and future. . . . The faculties of Richard are simply his servants; the faculties of Macbeth are his flatterers and deceivers.

E. P. WHIPPLE (p. 65): The meridian of Shakespeare's power was reached when he created Othello, Macbeth, and Lear—complex personalities, representing the conflict and complication of the mightiest passions in colossal forms of human character. . . . The greatness of these characters, as compared with his earlier creations, consists in the greater intensity and amplitude of their natures, and the wider variety of faculties and passions included in the strict unity of their natures. Richard III., for example, is one of his earlier characters, and, though excellent of its kind, its excellence has been approached by other dramatists, as, for instance, Massinger, in Sir Giles Overreach. But no other dramatist has been able to grasp and represent a character similar in kind to Macbeth, and the reason is that Richard is comparatively a simple conception, while Macbeth is a complex one. There is unity and versatility in Richard; there is unity and variety in Macbeth. Richard is capable of being developed with almost logical accuracy; for, though there is versatility in the play of his intellect, there is little variety in the motives which direct his intellect. His wickedness is not exhibited in the making. He is so completely and gleefully a villain from the first, that he is not restrained from convenient crime by any scruples or relentings. The vigour of his will is due to his poverty of feeling and conscience. He is a brilliant and efficient criminal because he is shorn of the noblest attributes of man. Put, if you could, Macbeth's heart and imagination into him, and his will would be smitten with impotence, and his wit would be turned to wailing. The intellect of Macbeth is richer and grander than Richard's, yet Richard is relatively a more intellectual character; for the intellect of Macbeth is rooted in his moral nature, and is secondary in our thoughts to the contending motives and emotions it obeys and reveals. In crime, as in virtue, what a man overcomes should enter into our estimate of the power exhibited in what he does.

H. N. HUDSON (*Sh. His Life, Art*, etc.; p. 155): Richard's individuality can abide no partner, either as equal, or as second, or in any other degree. There is no *sharing* any thing with him, in however unequal portions; no acting *with* him, as original, self-moving agents, but only *from* him, as the objects and passive recipients of his activity. Such is the form and scope of his individuality, that other men's cannot stand in subordination to it, but must either crush it, or fly from it,

or be absorbed into it; and the moment any one goes to acting otherwise than as a limb of his person, or an organ of his will, there is a virtual declaration of war between them, and the issue must hang on a trial of strength or of stratagem. Hence there is, properly speaking, no interaction between Richard and the other persons of the drama. He is the all-in-all of the scene. And herein is this play chiefly distinguished from the others, and certainly, as a work of art, not distinguished for the better, that the entire action, in all its parts and stages, so far at least as it has any human origin and purpose, both springs from the hero as its source, and determines in him as its end. . . There being no one to share with the hero in the action and the interest of the piece, this renders it all the better for theatrical starring; for which cause most of the great actors have naturally been fond of appearing in it, and of play-goers of seeing them in it. Besides, the hero is himself essentially an actor, though an actor of many parts, sometimes acting one of them after another, and sometimes several of them together: and the fact that his character is much of it assumed, and carried through as a matter of art, probably makes it somewhat easier for another to assume. At all events, the difficulty, one would suppose, must be much less in proportion to the stage-effect than in reproducing the deep tragic passions of Lear and Othello, as these burst up from the original founts of nature. Richard, however, is not all hypocrite: his courage and his self-control at least are genuine; nor is there anything false or counterfeit in his acting of them. And his strength of will is exerted even more in repressing his own nature than in oppressing others. Here it is, perhaps, that we have the most admirable feature of the delineation. Such a vigour of self-command, the central force of all great characters, seldom fails to captivate the judgement, or to inspire something like respect; and, when carried to such a height as in Richard, it naturally touches common people with wonder and awe, as being well-nigh superhuman. In this respect he strongly resembles Lady Macbeth, that he does absolute violence to his nature in out-wrestling the powers of conscience. In his waking moments he never betrays, except in one instance, any sense of guilt, any pangs of remorse; insomuch that he seems to have a hole in his head, where the moral faculties ought to be. But such a hole can nowise stand with judgement and true sagacity, which Richard certainly has in a high degree. And it is very much to the point that, as in Lady Macbeth, his strength of will is evidently over-strained in keeping down the insurgent moral forces of his being. But this part of his nature asserts itself in his sleep, when his powers of self-repression are suspended: then his involuntary forces rise in insurrection against the despotism of his voluntary. In his speech to the army near the close, he describes conscience as 'a word that cowards use, devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe'; and this well shows how hard he strives to hide from others, and even from himself, the workings of that deity in his breast: but the horrid dreams which infest his pillow and plague his slumbers, and which are disclosed to us by Lady Anne, are a conclusive record of the torturing thoughts that have long been rending and harrowing his inner man in his active career, and of the extreme violence his nature has suffered from the tyranny of will in repressing all outward signs of the work going on within. That his conscience in sleep should thus rouse itself and act the fury in his soul, to avenge the wrongs of his terrible self-despotism when awake, this it is that, more than anything else, vindicates his partnership in humanity, and keeps him within the circle of our human sympathies. Richard's inexorable tenacity of purpose and his over-bearing self-mastery have their strongest display in the catastrophe. He cannot indeed prolong his

life; but he makes his death serve in the highest degree the end for which he has lived, dying in a perfect transport of heroism, insomuch that we may truly say: 'nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.'

E. DOWDEN (*Sh. his Mind and Art*, p. 187): Richard, like Edmund, like Iago, is solitary; he has no friend, no brother: 'I am myself alone'; and all that Richard achieves tends to his own supremacy. Nevertheless, the central characteristic of Richard is not self-seeking or ambition. It is the necessity of releasing and letting loose upon the world the force within him (mere force in which there is nothing moral), the necessity of deploying before himself and others the terrible resources of his will. One human tie Shakspere attributes to Richard; contemptuous to his mother, indifferent to the life or death of Clarence and Edward, except as their life or death may serve his own attempt upon the crown, cynically loveless towards his feeble and unhappy wife, Richard admires with an enthusiastic admiration his great father: 'Methinks 'tis prize enough to be his son.' And the memory of his father supplies him with a family pride which, however, does not imply attachment or loyalty to any member of his house. 'But I was born so high; Our aiery buildeth in the cedar's top, And dallies with the wind and scorns the sun.' History supplied Shakspere with the character of his Richard. He has been accused of darkening the colours, and exaggerating the deformity of the character of the historical Richard found in More and Holinshed. The fact is precisely the contrary. The mythic Richard of history (and there must have been some appalling fact to originate such a myth) is made somewhat less grim and bloody by the dramatist. Essentially, however, Shakspere's Richard is of the diabolical (something more dreadful than the criminal) class. He is not weak, because he is single-hearted in his devotion to evil. Richard does not serve two masters. He is not like John, a dastardly criminal; he is not like Macbeth, joyless and faithless because he has deserted loyalty and honour. He has a fierce joy, and he is an intense believer—in the creed of hell. And therefore he is strong. He inverts the moral order of things, and tries to live in this inverted system. He does not succeed; he dashes himself to pieces against the laws of the world which he has outraged. Yet, while John is wholly despicable, we cannot refrain from yielding a certain tribute of admiration to the bolder malefactor, who ventures on the daring experiment of choosing evil for his good. Such an experiment, Shakspere declares emphatically, as experience and history declare, must in the end fail. The ghosts of the usurper's victims rise between the camps, and are to Richard the Erinnyes, to Richmond inspirers of hope and victorious courage. At length Richard trembles on the brink of annihilation, trembles over the loveless gulf: 'I shall despair; there is no creature loves me; And if I die, no soul shall pity me.' But the stir of battle restores him to resolute thoughts, 'Come, bustle, bustle, caparison my horse,' and he dies in a fierce paroxysm of action. Richmond conquers, and he conquers expressly as the champion and representative of the moral order of the world, which Richard had endeavored to set aside.

T. HALL CAINE (p. 42): Etymology is not our idol, and it does not come within our design to start an abstract metaphysical enquiry; but it may be observed that the word Cruelty has been blended in popular imagination with Remorselessness, Relentlessness, and other words of more innocent character. Briefly, the positive word, unlike the negative words, embraces in its extended sense an abstract delight

in wickedness, a distinct revelling in the sheer pains which result upon deeds of savage fury. Thus Shylock is cruel when nurturing the poisonous wiles of his wickedness without tangible purpose and against palpable interest; and thus Iago is cruel when, with no further design than that of being equal with him, wife for wife, he abuses the ear of the Moor and draws down a world of misery. But, it will be observed, Richard bears no analogy to these persons; his futurity is ever pregnant with great purposes; and his crimes are essential to their realization. He slaughters the innocent and the guilty, his adversaries and his instruments; he does not stop to relent, but neither does he stop to rejoice in the mere pain he inflicts. The tenderness and mild compassion under which Forrest and Dighton, the suborned murderers of Tyrrell, melted do not touch the king, but the purpose served, the business is at an end. True, he says: 'Come to me, Tyrrell, soon at after supper, When thou shalt tell *the process of their death*.' But, again, Macbeth says to the murderer of Banquo, 'Get thee gone; to-morrow We'll hear, ourselves, again.' It may, perhaps, be at first suspected that both Richard and Macbeth have malicious desires to revel in mere blood-thirstiness, but if we look closely we see that Richard's anxiety is expressed in the line: 'But did'st thou *see them dead*?' and that Macbeth's distress lies in the escape of Fleance, whose death, indeed, the meeting may be projected to arrange.

The chief distinction in the characterization of Macbeth and Richard lies in the circumstance that Macbeth is assailed by remorse in the very act of sin, and that his whole sentient frame quivers with what Hamlet terms this thinking too precisely on the event, whilst Richard braces himself for conflict with an inner and outer world which has nothing worse to revenge upon him than himself upon himself; and as for that: 'Richard loves Richard; that is I am I.' We need, however, only observe attentively the command the will of Richard has over his emotions, to refer the different forms of outward bearing in Richard and Macbeth to one principle and reduce them to a groundwork of character common to both persons. Richard is really eternally struggling against maddening remorse, which, in the recession of his reason, rises to prominence. . . . Only once does the spirit of the resolute tyrant yield itself to the sleep of the reason, but the suspended mental and invigorated moral nature is powerful enough to determine the character of the innermost emotion. Richard cries: 'O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!' . . . 'I shall despair. There is no creature loves me; And, if I die, no soul will pity me'; but straightway he reigns himself up with the reflection: 'Nay, wherefore should they? Since that I myself Find in myself no pity to myself.' To see this scene enacted by Mr Irving as he clings convulsively to the crucifix, and the heart-racking lines are imbued with the soul of the great actor, is at once to pity the awful isolation which is as real to Richard as if it were in the nature of things, and no longer to doubt that Richard is deceiving himself to the very throat, when he says he is striving to send the murderous Macchiavel to school. Coleridge says that a great philosophical creation may sometimes be easiest studied in the honest imitations that are made of it. *The Robbers* of Schiller presents one character of Shakespeare's *in minimis*. The relentless Franz affects to resent the obligations which devolve upon other men, and to repudiate the claims of affection which flow from the propinquity in blood; but when, under supernatural agency, the will loses command of the emotions, the vision of judgement excites the throes of a despair which, through the tumultuous fury of the baffled years, has but slept and then awakens to the exercise of a bitter retribution.

E. D. BEWLEY (p. 292): Shakspere has been accused of painting the character of Richard Plantagenet in too unfavourable colours, but how attractive he makes him in comparison with the monster presented by the chronicles can be seen by the most cursory examination of Holinshed's description. In the latter we see nothing but the brutal, hypocritical plotter, whose very nature leads him to commit the crimes by which he obtains his power; there is no hint of the really fine mental qualities of Shakspere's Richard, which fascinate us almost against our will. For here, as in the *Merchant of Venice*, and in even a more marked degree, it is the character which may be described as 'the villain of the piece' that enlists all our sympathies, while the remaining figures arouse no feelings save those of pity, and even impatience. For in the Richard as delineated by Shakspere we find a very different personage to the prototype of the chronicle. Here we have a mind that, under more favourable physical conditions, might have produced a great and faithful minister and ruler; but, by what some would call a freak of nature, this mind is clogged by a body that warps its every better feeling and crushes every noble thought. The man feels himself to be different to all those around him, and perceives that they are only too ready to recognise the fact; and so he is brave, but, under the influence of this conviction, his bravery becomes mere brutality; he is gifted with a quick and ready intellect, but it degenerates into hypocritical cunning; and the qualities which might have made him a distinguished warrior and a successful diplomatist, are only used to gratify his revenge and to aid in the fulfilment of an unworthy ambition. But, distorted though it appears, there is something in the character of Richard that cannot fail to attract. We recognise throughout that cunning and cruelty are no part of the man's true nature. Feeling himself more gifted than all the selfish plotters by whom he is surrounded, and yet despised and flouted by all, he sets before him the crown as the goal of his ambition and determines that nothing shall stand in his way towards the attainment of that goal. Himself the object of no human affection, he feels none, and all impediments are ruthlessly sacrificed to his design; brothers, nephews, wife, friends, without a single feeling of compunction, he sees them all go that he may gain his end. And how adapted the man is for the fulfilment of his schemes! gifted with consummate powers of speech, keen mind, and piercing wit, and at the same time a brave and skilful commander. It is at first impossible to believe that the figure presented at the end of the play, when we see him ravening in blood, can be the same keen, adroit man whom we saw earlier, deceiving Clarence by his tears, Anne by his flattery, Buckingham and Hastings by his expressions of undying affection and gratitude. But the hypocrisy and cunning form no true part of his nature; he only consents to stoop that he may attain the crown of his ambition, when he need stoop to none. Thus we are presented with an extraordinary mixture of genius and dissimulation, of suavity and recklessness.

R. G. MOULTON (p. 91): In the infancy of modern English poetry Drayton found a poetic side to topography and maps, and Phineas Fletcher idealised anatomy; while of the two greatest imaginations belonging to the modern world Milton produced his masterpiece in the delineation of a fiend, and Dante in a picture of hell. The final triumph of good over evil seems to have been already anticipated by art.

The portrait of Richard satisfies a first condition of ideality in the scale of the whole picture. The sphere in which he is placed is not private life, but the world

of history, in which moral responsibility is the highest: if, therefore, the quality of other villainies be as fine, here the issues are deeper. As another element of the ideal, the villainy of Richard is presented to us fully developed and complete. Often an artist of crime will rely—as notably in the portrait of Tito Malema—mainly on the succession of steps by which a character, starting from full possession of the reader's sympathies, arrives by the most natural gradations at a height of evil which shocks. In the present case all idea of growth is kept outside the field of this particular play; the opening soliloquy announces a completed process: 'I am determined to become a villain.' What does appear of Richard's past, seen through the favourable medium of a mother's description, only seems to extend the completeness to earlier stages: 'Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy; Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious.' So in the details of the play there is nowhere a note of the hesitation that betrays tentative action. When even Buckingham is puzzled as to what can be done if Hastings should resist, Richard answers: 'Chop of his head, man; somewhat we will do.' His choice is only between different modes of villainy, never between villainy and honesty. Again, it is to be observed that there is no suggestion of impelling motive or other explanation for the villainy of Richard. He does not labour under any sense of personal injury, such as Iago felt in believing, however groundlessly, that his enemies had wronged him through his wife; or Edmund, whose soliloquies display him as conscious that his birth has made his whole life an injury. Nor have we in this case the morbid enjoyment of suffering which we associate with Mephistophiles, and which Dickens has worked up into one of his most powerful portraits in Quilp. Richard never turns aside to gloat over the agonies of his victims; it is not so much the details as the grand schemes of villainy, the handling of large combinations of crime, that have an interest for him: he is a strategist in villainy, not a tactician. Nor can we point to ambition as a sufficient motive. He is ambitious in a sense which belongs to all vigorous natures; he has the workman's impulse to rise by his work. But ambition as a determining force in character must imply more than this; it is a sort of moral dazzling, its symptom is a fascination by ends which blinds to the ruinous means leading up to these ends. Such an ambition was Macbeth's; but in Richard the symptoms are wanting, and in all his long soliloquies he is never found dwelling upon the prize in view. A nearer approach to an explanation would be Richard's sense of bodily deformity. Not only do all who come in contact with him shrink from the 'bottled spider,' but he himself gives a conspicuous place in his meditations to the thought of his ugliness; and from the outset he connects his criminal career with the reflection that he is 'not shaped for sportive tricks.' Still, it would be going too far to call this the motive of his crimes: the spirit of this and similar passages is more accurately expressed by saying that he has a morbid pleasure in contemplating physical ugliness analogous to his pleasure in contemplating moral baseness.

There appears, then, no sufficient explanation and motive for the villainy of Richard: the general impression conveyed is that, to Richard, villainy has become an end in itself needing no special motive. This is one of the simplest principles of human development—that a means to an end tends in time to become an end in itself. . . . In previous plays Gloucester may have been impelled by ambition to his crimes: by the time the present play is reached, crime itself becomes to him the dearer of the two, and the ambitious end drops out of sight. This leads directly to one of the two main features of Shakespeare's portrait: Richard is an *artist in*

villainy. What form and colour are to the painter, what rhythm and imagery are to the poet, that crime is to Richard: it is the medium in which his soul frames its conceptions of the beautiful. The gulf that separates between Shakespeare's Richard and the rest of humanity is no gross perversion of sentiment, nor the development of abnormal passions, nor a notable surrender in the struggle between interest and right. It is that approaches villainy as a thing of pure intellect, a religion of moral indifference, in which sentiment and passion have no place, attraction to which implies no more motive than the simplest impulse to exercise a native talent in its natural sphere. Of the various barriers that exist against crime, the most powerful are the checks that come from human emotions. . . . Crime becomes possible only because these emotions can be counteracted by more powerful emotions on the other side, by greed, by thirst for vengeance, by inflamed hatred. In Richard, however, when he is surveying his works, we find no such evil emotions raised, no gratified vengeance or triumphant hatred. The reason is there is in him no restraining emotion to be overcome. Horror at the unnatural is not subdued, but absent; his attitude to atrocity is the passionless attitude of the artist who recognises that the tyrant's cruelty can be set to as good music as the martyr's heroism. Readers are shocked at the scene in which Richard woos Lady Anne beside the bier of the parent he has murdered, and wonder that so perfect an intriguer should not choose a more favourable time. But the repugnance of the reader has no place in Richard's feelings: the circumstances of the scene are so many *objections*, to be met by so much skill of treatment. A single detail in the play illustrates perfectly this neutral attitude to horror. Tyrrel comes to bring the news of the princes' murder; Richard answers: 'Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at after supper, And thou shalt tell the process of their death.' Quilp could not have waited for his gloating till after supper; other villains would have put the deed out of sight when done; the epicure in villainy reserves his *bonbouche* till he has leisure to do it justice. Callous to his own emotions, he is equally callous to the emotions he rouses in others. When Queen Margaret is pouring a flood of curses which make the innocent courtiers' hair stand on end, and the heaviest curse of all, which she has reserved for Richard himself, is rolling on to its climax, he adroitly slips in the word 'Margaret' in place of the intended 'Richard,' and thus, with the coolness of a school-boy's small joke, disconcerts her tragic passion in a way that gives a moral wrench to the whole scene. His own mother's curse moves him not even to anger; he caps its clauses with bantering repartees, until he seizes an opportunity for a pun and begins to move off: he treats her curse as in a previous scene he had treated her blessing, with a sort of gentle impatience, as if tired of a fond yet somewhat troublesome parent.* Finally, there is an instinct which serves as resultant to all the complex forces, emotional or rational, which sway us between right and wrong: this instinct of conscience is formally disavowed by Richard: 'Conscience is but a word that cowards use, Devised at first to keep the strong in awe.' But, if the natural heat of emotion is wanting, there is, on the other hand, the full intellectual warmth of an artist's enthusiasm, whenever Richard turns to survey the game he is playing. . . . The great master is known by his appreciation of details, in the least of which he can see the play of great principles: so the magnificence of Richard's villainy does not make him insensible to commonplaces of

* For a different opinion in regard to Richard's behaviour under his mother's curse, see note by Oechelhäuser, IV, iii, 199.—Ed.

crime. . . . The mysterious irresistibility of Richard, pointed to by the succession of incidents in the play, is assisted by the very improbability of some of the more difficult scenes in which he is an actor. Intrigue in general is a thing of reason, and its probabilities can be readily analysed; but the genius of intrigue in Richard seems to make him avoid the caution of other intriguers, and to give him a preference for feats which seem impossible. The whole suggests how it is not by calculation that he works, but he brings the *touch* of an artist to his dealing with human weakness, and follows whither his artist's inspiration leads him. If, then, there is nothing so remote from evil but Richard can make it tributary; if he can endow crimes with a power of self-multiplying; if he can pass through a career of sin without the taint of distortion on his intellect and with unruffled calmness of innocence; if Richard accomplishes feats no other would attempt with a carelessness no other reputation would risk, even slow reason may well believe him irresistible. When, further, such qualifications for villainy become, by unbroken success in villainy reflected in Richard's very bearing; when the only law explaining his motions to on-lookers is the lawlessness of genius whose instinct is more unerring than the most labourious calculation and planning, it becomes only natural that the *opinion* of his irresistibility should become converted into a mystic *fascination*, making Richard's very presence a signal to his adversaries of defeat, chilling with hopelessness the energies with which they are to face his consummate skill.

J. L. Etty (*Macmillan's Maga.*, Nov., 1900; p. 21): At his best Richard the Third was a traitor, a murderer, a tyrant, and a hypocrite, and one wonders what there can have been in such a character which could gain for him the affection of some, at least, of his contemporaries and inspire later writers with the desire to defend his memory. That he could persuade Anne Neville, whose husband he had helped to murder, to marry him, that he could win and retain the affection not only of such men as Hastings and Buckingham, but also of the citizens of York and the people on the Yorkist lands in that neighbourhood, that he could win over Queen Elizabeth, to a scheme for his marriage to her daughter, or, as some say, to herself—all these facts argue a power of attraction which is not visible in Shakespeare's portrait of him, for all that he mentions the facts themselves.

What was the secret of this attraction? It must have been, I think, this, that Richard of Gloucester was the strongest man of his age. An abler statesman than his brother Edward, and very little inferior to him in military skill, his self-command gave him a control over men and events which Edward never could reach. As brave as Warwick and intellectually far his superior, he showed great skill in taking the place which Warwick's death had left vacant and putting himself at the head of the old nobles against the influence of the Queen's relatives. To this alliance alone he owed his crown; without Buckingham's aid his unscrupulous cunning would have been useless. Had not the daring of his wickedness exceeded all proportion, he would have been as great, if not greater, than Louis the Eleventh, for the task he had set himself was fully as hard as the French king's. But such prodigality of crime becomes, even in a strong man, weakness and, from a purely cynical point of view, can only be excused by the impossibility of the goal he was seeking. In any case Richard of Gloucester is a less detestable figure than Louis the Eleventh, for, though we may hate and fear him, he is not the object of a contempt which forbids pity. Was Shakespeare then justified in ignoring the better side of Richard's nature and thus intensifying the blackness of his character?

And again is such a character a fit subject for artistic treatment? It is abundantly clear that, as in the actual events, so in Shakespeare's account of them, the last few years of the life of Richard of Gloucester form a climax, a period into which all the evils of the preceding years are crowded. The bare, grim, crude nature of Shakespeare's story of the Wars of the Roses is intentional and appropriate. His picture of Richard the Third is the natural sequel. Even if we were forced to grant that the fabric he has built is founded on an assumption that a wholly bad character is possible, the logical results are so well worked out that the impossible becomes plausible. In the closing scenes of that awful drama, in the story of its climax, he could not have drawn in uncertain outlines the man whom he clearly regarded as the embodiment of all the evils of the time. He could not afford to be tender with Richard's character; he was bound to make the climax of such a story monstrous, if he was to avoid a bathos. After that grim frieze of murderous scenes in high relief he could not fill the last panel with an accurate portrait, giving each feature its due, and forbearing to emphasise the sternness of the face. And for some few, even unqualified evil comes within the sphere of their art. Shakespeare's Richard the Third and Milton's Satan have an atmosphere of their own; they are laws to themselves, above and beyond the reach of the law of probability. But they may not be imitated; the character of Cenci is revolting, unnatural, impossible. And, after all, there is an admirable grandeur, a pathetic loneliness, both in Richard the Third and Satan. His fierce bravery in battle even in boyhood was such as to win the admiration of his father; and at least he died like a hero. . . . Such a death was better than that of Louis the Eleventh, shut up alone in the Castle of Plessis, surrounded by endless fortifications, protected by hosts of guards, and seeking vainly to prolong his life with spells, masses, and incantations. Richard of Gloucester died as he had lived, fighting. Like others cursed with a deformed mind or body, he was a gambler, and the stakes for which he played were so high that life was not too dear a forfeit on his failure. But he had played with courage and skill, and, though he failed, he failed so nobly as almost to atone for his previous success. [The foregoing descriptions, with the exception of that by Jesse, relate to Shakespeare's Richard. For analyses of the historic Richard, see S. Turner, iii, 450; W. Stubbs, iii, 225; Halliwell, *Letters of Kings*, etc., i, 153-156; A. O. Legge, ii, 117; Miss C. Halsted, ch xiii; C. R. Markham, Pt, ii, ch. ii.—ED.]

ENGLISH CRITICISMS ON THE TRAGEDY

DR JOHNSON: This is one of the most celebrated of our author's performances; yet I know not whether it has not happened to him as to others, to be praised most when praise is not most deserved. That this play has scenes noble in themselves, and very well contrived to strike in the exhibition, cannot be denied. But some parts are trifling, others shocking, and some improbable.

MALONE: I agree entirely with Dr Johnson in thinking that this play from its first exhibition to the present hour has been estimated greatly beyond its merit. From the many allusions to it in the books of that age, and the great number of editions it passed through, I suspect it was more often represented and more admired than any of our author's tragedies. Its popularity perhaps in some measure arose from the detestation in which Richard's character was justly held, which must have operated more strongly on those whose grandfathers might have lived near his time; and from its being patronized by the Queen on the throne, who probably was not a little pleased at seeing King Henry VII. placed in the only favourable light in which he could have been exhibited on the scene.

STEEVENS: I most cordially join with Dr Johnson and Mr Malone in their opinions; and yet perhaps they have overlooked one cause of the success of this tragedy. The part of Richard is, perhaps, beyond all others, variegated, and consequently favorable to a judicious performer. It comprehends, indeed, a trait of almost every species of character on the stage. The hero, the lover, the statesman, the buffoon, the hypocrite, the hardened and repenting sinner, &c., are to be found within its compass. No wonder, therefore, that the discriminating powers of a Burbage, a Garrick, and a Henderson, should at different periods have given it a popularity beyond other dramas of the same author. Yet the favour with which this tragedy is now received must also in some measure be imputed to Cibber's reformation of it, which, generally considered, is judicious: for what modern audience would patiently listen to the narrative of Clarence's dream, his subsequent expostulation with the Murderers, the prattle of his children, the soliloquy of the Scrivener, the tedious dialogue of the Citizens, the ravings of Margaret, the gross terms thrown out by the Duchess of York on Richard, the repeated progress to execution, the superfluous train of spectres, and other dramatic encumbrances, which must have prevented the more valuable parts of the play from rising into their present effect and consequence? The expulsion of languor, therefore, must atone for such remaining want of probability as is inseparable from an historical drama into which the events of fourteen years are irregularly compressed.

W. RICHARDSON (p. 48): The other excellencies of this tragedy, besides the character of Richard, are, indeed of an inferior nature, but not unworthy of Shakespeare. The characters of Buckingham, Anne, Hastings, and Queen Margaret are executed with lively colouring and striking features; but, excepting Margaret, they are exhibited indirectly; and are more fully known by the conduct of Richard towards them, than by their own demeanor. They give the sketch and outlines in their own actions; but the picture appears finished in the deportment of Richard. This, however, of itself is a proof of very singular skill. The conduct of the story is not inferior to that in Shakespeare's other historical tragedies. It exhibits a

natural progress of events, terminated by one interesting and complete catastrophe. Many of the episodes have uncommon excellence. Of this kind are, in general, all the speeches of Margaret. Their effect is awful; they coincide with the style of the tragedy; and by wearing the same gloomy complexion, her prophecies and imprecations suit and increase its horror. There was never in any poem a dream superior to that of Clarence. It pleases, like the prophecies of Margaret, by a solemn anticipation of future events, and by its consonance with the general tone of the tragedy. It pleases, by being so simple, so natural, and so pathetic, that every reader seems to have felt the same or similar horrors; and is inclined to say, with Brackenbury: 'No wonder, Lord, that it affrighted you; I am afraid methinks to hear you tell it.' This tragedy, however, like many works of Shakespeare, has many faults; and in particular, it seems to have been too hastily written. Some incidents are introduced without any apparent reason, or without apparent necessity in the conduct of the performance. We are not, for instance, sufficiently informed of the motive that prompted Richard to marry the widow of Prince Edward. . . . The scene towards the close of the tragedy, between the Queen and Richard, when he solicits her consent to marry her daughter, seems no other than a copy [of the former scene with Anne]. As such, it is faulty; and still more so, by being executed with less ability. Yet this incident is not liable to the objection made to the former. We see a good, prudential reason for the marriage of Richard with Elizabeth; but none for his marriage with Lady Anne. We almost wish that the first courtship had been omitted and that the dialogue between Richard and Anne had been suited and appropriated to Richard and the Queen. Neither are we sufficiently informed of the motives that, on some occasions, influenced the conduct of Buckingham. We are not enough prepared for his animosity against the Queen and her kindred; nor can we pronounce, without hazarding conjecture, that it proceeded from envy of their sudden greatness, or from having his vanity flattered by the seeming deference of Richard. Yet these motives seem highly probable. The young princes bear too great a share in the drama. It would seem the poet intended to interest us very much in their misfortunes. The representation, however, is not agreeable. The Princes have more smartness than simplicity; and we are more affected with Tyrrell's description of their death, than pleased with anything in their own conversation. Nor does the scene of the ghosts, in the last act, seem equal in execution to the design of Shakespeare. There is more delightful horror in the speech of Richard awakening from his dream, than in any of the predictions denounced against him. There seems, indeed, some impropriety in representing those spectres as actually appearing, which were only seen in a vision. Besides, Richard might have described them, in the succeeding scene, to Ratcliff, so as to have produced, at least in the perusal of the work, a much stronger effect. The representation of ghosts in this passage is by no means so affecting, nor so awful, as the dream related by Clarence. Lastly, there is in this performance too much deviation in the dialogue from the dignity of the buskin; and deviations still more blameable, from the language of decent manners. Yet, with these imperfections, this tragedy is a monument of striking genius; and the success of the poet, in delineating the character of Richard, has been as great as the singular boldness of the design.

A. SKOTTOWE (i, 208): The abrupt grandeur of the opening soliloquy, Richard's successful personification of the lover, the hypocrite, the humourist, and the hero,

leave him without the show of a competitor. But still all does not appear to have been done for the character of which it is susceptible. It is not easy to conceive why the display of its excellence is principally confined to the early scenes of the play, since the situations in the latter are equally favorable to the purposes of a dramatic writer. It is to be regretted that Shakespeare dwelt on less promising materials. The introduction of Margaret, the widowed queen of Henry the Sixth, is not only unnecessary, but improper: after the battle of Tewkesbury, in which she was captured by the victorious Edward, she was ransomed by her father, and never afterwards returned to England. The clamourous squabbling in the third scene of the first act; the tedious negotiation between Richard and Elizabeth, in the third scene of the fourth act; and the harangues of the ghosts, are all insufferably tedious, and, like other long passages of dialogue, tend to no end but that of unnecessarily protracting the catastrophe.

In its general arrangement, also, the tragedy is not so excellent as most of Shakespeare's. Such short scenes as that of the Scrivener, the one between Stanley and Sir Christopher Urswick, and that of Buckingham led to execution, are sad violations of the continuity of the action. It is a strong and curious proof of Shakespeare's submission to the dramatic usages of his time, violating as they did taste and propriety, that he encamps Richard on one side of the stage, and Richmond on the other: neither of them notices, nor is, indeed, aware of the presence of the other; and the ghosts rise between the chieftains' tents and address them alternately. But if Shakespeare has passed with carelessness over some minor passages, with what truth, and beauty, and feeling, has he distinguished others? We turn with delight to the ease and fluency with which the interview between Richard, Buckingham, and the citizens is expressed. Gloucester's reply, commencing: 'I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,' is remarkable, in particular, for its unembarrassed expression of a complex idea without the aid of circumlocution. Is it necessary to mention Tyrrell's description of the murder of the Princes? It cannot be: yet who is not pleased to have it recalled to his recollection?

T. CAMPBELL (p. 53): In *Richard III.*, Shakespeare put forth a power of terrific delineation, which, with the exception of the death-scene of Cardinal Beaufort in *2 Henry VI.*, he had never before displayed. This tragedy forms an epoch in the history of our poet, and in that of dramatic poetry. In his preceding dramas, he showed rather the suppleness than the knotted strength of his genius; but in the subtle cunning, the commanding courage, the lofty pride and ambition, the remorselessness of the third Richard, and in the whole sublime depravity of his character, he reminds us of the eulogium passed by Fuseli on Michael Angelo, who says, that Michael 'could stamp sublimity on the hump of a dwarf.' So complete was this picture of human guilt, that Milton, in seeking for a guilty hero, was obliged to descend to the nether regions. . . . The wretched taste of the public for many years neglected this sublime drama. In the days of Betterton, all the powers of that great actor could not give stage popularity to *Richard III.* Cibber at last brought it on the stage in a patched state, containing a portion of the original play, but mixed up with matter from other Shakespearean plays; and, strange to say, eked out with some of Cibber's own stuff. Yet with all this stuff, Cibber's edition of *Richard III.* kept possession of the stage for one hundred and twenty years. In 1741, when Garrick came out at Goodman's Fields, his utterance of the line: 'Off with his head! so much for Buckingham!' drew thunders of applause, and

these words set the first seal on Garrick's popularity. That line, nevertheless, was not Shakespeare's, but Cibber's. I have not before me Cibber's misadaptation; but only that of John Kemble, and I fear that Kemble did little to restore the original; nay, it is certain that he did nothing material. [Cibber's version] commences with Richard stabbing Henry VI. with his own hand. This might be well enough for *3 Henry VI.*, but it had no right to a place in the tragedy of *Richard III.* Shakespeare's object in the latter piece was to produce from Richard's character an impression of terror, not of disgust; and the Poet, therefore, exhibits on the stage none of the murders occasioned by Richard, except that of Clarence, whose previous guilt mitigates our anger at his fate, although he moves our pity. Clarence's dream, a piece of poetry which Charles Fox justly compared to the death-scene of Alcestis, in Euripides, is omitted in Kemble's edtion. The complaint was that Shakespeare's play was too long, and the remedy to which they resorted was to thrust in interpolations.

G. C. VERPLANCK (*Introd.*, p. 6): There is a characteristic of *Richard III.* which I do not recollect to have seen noticed by the commentators. It is that, in style and in versification, *Richard III.* has much of the cast of those portions of *Henry VI.* denied to be Shakespeare's, and comparatively little—though it has some—of those peculiarities of manner and rhythm which we now designate as Shakespearean. Its diction and its versification are in a transition state between those of his earlier works and those of *Henry IV.* and the *Merchant of Venice.* From these indications, I should not hesitate to pronounce that it was written soon after the two parts of the *Contention*, and before *Henry IV.*, *King John*, or even the first form of *Romeo & Juliet.* Thus we may trace the varied, but nevertheless progressive, development of the Poet's mind; the three parts of *Henry VI.* successively rising each above the other, and preparing us for the higher dramatic excellence of *Richard III.*, far superior to any of them, yet superior, chiefly in the same class and kind; while *Richard III.* again, in Clarence's dream and other scattered passages, shows the dawn of that poetic splendour, and the early gushings of that flood of thought, which was thence forward to enrich all the Poet's dramatic conceptions.

C. BATHURST (p. 30): *Richard III.* is a curious play, singularly devoid of poetical richness, except, perhaps, in the first speech. The great spirit and truth (though dry and often unpoetical, and never excursive or pleasant) of most of it is, perhaps, somewhat cramped down by his notion of following his model in history. . . There is no extraneous, distinct comic, any more than in *Richard II.;* but the serious itself, from the nature of Richard's character, often affords it. I hope it is not a duty to admire the scene with Lady Anne. The cursing scene is something like *Lucrece.* Its vulgarity as applied to queens has a parallel in *King John;* where it includes the part, afterward so dignified, of Constance herself. The introduction of such conversation on the stage cannot be approved; though we learn, from the *Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith*, that royal manners sometimes approach very nearly to those of the lowest people. Shakespeare expressly tells us that three months intervened between the last events in *3 Henry VI.* and the first in this play [see I, ii, 267]; but whether that is any guide as to the interval between writing the plays, is quite another question.

J. O. HALLIWELL (*Introd.*, p. 330): Henslowe's company was engaged upon the production of a drama on Richard the Third about the year 1599, and in 1602 Ben Jonson was writing a play on the same subject. The first of these included the character of Banister, and from two lines of it, preserved in an anecdote in an old jest-book, it would appear, from the circumstance of one of them being borrowed from Shakespeare, that use had been made by the writer or writers of the great poet's drama. Either this is the case, or here we have evidence that there was yet another old English play of *Richard the Third*, one which may have furnished Shakespeare with some of his materials. The anecdote occurs in a little volume of exceeding rarity, entitled, *A New Booke of Mistakes, or Bulls with Tales, and Buls without Tales, but no lyes by any means*, 1637, and is as follows: 'In the 'play of Richard the Third, the Duke of Buckingham, being betraid by his Servant 'Banister, a Messenger comming hastily into the presence of the King to bring 'him word of the Duke's surprizall, Richard asking him, what newes? he replyed,— '"My leige, the Duke of *Banester* is tane, And *Buckingham* is come for his '"reward."'

As late as the year 1654, Gayton speaks of a play of *Richard the Third* in which the ghost of Jane Shore is introduced; and these two notices taken together, prove that an old drama on the subject long continued popular. If this old play was anterior to Shakespeare's, it may have been used by our author, whose *Richard III.* bears traces of something which induces the conjecture that portions of it are alterations by an inferior hand. . . . Incidents, such as that of the rising of the ghosts, [were] suggested probably by similar ones in a more ancient composition. That *Richard III.* as we now have it is essentially Shakespeare's cannot admit of a doubt. As little, I believe, can it be questioned that to the circumstance of some older play on the subject having been used do we owe some of its turbulent character, and its inferiority to most of the productions of the great dramatist. Nevertheless, however, much we may regret that Shakespeare did not here wholly exercise his free invention, it cannot be denied that the result is effective as a work of art.

J. A. HERAUD (p. 130): I am much struck by the versification of this tragedy. It flows onward like a mighty river. All its images are grand and direct. It has none of the breaks, and stops, and word-splitting that occur so frequently in *Richard II.*, but all is free and broad as in the great poetical speeches of that tragedy, which are clearly Shakespeare's own. Here all is of the same texture; the same mastery of thought, imagery, passion, and the same command of appropriate diction, rich, varied, and suited to the argument or the occasion. Everywhere the opulence of genius, adorning, directing, and wielding the most intractable matter with an apparent ease, which, to an adept in the poetic or dramatic art, is not less than astonishing.

There is one item in the style in which this tragedy differs from *Richard II.* The author of that, with a peculiar neatness, adopted an artifice for the ready concentration of passion, of which we find little trace in the present tragedy. I mean a rhetorical interrogation, for the sake of an emotional answer: *e. g.*, 'What shall I say? to safeguard thine own life'; 'Why have they dared to march So many miles upon her peaceful bosom?'; Comest thou because th' anointed king is here? 'What must the king do now? Must he submit? The king shall do it. Must he be deposed?' . . . The instances are numerous, and where they occur may serve to denote the hand of the playwright, as distinguished from that of

Shakespeare, who will be found to interpose a long affirmative passage; such as, 'I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,' &c., which is full of pictorial images, as is the case with other similar speeches which have been added by the great poet to the part of the fallen Richard. One curious example, however, of this interrogative style occurs in *Richard III:* V, iii, 213–222. This passage, I think, stands alone in the great drama to which it belongs. The exception proves the rule. . . . Shakespeare has followed in this tragedy the historical facts with remarkable exactitude. His great aim is to present in one great whole the results of civil war; in the fall of a noble house, and in the uprise of an ambitious individual, who, in the general confusion, contrives by the basest means to ascend to the surface of things, but ultimately himself sinks with the rest. There is, accordingly, through the whole of the tragedy, the feeling of a great upheaving chaos, in which the unruly passions are all at war with each other, and anarchy and destruction are the appointed preparations for an emerging cosmos. This is the terrible idea that filled the imagination of Shakespeare, and which he has embodied in forms not less than titanic. . . . Indignation is wakened when we recollect that a poem like this, on which the greatest genius of the world has literally poured out the magnificence of his soul, should have been treated by sciolists and shallow playwrights as a mere chaos, from the matrix of which an easily acted drama might be dug, and not as already a drama perfect in design and finish. But such is the case, and the shrunk and supplemented product has usurped the stage, and engrossed the services of actors who have, nevertheless, pretended loyalty to Shakespeare's sovereignty.

R. SIMPSON (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1874; p. 423): The references in *Richard III.* to the three parts of *Henry VI.*, are so many as to make it impossible to deny the serial character and unity of the whole tetralogy, whatever questions may be raised as to the authorship of parts of it. The whole exhibits the fate of virtuous weakness in the face of unscrupulous strength, and concludes with the fate of this strength in face of providence. Henry VI. perishes by natural causes. The forces which destroy *Richard III.* are wholly supernatural. Three women are introduced whose curses are inevitable, like those of the Eumenides. Ghosts prophesy the event of a battle. Men's imprecations on themselves are literally fulfilled. Their destiny is made to depend more on their words than their actions; it is removed out of their hands and placed in those of some unearthly power which hears prayer and judges the earth. As if the lesson of the poet was that there is human remedy where there are ordinary human motives, but that for power joined with Macchivellian policy the only remedy is patience dependent on Providence.

Richard III., like King John, commits his last and unpardonable offence when he slays the right heir. But the poet treats the offences differently; he calls the barons who opposed John, rebels; his moral judgement seems to approve of those who placed the first Tudor on the throne. The two cases were placed on equal footing by the opposition writers. . . . It is to be noted, too, that as the poet places his loudest denunciations of papal usurpations in the mouth of John, who was just about to become the Pope's 'man,' so does he put his most solemn warning against traitors in the mouth of the successful rebel. But treason in his mind is not against the crowned head, it is against the country: 'Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord, That would reduce these bloody times again. . . . That would with treason wound this fair land's peace.' In the composition of this play the dangers of a disputed succession were before Shakespeare's eyes. The third scene of the second

Act exhibits the evils incident on the decease of a prince when the succession is doubtful or belongs to a child.

In *Richard III.* also the poet gave what he long left as a final picture of the absolutism of the crown, as it had been developed by the civil wars. By the extinction of the old Baronage it had lost the counterpoise which balanced it. Edward IV. surrounded himself with new peers, relations of his wife, through whom he governed. Richard III. cut all these off, destroyed what remained of the older nobles, and declared his intention of doing everything for himself, and using nothing but unrespective boys for his ministers. He issues his commands without the pretence of legality. His merits as a legislator are entirely put out of sight by the poet. . . . Absolutism was, to the eyes of politicians of those days, a legal state of things. Tyranny was only the vicious personal aberration of the rightful absolute prince.

E. E. ROSE (*Fraser's Maga.*, May, 1876; p. 548): The one great lesson that [the historical plays of Shakespeare] seem intended to teach, is patriotism: and it is a thing to be remembered in our time that the most perfect genius England ever produced loved his country, clearly as he saw her faults, with a passion almost bigoted. Yet this single lesson seems an inadequate result of the complete study of a hundred years' history by a mind so powerful and comprehensive: one cannot imagine a mind like Shakespeare's minutely following out his nation's life for such a period, without feeling, and *teaching*, that some laws must be hidden in its confusion of battle and charter, oppression, rebellion, and compromise.

The answer is simply this: he did not study history—he reproduced it. Shakespeare's one great characteristic is his habit of taking things as they are—and he took the facts of history without enquiry, absolutely as Holinshed gave them, accepting also all Holinshed's theories, deductions, and (as far as they go) studies of characters: narrating the history of each reign, literally as far as he can in the historian's own words—omitting nothing but what was entirely undramatic (and it is astonishing how little is allowed to be undramatic by Shakespeare)—'adapting' him for the theatre, in fact, with a fidelity greater than that of the modern dramatist who makes a stage-version of a popular novel. Except in the case of Jack Cade, we cannot at this moment recall a single instance in which the dramatist has differed from the verdict of the historian on a character, or materially altered his version of an event, except so far as was necessary to fit it for the stage.

For this there are two reasons. In the first place, Shakespeare was a dramatist, not a historian—it was no business of his to sift every fact presented to him, and discover how much it owed to the exaggeration of tradition, to prejudice, or to careless repetition: he knew that the popular view of history is almost sure to be the most picturesque, and he also knew that if he contradicted received beliefs he would raise a spirit of dispute and enquiry in his hearers entirely opposed to that in which a work of art ought to be enjoyed, and in which only it can be appreciated. In the second place, Shakespeare not only, as we have said, had a habit of taking things as they were—*he prided himself upon it:* he was a narrator, as absolutely true as a clear mirror, and his business was taking the facts of the case, however apparently contradictory, to show how it was that they happened, to reconcile all inconsistencies, to give that life-like air of truth which art must have though truth has it not; in a word, to make real life of them by making their actors real, existent men; and he prided himself on not lessening the difficulty of his task by altering a single detail, though his creative faculty added a thousand.

For the student of history, then, there is not very much to be learnt from Shakespeare that careful thought will not learn from Holinshed, except, indeed (and it is a great exception), *how* the men whose doings he is told of did them—their motives and method of work standing out more fully, developed, indeed, from a few hints, sometimes into the complete synthesis of a human mind, but still motives and method implying an exact agreement with Holinshed's views of the people depicted: they are seen with the historian's eyes, not necessarily as the poet would have seen them, had he been obliged to glean the materials of their characters for himself. But for the student of Shakespeare there is a wealth of knowledge in these histories: to know what was most likely to arouse his enthusiasm, what seemed to him the prominent elements of history, especially of England's history, what rulers he admired, and what periods interested him—on the whole, what were his politics, and how much politics were to him: all this must teach us a great deal about a man, our desire to whom is proportioned to the mystery which overhangs his simple life and quiet English character.

F. J. FURNIVALL (*Introd. to Leopold Sh.*, p. xxxix.): *Richard III.* is written on the model of Shakspere's great rival, Christopher Marlowe. . . . It was Marlowe's characteristic to embody in a character, and realise with terrific force, the workings of a single passion. . . . In *Richard III.* Shakspere embodied ambition, and sacrificed his whole play to this one figure. Gloucester's first declaration of his motives, shows of course the young dramatist, as the want of relief in the play, and the monotony of its curses, also do. But Richard's hypocrisies, his exultation in them, his despising and insulting his victims, his grim humour and delight in gulling fools, and in his own villainy, are admirably brought out, and that no less than thirteen times in the play. 1. With Clarence. 2. With Hastings. 3. With Anne, widow of Prince Edward. 4. With Queen Elizabeth, with Gloster [Dorset ?] and Hastings, and possibly in his professt repentance for the wrongs he did Queen Margaret in murdering her son and husband (I have always, tho', considered this genuine repentance, or at least a genuine profession of it). 5. With Edward IV. on his death-bed, and his queen and lords, and as to the author of Clarence's death. 6. With his nephew, Clarence's son. 7. With Queen Elizabeth and his mother: 'Amen! And make me die a good old man!' 8. With Buckingham: 'I as a child will go by your direction.' 9. With the young prince, Edward V.: 'God keep you from them and from such false friends.' 10. With Hastings and the Bishop of Ely. 11. With the Mayor about Hastings and then about taking the crown—(note Richard's utter brutality and baseness in his insinuation of his mother's adultery). 12. With Buckingham about the murder of the Princes. 13. With Queen Elizabeth when he repeats the scene of his wooing with Anne, as the challenge scene is repeated in *Richard II.* Villain as he is, he has the villain's coolness too. He never loses temper except when he strikes the third messenger. As a general he is as skilful as Henry V., and looks to his sentinels; while, like Henry IV., he is up and doing at the first notice of danger, and takes the right practical measures. Yet the conscience he ridicules, he is made to feel—'There is no creature loves me, 'And if I die no soul will pity me.' But we must note that this is only when his will is but half-awake, half-paralyzed by its weight of sleep. As soon as the man is himself again, neither conscience nor care for love or pity troubles him. The weakest part of the play is the scene of the citizens' talk; and the poorness of it, and the monotony of the women's curses, have given rise to the theory that in

Richard III. Shakspere was only rewriting an old play, of which he let bits stand. But though I once thought this possible, I have since become certain that it is not so. The wooing of Anne by Richard has stirred me, in reading it aloud, almost as much as anything in Shakspere. Note, too, how the first lines of the play lift you out of the mists and confusion of the *Henry VI.* plays into the sun of Shakspere's genius.

A. C. SWINBOURNE (p. 43): In the second historic play, which can be wholly ascribed to Shakespeare, we still find the poetic or rhetorical quality for the most part in excess of the dramatic; but in *Richard III.* the bonds of rhyme at least are fairly broken. This only of all Shakespeare's plays belongs absolutely to the school of Marlowe. The influence of the elder master, and that influence alone, is perceptible from end to end. Here at last we can see that Shakespeare has decidedly chosen his side. It is as fiery in passion, as single in purpose, as rhetorical often, though never so inflated in expression as *Tamburlaine* itself. It is doubtless a better piece of work than Marlowe ever did; I dare not say, than Marlowe ever could have done. It is not for any man to measure, above all is it not for any workman in the field of tragic poetry lightly to take on himself the responsibility, or the authority to pronounce, what it is that Christopher Marlowe could not have done; but, dying as he did and when he did, it is certain that he has not left us a work so generally and so variously admirable as *Richard III.* As certain is it that but for him this play could never have been written. At a later date the subject would have been handled otherwise, had the poet chosen to handle it at all; and in his youth he could not have treated it as he has without the guidance and example of Marlowe. Not only are its highest qualities of energy, of exuberance, of pure and lofty style, of sonorous and successive harmonies, the very qualities that never fail to distinguish those first dramatic models which were fashioned by his ardent hand; the strenuous and single-handed grasp of character, the motion and action of combining and contending powers, which here for the first time we find sustained with equal and unfaltering vigour throughout the length of a whole play, we perceive, though imperfectly, in the work of Marlowe before we can trace them even as latent or infant forces in the work of Shakespeare.

J. R. LOWELL (p. 11): To Peter Bell and his Primrose Criticism many another object of beauty in nature, art, and literature has appeared to be but commonplace, though it bore the impress of high origin, and carried in upon other minds exquisite sentiments and edifying speculations. The historical tragedy of *Richard III.* excites no admiration in the common sense mind of Peter Bell. He fails to discover its poetic and dramatic merits, but, more particularly, seems to be oblivious to those masterly touches of energy and grandeur which declare its author to be Shakespeare. . . . The Primrose Criticism lays down the new canon that whatever a genius may do that is unworthy of him shall not be attributed to him, but shall be branded as a literary foundling. . . . But is this common-sense criticism? It is undoubtedly Primrose-sense, and Peter-Bell-sense put to criticism; but, in the name of scientific and literary integrity, let it be hoped that it will very long remain very Uncommon-sense.

The arguments employed by the Primrose Criticism in its attempt to rob Shakespeare of *Richard III.* are not sound. One argument stands in this shape: Shakespeare never wrote deliberate nonsense, nor knowingly indulged in defective metre.

Richard III. contains deliberate nonsense and premeditated defective metre. Ergo: Shakespeare never wrote the historical tragedy of *Richard III.* With all due and unfeigned respect for him who advanced this argument, it cannot be accepted as sound and reliable. It suggests itself to a careful student of the Primrose method, that it would take very uncommon sense at this time to discover whether Shakespeare's nonsense was deliberate or not, and whether he indulged in defective metre knowingly or unknowingly. The discussion of questions of this character is as futile as it is unimportant. But if Primrose Criticism affirms that Shakespeare never wrote nonsense nor indulged in defective metre as a fact, there shall be a square issue, which may be settled without resort to any transcendental speculations. Shakespeare did write nonsense, and he indulged very frequently in defective metre. . . . There is not a play, among all that are attributed to Shakespeare, which can be said to be absolutely free from nonsense. Nor is there a single play that is absolutely free from defective metre. These are the very faults which our poet's detractors have most successfully proven against him; and which his admirers have most unhesitatingly admitted. . . . Attention is further called to the reasons laid down by the Primrose Criticism for robbing Shakespeare of his *Richard III.*

It is asserted that the tragedy is not written in Shakespeare's style; that it proceeds with a different gait; that it contains nonsense and defective metre; that it is devoid of humour and eloquence; and that it contains whole scenes where the author's mind seems at dead low-tide throughout, and lays bare all its shallows and its ooze. With these serious charges made against the tragedy, singularly enough, not a shadow of a proof, not even an illustration or a quotation, is given in support of the charges. . . . The most characteristic quality of Shakespeare's plays is the wonderful, unparalleled delineation of character to be found in them. Shakespeare was pre-eminent in his power 'to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature': It is not the metre of *Hamlet* that distinguishes it, and secures the immortality of its popularity, but the delineation of the character of Hamlet. It is not the absence of 'nonsense,' but the character of Shylock, that keeps up the world's interest in the *Merchant of Venice.* It is not the literary style of *King Lear* that has placed it above all other modern tragedies: that is accomplished by the character of Lear. Neither the patriotism nor the 'humour' of *Macbeth,* but the character of Macbeth himself, as therein set forth, makes the tragedy great in literature and on the stage. So is it with *Richard III.;* it is great because therein the characterization of Richard is great. No dramatic person that Shakespeare's mighty pen ever drew is more worthy of his genius. No character has won greater fame or popularity on the stage. No character, with the possible exception of Lear, demands in its representation the exercise of greater histrionic genius. There have been but four great Richards on the English stage, and they are the acknowledged greatest geniuses of the stage. If another hand than Shakespeare's drew this wonderful character, then let not Greene, Marlowe, Jonson, or Fletcher share the fame of the 'Bard of 'Avon,' but let the unknown author and creator of *Richard III.* be partner in possession of the greatest fame in dramatic literature.

Are we certain that Swift wrote the *Tale of a Tub,* and Scott, *The Antiquary,* because nobody else could do it? Then Shakespeare drew the dramatic character of Richard III. because nobody else could do it. Yes, 'there is a gait that marks the mind as well as the body'; and if not in the metre nor the literary style, in the great, impressive, terrible character of Richard III. may be detected the infallible,

unmistakable mental gait of Shakespeare. It is submitted whether the Shakespearean character of any play in question is not to be determined rather from a study of the persons than of the prosody of the play.

GERMAN CRITICISM

A. W. SCHLEGEL (p. 435): I cannot help thinking there is an injustice in considering the three parts of *Henry VI.* as of little value compared with *Richard III.* These four plays were undoubtedly composed in succession, as is proved by the style and the spirit in the handling of the subject: the last is definitely announced in the one which precedes it, and is also full of references to it: the same view runs through the series; in a word, the whole make together only one single work. Even the deep characterization of Richard is by no means the exclusive property of the piece which bears his name: his character is very distinctly drawn in the two last parts of *Henry VI.;* nay, even his first speeches lead us to form the most unfavourable anticipations of his future conduct. He lowers obliquely like a dark thundercloud on the horizon, which gradually approaches nearer and nearer, and first pours out the devastating elements with which it is charged, when it hangs over the heads of mortals. Two of Richard's most significant soliloquies which enable us to draw the most important conclusions with regard to his mental temperament are to be found in *3 Henry VI.* As to the value and the justice of the actions to which passion impels us, we may be blind, but wickedness cannot mistake its own nature; Richard, as well as Iago, is a villain with full consciousness. That they should say this in so many words is not, perhaps, in human nature: but the poet has the right in soliloquies to lend a voice to the most hidden thoughts, otherwise the form of the monologue would, generally speaking, be censurable. Richard's deformity is the expression of his internal malice, and perhaps in part the effect of it: for where is the ugliness that would not be softened by benevolence and openness? He, however, considers it as an iniquitous neglect of nature, which justifies him in taking his revenge on that human society from which it is the means of excluding him. Hence these sublime lines: 'And this word love which greybeards call divine, Be resident in men like one another And not in me. I am myself alone.'*—*3 Hen. VI:* V, v, 81. . . . Although Richard is thoroughly acquainted with the blackness of his mind and his hellish mission, he yet endeavors to justify this to himself by a sophism: the happiness of being beloved is denied to him; what then remains to him but the happiness of ruling? All that stands in the way of this must be removed. This envy of the enjoyment of love is so much the more natural in Richard, as his brother Edward, who, distinguished by the nobility and beauty of his figure, was an almost irresistible conqueror of female hearts. Notwithstanding his pretended renunciation, Richard places his chief vanity in being able to please and win over the women, if not by his figure,

---

* FRANZ HORN (iii, 145) remarks that, to a German (presumably Schlegel), is due the credit of first detecting in these lines a cause and indication of Richard's misanthropy. It will, however, be seen that Whately, whose *Remarks* were published in 1785, has herein anticipated the German commentator; see p. 552 above.—ED.

at least by his insinuating discourse. Shakespeare here shows us, with his accustomed acuteness of observation, that human nature, even when it is altogether decided in goodness or wickedness, is still subject to petty infirmities. Richard's favourite amusement is to ridicule others, and he possesses an eminent, satirical wit. He entertains at bottom a contempt for all mankind: for he is confident of his ability to deceive them, whether as his adversaries or his instruments. In hypocrisy he is particularly fond of using religious forms, as if actuated by a desire of profaning in the service of hell the religion whose blessings he had inwardly abjured. [For Schlegel's opinion of the Tragedy as a whole, see note on I, i, 1.]

F. KREYSSIG (i, 400): With such a character as Richard for hero, a physical and moral monster, the question naturally rises, How can there be obeyed that highest law of Tragedy, which prescribes for the protagonist, a character not so depraved as to make pity turn to horror, or so free from reproach that his downfall can disturb the basis of all spiritual health—confidence in the high and just guidance of all human affairs? Where, we ask ourselves, is the bond which unites this monster with humanity? Where is the link which makes possible an influence of his lot upon our feelings, and also that sympathy, upon which rests all the effectiveness of the Tragedy, as well as of all other forms of art?. . . The whole course of the action under consideration, while it makes more easy for a moment a backward glance towards the preceding dramas, *2* and *3 Henry VI.*, brings home to us that we are here concerned not with the individual deportment of one man alone, in the ordinary sense. We have, doubtless, ere the present play is reached, recognised in Richard the representative of an epoch bowed down by a grievous malady; the vessel into which the venom of whole generations gathered itself for the most awful and concentrated effects, salutary for the whole, though fatal to the individual. If his utterances stamp him as a fit companion to Satan, the outcome of his deeds shows him in the light of a scourge of God, an elected instrument of the intelligent and infallible end of all things. His recklessness destroys an aristocracy which had shown itself unworthy of the position which it had hitherto held; and his abundant crimes awaken the sleeping conscience of the more healthy number of the people. We find ourselves in the midst of a storm that bursts upon us after an oppressive heaviness of the air, and pay little heed to the falling trees, because of the blessings and refreshment which the evening will surely bring.

In a very remarkable way there is seen the effect of that grand historical perspective whereby Shakespeare's historical plays tower above all attempts of later times. Such a character as Richard III., confined within the narrow boundaries of classic tragedy, would justify the scornful remarks with which Frederick the Great and Voltaire turned aside from 'the bloody farces' of 'the horrible English plays.' It would be as though the giant were dressed in the clothes of the dwarf; as well could Niagara be used as a waterfall for a French garden.

Much that was guilty in Richard III. may be pardoned—and with it there disappears a part of his greatness, in an æsthetic and of course not in a moral sense—since we are forced to consider him as the son of his time and his country and to connect the lot of the mortal individual with that of the immortal people. This historic, virile conception renders possible, or at least suggests, a resolution of dissonances which, in the life of a single individual, could not but jar upon us with insupportable discord—it makes it a truth in the highest sense of what Schiller declares to be the task of tragic art:

'Sie sieht den Menschen in des Lebens Drang
Und wälzt die gröss're Hälfte seiner Schuld
Den unglückseligen Gestirnen zu.'

[Had Schiller, perchance, in mind the lines in *King Lear*, I, ii, 131, wherein Edmund says: 'We make guilty of our disasters the sun, moon, and the stars'?—ED.] Even the most horrible of the crimes of the tyrant, the murder of the only pure, innocent victims whom fate throws in the path of his ambition—the sons of his dead brother entrusted to his protection—must serve the higher views of the protective divinity of Old England—since it alone makes possible the union of both roses, which, with the marriage of Richmond and Elizabeth, ends the long civil war. But all these considerations would not yet explain the dramatic effect of this extraordinary character, had not Shakespeare taken care to replace the moral interest, which was here lacking, by the only substitute possible—a superabundant wealth of mental power. Richard would indeed be insupportable did he not surpass all his contemporaries in cleverness, genial power of work, reckless and logical courage, as well as in pitiless hardness and diabolic selfishness. This side of his development is worthy of remark. It is, first of all, by the most complete self-control that he appears as the genial higher power among his surroundings. By nature self-willed, sarcastical, capable of, and inclined to, the rudest violence, he constantly shows himself as the finest, the most enduring master of crafty hypocrisy, once he has made up his mind, and with his eye measured the way which separates him from the throne. His entrance among the relatives of the queen shows well that contrast between what he is, and what he sometimes likes to seem: 'Because I cannot flatter and speak fair, Smile in men's faces, smoothe, deceive and cog.' It is Iago, the valiant rascal, whose smile, by the roughness of his ordinary character, has established a letter of credit, that it may be worth legal money among honourable people.

By this outward seeming he wins over Anne; by it he entices the voluptuous, small-minded Edward into the toils; by it he ensnares the volatile Clarence, also Hastings, the stupidly foolish favourite. . . . It is quite true that such a character as Richard's is not created to awaken tragic sympathy—but at the same time it is so great as almost to demand it. Involuntarily we allow the eye to rest upon the clever and superior statesman, the inflexible hero, when we would turn shuddering from stupid and cowardly villainy. Strictly speaking, we have not here a tragic figure—but the fearful and demoniac executor of a fate tragic in the highest degree, a scourge of God upon a race doomed to annihilation, through the fault of one and in whose fall the old, withered branches, as well as the tender, innocent sprouts, shall suffer destruction—and thus the way be prepared for better times.

G. G. GERVINUS (i, 375): The poet has taken the characteristics from the chronicle, but in the chief point he has made a thorough alteration. The chronicle seems to give hypocrisy to Richard as his nature, and to exhibit cruelty in him rather as a cold work of policy; but the poet has made the inclination to brutality innate in him, and hypocrisy, on the contrary, a chosen means for his ambition. The decisive soliloquies in *Henry VI.*, and that at the commencement of our play, make this indubitable. The poet has perhaps intentionally brought the whole character into a contrast of rare interest to the lover of art, with that of Henry V. In his early years Prince Henry leads a wild, dissolute life, without reflection, from the mere impulse of nature, in a manner involuntary, not displacing his nobler

nature, but concealing and veiling it, following his social propensity for low pleasures, resolving at the same time in clear consciousness to lay aside this character at a future period in his kingly position. Richard, on the other hand, whose rude nature events have first led to the path, where, in combat and fight, working for his family rather than for himself, he might have become an estimable, if not an amiable, man, Richard deliberates, at the first interruption of this life of outward action, upon a laying aside of his military bias, and upon a wide scheme of diplomacy and intrigue, which is to bring him to the throne. The most remarkable and opposite parts are presented to the actor in the two characters: in Henry, which will be played with all imaginable distance from anything of comedy, as a type of plain human nature, and in this Richard, who is a Proteus in the arts of metamorphosis, who calls himself Roscius, and with the arts of an actor, obtains the crown.

Once this character is established and its central point perceived, the central point and the idea of the piece is also apprehended; for Richard fills this center entirely. This exclusively prominent position of Richard and his highly tragic nature, has given to this history the character rather of a pure tragedy; just as in Shakespeare's freest tragedies, all the persons of the piece are arranged with an inner relation to the principal figure and to the principal idea of the piece, whilst usually the peculiarity of historical plays was, that the events and facts were distributed among more extensive groups of acting characters, who stand not throughout in that close connection exhibited by the characters of pieces designed at will and fettered by no historical material.

H. Ulrici (ii, 276): As in life, so in the play, Richard in reality stands *alone*. All the other personages (chiefly women and children or single subjects) are in no way his equals, and are powerless against the whole royal power which is on his side. The destructive force of his tyranny, the violence of his unmitigated selfishness and wickedness, accompanied as they are by intellect, wit, and eloquence, have no organic counterpoise. On the one side we have only power and energy, on the other, only submission and impotence. The principle of interaction, which is so important in life and in history, retires far into the background; not till the fifth Act is the tyrant opposed by a real and worthy adversary in the person of Richmond. Accordingly, the drama is wanting in drastic animation; the action (that which is actually done or which happens) proceeds but slowly compared with others of Shakespeare's plays, and what does happen suffers from an internal uniformity; it is ever but the consequence of the same oppressive tyranny, ever the same victory of the same power, by the same means.

However, on the one hand, it must be remembered the nature of tyranny is outward peace, *i. e.* rigidity and uniformity, the unnatural accumulation of all the weight in the one scale, want of organic interaction and co-operation in the several parts, and hence the highest stage of decay in the organism of the state; and this was necessarily the consequence of a period like that of the reign of Henry VI. It is the description of the nature of *tyranny* that forms the historical significance of the whole drama, and here, as everywhere, the truly *historical* conception coincides with the truly *poetical* character of the representation. Therefore, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that the poet, by this very artistic defect, has contrived to render the meaning of the whole the more vivid, the clearer, and the more forcible. Tyranny is the historico-political phenomenon of selfishness in its worst form, *i. e.*, reckless love of dominion which tramples upon all rights and all laws,

as well as upon all human ties; hence it is evil in its highest possible consummation. The individual *ego* arrogates to itself the full dominion over all the powers of the mind, over all worldly possessions, and over the weal and woe in the life of all others; the individual man, with his finite power, presumes not only to direct a whole nation and its fate, but to be its fate himself. This is the meaning of Richard's words: 'I am myself alone,' the motto of the perfect tyrant, and is at the same time his full, clear consciousness of his own nature. Richard is quite aware that he is a tyrant, he *knows* it, and *wills* it; this was required by Shakespeare's view of life, which is far removed from the thought that man is a *mere* instrument in the hand of a higher power. This is the reason and significance of the reflections which Richard is perpetually making upon himself and his own nature, and which have been censured as unnatural. But such soliloquies essentially belong to the character of a tyrant, according to the conception of modern times; Richard, soliloquises in order to gain a clear insight into his own nature, his vocation, his aims, plans, and actions, for, in his weird loneliness, he cannot hold communion with others.

In fact, the character of Richard and its development is, so to say, but the exposition of the nature of tyranny; we have a direct representation of its general character in a particular and individual form. The drama, accordingly, opens with Richard announcing his intention to acquire supreme power, and with the account of the means he employs, and the paths he pursues, in order to attain his object. But this endeavour does not proceed only from Richard's ambition and love of dominion, but likewise from his demoniacal desire to give forcible evidence of his *power* over mankind and circumstances, it proceeds from the demoniacal *pleasure* he finds in proving it. The endeavour arose in the dark depths of the fearful gulf by which he feels himself separated from, and at enmity with, all the rest of humanity. This contempt and this pleasure explain the peculiar irony, the diabolical humour with which Richard suns himself in his own actions, and which seasons his sarcastic remarks on life and mankind. He attains his object, partly because the historical circumstances themselves are hurrying towards tyranny, partly because he pursues it with penetrating shrewdness, with the craftiest hypocrisy and deception, and with an energy as great as it is reckless, which heaps crime upon crime and is undeterred by any consequences. The impassable gulf between him and the rest of humanity, as it were, makes him an absolute exception, for every one commits crimes only among and upon his equals. Richard's chief means in accomplishing his purpose is his inborn talent for dissembling, his skill in concealing his endeavours and intentions beneath the mask of an honest, frank, conscientious, and God-fearing man, who is indeed not always master of his emotions and passions, yet who always repents their outbursts and consequences. This skill in dissembling, together with its sister-talent sophistry, he makes use of in the most masterly fashion in order to justify himself, and falsely to deceive himself—in this he is again the type of a true tyrant and consummate villain. For the root of all evil lies in deceiving the sophistical reason, which perverts truth, because the will refuses to see it; moreover, the fundamental form of all evil is lying and hypocrisy, because evil cannot maintain itself except by the semblance and mask of what is good.

But the attainment of the object at which Richard had aimed proves the turning point in his fortunes; for tyranny cannot of course *maintain* anything, inasmuch as it is essentially destruction and annihilation, and accordingly cannot even maintain

its own existence. . . . This process of self-destruction, which is represented (in a personal form) in the further development of Richard's character, constitutes the further advance of the dramatic action. Richard's energy, his skill in dissembling, his self-control and his self-confidence, diminish in the same degree as circumstances become louder in their demands upon his activity to maintain the sovereignty which had been acquired by bloodshed. *This* demand he feels to be beyond his power, and for the first time he is conscious of a feeling of weakness and helplessness, which feeling awakens his conscience. But the destroying process of his existence has herein reached a height wherein it can no longer be checked. Richard is Richard only *without* a conscience; upon its awakening he is no longer himself—he has already perished. The death which, in his pangs of conscience, he seeks and finds in the tumult of his victorious enemies, is but the outward sign of his already complete self-destruction.

OECHELHAÜSER (*Essay*, etc., p. 40): The drama of *Richard III.* stands as the significant boundary-stone which divides the works of Shakespeare's youth from those undying productions of the period of his splendour, and it bears unmistakably that peculiar stamp which poets of all times have impressed upon those works belonging to their youth. The material, the ideas, already come thronging upon him too powerfully to accommodate themselves to the laws of dramatic truth and beauty. They overflow, so to speak, those banks which later easily restrained the mature poet. Neither form nor contents exhibit yet that harmony by which the hand of the real master may be recognised; detail is too closely compressed into the main action of the whole play, or too little attention is given to the cause for it. A tendency to exaggeration, to immoderate sentiment, prevails. Dramatic arrangement, that important lever for the action, is still defective; the greater weight of the principal character frequently overwhelms the lesser ones; the single parts are not symmetrically developed. But in spite of these and other faults—faults which, in the form of scientific and æsthetic criticism, cannot be disavowed—this youthful work of the Poet has ever exercised an irresistible charm upon free and healthy natures. The freshness, power, originality which permeate the whole, easily compensate for isolated faults; it is with Shakespeare's *Richard III.* as with Goethe's *Werther* and *Götz*, and Schiller's *Die Raüber*.

STAGE HISTORY

In *The Historical Account of the English Stage* (vol. iii, *Variorum* of 1821), MALONE remarks (p. 228): 'From the time when Sir Henry Herbert came into 'the office of the Revels to 1642, when the theatres were shut up, his Manuscript 'does not furnish us with a regular account of the plays exhibited at court every 'year. Such, however, as he has given, I shall now subjoin, together with a few 'anecdotes which he has preserved, relative to some of the works of our poet and 'the dramatick writers who immediately succeeded him. . . . "On Saterday the '17th of Novemb. being the Queens birth-day, Richarde the Thirde was acted by 'the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were present, it being the 'first play the queene sawe since her M.^{tys} delivery of the Duke of York. 1633."' This date is, I believe, accepted as that of the earliest recorded performance of the play. *Richard III.* is not included among the plays of Shakespeare seen by Pepys. GENEST tells us (ii, 195) that: 'Downes mentions Richard III. as one of 'Betterton's best characters—*The English Princess* [by Carryl, wherein Richard 'is one of the characters] might probably continue on the acting list while rhyming 'tragedies were in fashion, but it does not appear that Shakespeare's play or any 'alteration of it, had been acted between 1660 and 1700.'

Between 1700 and 1821 Cibber's version was the only form in which the play was acted; the following dates, from Genest, refer, therefore, to representations of it, and not to Shakespeare's play. In one or two instances Genest's critical remarks are added.—Drury Lane, 9th July, 1700; first production of Cibber's version; when Cibber himself played Richard III.—'His action in Tragedy is said in general to 'have been bad—and as it is well known that his voice was a weak one, we need 'no Ghost come from the grave to tell us that he was unfit for Richard—he says 'himself that Sandford was peculiarly qualified to have played the part, and that 'he acted it in Sandford's manner, and was complimented by Vanbrugh on the 'strictness of the imitation.'—Drury Lane, 6th December, 1715: Cibber again appeared as Richard, with Wilks as King Henry, and Mrs Porter as Queen Elizabeth.—Lincoln's Inn Fields, 11th March, 1721: Ryan as Richard; Quin as Buckingham.—Drury Lane, 26th October, 1734: Quin as Richard; Cibber, Jr., as Richmond. 31 January, 1739. 'C. Cibber as Richard, his 1st appearance in that 'character these 7 years:—Colley Cibber, on his return to the stage, was right in all 'his comic characters, but in Richard the 3d he perceived his mistake, his usual 'strength and spirit failed him most unhappily; Victor went behind the scenes in 'the 3d Act, and asked him how he found himself? Cibber whispered him that he 'would give 50 guineas to be then sitting in his easy chair by his own fireside.'—Goodman's Fields, 19th October, 1741—Garrick's first appearance—'What is 'said in the bill of his having never appeared on *any* stage is not true—he thought 'it too hazardous to try his strength at first in London, and had gone through a 'noviciate at Ipswich the preceding Summer in a company under Giffard and 'Dunstall—his first appearance was in Aboan in *Oronooko*.'—3d May, 1742: Garrick as Richard, Mrs Woffington as Lady Anne. [During this season at Drury Lane Garrick acted Richard eleven times.]—Covent Garden, 13th and 14th October, 1742: Quin as Richard; Mrs Cibber as Lady Anne.—Covent Garden, 16th June, 1746: Garrick as Richard.—Covent Garden, 27th January, 1757: Barry as Richard—his 1st appearance in that character:—'Barry acted Richard about four times, but he

'was lamentably deficient in every point; which occasioned no little exultation to 'Garrick.'—Covent Garden, 30th March, 1761: Smith as Richard, his benefit; and first appearance in this character. 22 September, 1774: Smith again as Richard. —Drury Lane, 27th May, 1776: Garrick as Richard; Mrs Siddons as Lady Anne; this was her first appearance in this part. On 5th June, Garrick acted Richard for the last time; he retired on June 10th.—Covent Garden, 1 January, 1776: R. B. Sheridan as Richard.—Drury Lane, 7th October, 1777: Henderson as Richard.—Drury Lane, 12th September, 1789: J. P. Kemble as Richard.—Covent Garden, 31st October, 1800: G. F. Cooke as Richard—his first appearance in London in this part.— Covent Garden, 1st April, 1811: J. P. Kemble as Richard; C. Kemble as Richmond. —'J. P.' Kemble revised Cibber's alteration of Richard the 3d—but "damned 'custom had braz'd him so, that he was proof and bulwark against sense"—he 'digested the cold mutton, and even the spider's crawling upon hopes did not 'startle him.'—Covent Garden, 5th June, 1812: C. Kemble as Richard; Mrs Siddons as Queen Elizabeth.—Drury Lane, 12th February, 1814: E. Kean as Richard—his first appearance in London in this part.—Drury Lane, 15th August, 1819: E. Kean as Richard; J. B. Booth as Richmond.—Covent Garden, 25 October: Macready as Richard for first time. The play was acted nine times by Macready during this engagement. On the 12th of March, 1821, Macready restored Shakespeare's play. In his *Diary*, under the above date, Macready says: 'The experiment was 'partially successful—only partially. To receive full justice, Shakespeare's *Life* '*and Death of Richard III.* should be given in its perfect integrity, whereby alone 'scope could be afforded to the active play of Richard's versatility and unscrupulous 'persistency. But. . . our audiences were accustomed to the coarse jests and '*ad captandum* speeches of Cibber, and would have condemned the omission of such 'uncharacteristic claptraps as: "Off with his head! so much for Buckingham!" 'or such bombast as: "Hence babbling dreams: you threaten here in vain. Con- '"science avaunt! Richard's himself again!" In deference to the taste of the 'times, the passages as well as similar one were retained.' Genest gives as a possible cause of its failure the following: 'One main cause of the cold reception of Shake- 'speare's play might be this—few persons like to acknowledge that they have been 'applauding, or at least tolerating, wretched stuff for ten, twenty, or thirty years— 'the revival was certainly managed in a bungling manner—it ought to have been 'preceded by some observations in the newspapers, in which the faults of Cibber's 'execrable alteration should have been pointed out—these observations might not 'have removed prejudices, but they could hardly have failed to shake them— 'instead of which the Stage Manager was so egregiously absurd as to tell us in 'the bill, that Cibber's alteration was *ingenious*—if it had been really ingenious, there 'would have been no strong reason for reviving a Tragedy, which could not be acted 'as Shakespeare wrote it, and which stood in more need of a judicious alteration 'than the generality of Shakespeare's plays.'—Sadler Wells, 20th February, 1845; S. Phelps produced a condensed version of Shakespeare's play. It was acted twenty-one times.—Lyceum Theatre, 29th January, 1877, Henry Irving produced a version of the play arranged exclusively from Shakespeare's text.—Booth's Theatre, New York, 7th January, 1878: Edwin Booth restored Shakespeare's play to the stage, with a new arrangement of the text.—Broad St Theatre, Philadelphia, 4th November, 1889: Richard Mansfield produced a new arrangement of the play, with several of Cibber's interpolated scenes.

ACTORS

MALONE (*Historical Account of Eng. Stage*, p. 184): Richard Burbadge is introduced in person in an old play call'd *The Returne from Parnassus* (written in or about 1602), and instructs a Cambridge scholar how to play the part of King Richard the Third, in which Burbadge was greatly admired. [See Article: *Latin Tragedy of Richardus Tertius*, p. 501.] That he represented this character, is ascertained by Bishop Corbet, who, in his *Iter Boreale*, speaking of his host at Leicester, tells us: '—when he would have said King Richard died, And called '—A horse! a horse!—he, *Burbage* cried.' [Malone quotes but the last two lines of the passage; as it has, however, been given more fully by several later editors, the lines referring to this episode are here transcribed from Gilchrist's reprint of Corbet's Poems, 1807: 'Mine host was full of ale and history; And on the morrow when hee brought us nigh Where the two Roses joyn'd, you would suppose, Chaucer nere made the Romant of the Rose. Heare him. See yee yon wood? There Richard lay, With his whole army: Looke the other way, And loe where Richmond in a bed of Gorsse Encampt himselfe ore night, and all his force: Upon this hill they mett. Why he could tell The inch where Richmond stood, where Richard fell: Besides what of his knowledge he could say, He had authenticke notice from the Play; Which I might guesse, by's mustring up the ghosts, And policyes, not incident to hosts; But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing, Where he mistooke a player for a king. For when he would have sayd. King Richard dyed, And call'd—A horse! a horse!—he, Burbidge cry'de.'—pp. 193, 194.—ED.]—As further evidence that Richard the Third was one of Burbadge's favourite parts, J. P. Collier (*Mem. of Actors in Sh.'s Plays*; p. 21) calls attention to the following line in the Epitaph on Burbadge, published in 1618, 'And Crookback as befits shall cease to live'; and adds: 'An anecdote real or imaginary, respecting Shakespeare and Burbadge contained in Manningham's *Diary*, under date of 1601, confirms the statement.'

F. GENTLEMAN (i, 11): The Public have set up Mr Garrick as a standard of perfection in this laborious, difficult part; and if we consider the essentials, his claim to such distinction will immediately appear indisputable; a very deformed person never rises above, and seldom up to the middle stature; it is generally attended with an acuteness of features and sprightliness of eyes; in these three natural points our Roscius stands unexceptionable; variations of voice, and climax of expression, in both which he stands without an equal; graceful attitudes, nervous action, with well-regulated spirit, to animate within natural bounds every passage, even from the coldest up to the most inflamed. Mr Garrick also preserves a happy medium, and dwindles neither into the buffoon or brute; one or both of which this character is made by most other performers: 'tis true, there are many passages which have a ludicrous turn, yet we may rest assured that he who occasions least laughter is most right; in respect of marking particular places with peculiar emphasis, some exceptions may be taken, or doubts raised against every person I have ever seen in the part; however, tracing minute lapses of this kind, which after all may be mere matter of opinion, would occasion too great a digression; I shall therefore only mention three which strike me most; the first is—*I am myself alone*—which words I have heard expressed in a tone of confident exultation, as if he was singularly above the rest of mankind; whereas adverting to his own unhappy composition, it should

be uttered with heartfelt discontent; and indeed the three preceding lines, which exclude him from all social intercourse, should be expressive of concern.—The second passage is, where Buckingham solicits Richard for his promise, and Richard meditates in these lines, 'I do remember me, that Henry the sixth Did prophesy, that Richmond should be king, When Richmond was a little peevish boy. 'Tis odd—a king—perhaps—' The last line is often spoke without a tone of continuation to the word, *perhaps*, which is most evidently intended: the third place is in these lines, 'Hence, babbling dreams, ye threaten here in vain; *Conscience, avaunt*—Richard's himself again.' It is usual to speak this couplet in one continued climax of passion; whereas the two words marked in Italics should be uttered in a lower tone, expressive of mental agony—Conscience being the constant disturber of his peace, and a great bar to his resolution; the latter part of the line rises to a kind of triumphant exultation, which not only varies, but gives force to the expression.

A. MURPHY (*Life of Garrick*, p. 16): The moment Garrick entered the scene, the character he assumed was visible in his countenance; the power of his imagination was such that he transformed himself into the very man; the passions rose in rapid succession, and, before he uttered a word, were legible in every feature of that various face. His look, his voice, his attitude, changed with every sentiment. . . . The rage and rapidity with which he spoke: 'The North!—what do they in the North, When they should serve their Sovereign in the West?' made a most astonishing impression on the audience. His soliloquy in the tent-scene discovered the inward man. Everything he described was almost reality. . . . When he started from his dream, he was a spectacle of horror. He called out in a manly tone: 'Give me another horse!' He paused, and, with a countenance of dismay, advanced, crying out in a tone of distress: 'Bind up my wounds'; and then, falling on his knees, said in the most piteous accent: 'Have mercy Heaven.' In all this the audience saw an exact imitation of nature. His friend Hogarth has left a most excellent picture of Garrick in this scene. He was then on the eve of a battle, and, in spite of all the terrors of conscience, his courage mounted to a blaze. When in Bosworth field he roared out, 'A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!' All was rage, fury, and almost reality. . . . It is no wonder that an actor thus accomplished made, on the very first night, a deep impression on the audience. . . . The great Mr Pope was drawn from his retreat at Twickenham, and, we are assured, Lord Orrery was so struck with the performance that he said: 'I am afraid the young man will be spoiled, for he will have no competitor.'

DR DORAN (i, 462): On the 19th of October, while Drury was giving *As You Like It*, and Covent Garden was acting the same piece, the little theatre in Ayliffe Street, Goodman's Fields, announced the *Life and Death of King Richard III.*, 'the part of King Richard by a gentleman, who never appeared on any stage.'

At last! the hour and the man had come. Throughout this season no new piece was produced at either of the patent theatres—so influenced were they by the consequences of this first appearance of a nameless actor at Goodman's Fields. Of course, the new actor was David Garrick. He had selected the part of Richard III., for reasons which now appear singular. 'He had often declared,' says Davies, 'he would never choose a character that was not suitable to his person; for, said he, 'if I should come forth in a hero, or in any part which is generally acted by a tall 'fellow, I shall not be offered a larger salary than 40s. a week. In this,' adds the

biographer, 'he glanced at the follies of those managers who used to measure an 'actor's merit by his size.'

On that 19th of October, 1741, there was no very great nor excitedly expectant audience at Goodman's Fields. The bill of the day first promises a concert of vocal and instrumental music, to begin exactly at six o'clock; admission by tickets 'at three, 2s. and 1s.' Between the two parts of the concert, it is further announced, that the historical play of the *Life and Death of Richard III.*, with the ballad-opera of *The Virgin Unmasked*, would be performed *gratis* by Persons for their Diversion.' The part of King Richard, 'by a gentleman who never appeared on any stage,' is an announcement not true to the letter; but the select audience were not troubled therewith. From the moment the new actor appeared they were enthralled. They saw a Richard and not an actor of that personage. Of the audience, he seemed unconscious, so thoroughly did he identify himself with the character. He surrendered himself to all its requirements, was ready for every phase of passion, every change of humour, and was as wonderful in quiet sarcasm as he was terrific in the hurricane of the battle-scenes. Above all, his audience were delighted with his 'nature.' Since Betterton's death, actors had fallen into a rhythmical,mechanical, sing-song cadence. The style still lingers among conservative French tragedians. Garrick spoke not as an orator, but as King Richard himself might have spoken, in like circumstances. The chuckling exultation of his 'So much for Buckingham!' was long a tradition on the stage.

[For a criticism of J. P. Kemble's Richard, by SIR WALTER SCOTT, see note on I, i, 35.]

C. LAMB (iii, 11): Some few of us remember to have *seen*, and all of us have heard our feathers tell, of Quin, and Garrick, and Barry, and some faint traditional notices are left us of their manner in particular scenes, and their stile of delivering certain emphatic sentences. Hence our curiosity is excited when a *new Hamlet* or a *new Richard* makes his appearance, in the first place, to inquire, how he acted in the *Closet scene*, in the *Tent scene;* how he looked, and how he started, when the *Ghost* came on, and how he cried: 'Off with his head. So much for Buckingham.' We do not reprehend this minute spirit of comparison. On the contrary, we consider it as a delightful artifice, by which we connect the recreations of the past with those of the present generation, what pleased our fathers with what pleases us. We love to witness the obstinate attachments, the unconquerable prejudices (as they seem to us), of the old men, our seniors, the whimsical gratification they appear to derive from the very refusal to be gratified; to hear them talk of the good old actors, whose race is forever extinct. With these impressions, we attended the first appearance of Mr Cooke, in the character of Richard the Third, last winter.—We thought that he 'bustled' through the scenes with at least as much spirit and effect as any of his predecessors whom we remember in the part, and was not deficient in the delivery of any of those rememberable speeches and exclamations, which old prescription hath set up as *criteria* of comparison. Now that the grace of freshness is worn off, and Mr Cooke is no longer a novitiate for public favour, we propose to enter into the question—whether that popular actor is right or wrong in his conception of the great outlines of the character; those strong essential differences which separate *Richard* from all the other creations of Shakespeare. We say *of Shakespeare;* for though the Play, which passes for *his* upon the *Stage*, materially differs from *that* which *he* wrote under the same title, being, in fact, little better than

a compilation or cento of passages extracted from other of his Plays, and applied with gross violation of propriety (as we are ready at any time to point out), besides some miserable additions which *he* never could have written; all together producing an inevitable inconsistency of character, sufficient to puzzle and confound the *best Actor; yet*, in this chaos and perplexity, we are of opinion that it becomes an Actor to shew his taste, by adhering, as much as possible, to the spirit and intention of the original Author, and to consult his *safety* in *steering* by the *Light*, which Shakespeare holds out to him, as by a great *Leading Star*. Upon these principles we presume to censure Mr Cooke, while we are ready to acknowledge that this Actor presents us with a very original and very forcible portrait (if not of the *man Richard*, whom Shakespeare drew, yet) of the *monster Richard*, as he exists in the *popular idea*, in *his own exaggerated* and *witty self-abuse*, in the overstrained representations of the parties who were *sufferers* by his *ambition;* and, above all, in the impertinent and wretched *scenes*, so absurdly foisted in by some, who have thought themselves capable of adding to what *Shakespeare wrote.*

But of Mr Cooke's *Richard:*

1st, *His predominant and masterly simulation.* 'He has a tongue can wheedle with the DEVIL.' It has been the policy of that ancient and grey simulator, in all ages, to hide his *horns* and *claws*. The *Richard* of Mr Cooke perpetually obtrudes *his*. We see the effect of his conceit uniformly *successful*, but we do not comprehend *how* it *succeeds*. We can put ourselves, by a very common fiction, into the place of the individuals upon whom it acts, and say, that, in the like case, we should not have been alike credulous. The hypocrisy is too glaring and visible. It resembles more the shallow cunning of a mind which is its own dupe, than the profound and practised art of so powerful an intellect as Richard's. It is too obstreperous and loud, breaking out into *triumphs* and *plaudits* at its own success, like an unexercised *noviliate* to *tricks*. It has none of the silent confidence and steady self-command of the *experienced politician;* it possesses none of that *fine address*, which was necessary to have betrayed the heart of Lady Anne, or even to have imposed on the duller wits of the Lord Mayor and Citizens.

2ndly, *His habitual jocularity*, the effect of buoyant spirits, and an elastic mind, rejoicing in its own powers, and in the success of its machinations. This quality of unrestrained mirth accompanies Richard, and is a prime feature in his character. It never leaves him; in plots, in stratagems, and in the midst of his bloody devices, it is perpetually driving him upon wit, and jests, and personal satire, fanciful allusions, and quaint felicities of phrase. It is one of the chief artifices by which the consummate master of dramatic effect has contrived to soften the horrors of the scene, and to make us contemplate a bloody and vicious character with delight. Nowhere, in any of his plays, is to be found so much of sprightly colloquial dialogue, and soliloquies of genuine humour, as in Richard. This character of unlaboured mirth Mr Cooke seems entirely to pass over, and substitutes in its stead the coarse, taunting humour, and clumsy merriment, of a low-minded assassin.

3dly, *His personal deformity.*—When the Richard of Mr Cooke makes allusions to his own *form*, they seem accompanied with *unmixed distaste* and *pain*, like some obtrusive and *haunting* idea—But surely the Richard of Shakespeare mingles in these allusions a perpetual reference to his own powers and capacities, by which he is enabled to surmount these petty objections; and the joy of a defect *conquered* or *turned* into an advantage is one cause of these very allusions, and of the satisfaction with which his mind turns to them. These allusions themselves are made

in an ironical and good-humoured spirit of exaggeration—the most bitter of them are to be found in his self congratulating soliloquy spoken in the very moment and crisis of joyful exultation on the success of his unheard of courtship.—No *partial excellence* can satisfy for this absence of a *just general conception*—otherwise we are inclined to admit that, in the delivery of *single sentences*, in a *new* and often *felicitous* light, thrown upon *old* and *hitherto misconstrued* passages, no actor that we have seen has gone beyond Mr Cooke. He is always *alive* to the scene before him; and by the *fire* and *novelty* of his manner, he seems likely to infuse some *warm blood* into the *frozen declamatory stile*, into which our theatres have for some time past been degenerating.

LEIGH HUNT (217): I do not think Cooke can be called a great tragedian, though he performs Richard so excellently. Much of this character is occupied by the display of a confident dissimulation, which is something very different from the dignity of tragedy. If Cooke performs the more serious part with success, if we are attentive to his misfortunes as well as to his prosperity, it is because our attention has been so fixed by the fraud that produced them: we see the punishment of hypocritical ambition fallen upon its proper object. Kemble has more dignity in the character, but he entirely wants its artifice, and he has done singular honour to his judgement and forbearance in relinquishing the crafty usurper to the most crafty of actors. In the more humourous parts, however, of Cooke's Richard, and indeed in all his hypocritical humour except when it soliloquises or confesses itself, it may be questioned whether he ought to betray his deception to the audience by so manifest an hypocrisy of countenance. It is evident that a consummate hypocrite in real life would attempt a look the very reverse of apparent fraud, otherwise he would render himself liable to detection, and, in fact, be no true hypocrite. . . . The best excuse, however, that can be given for the carelessness with which Cooke's hypocrisy looks out of his countenance, is the unconscious enjoyment which deceitful villainy cannot help expressing at the anticipation or attainment of success; and it must be confessed that any vice long indulged generally stamps its peculiar character on the countenance.—[For another account of G. F. Cooke as Richard III., by an American critic, see *The Theatre*, vol. ix, p. 282.]

W. MACREADY (p. 69): There was a solidity of deportment and manner, and at the same time a sort of unctuous enjoyment of his successful craft, in the soliloquizing stage villainy of Cooke, which gave powerful and rich effect to the sneers and overbearing retorts of Cibber's hero, and certain points traditional from Garrick were made with consummate skill, significance, and power.

Kean's conception was decidedly more Shakespearean. He hurried you along in his resolute course with a spirit that brooked no delay. In inflexibility of will and sudden grasp of expedients he suggested the idea of a feudal Napoleon. His personation was throughout consistent, and he was only inferior to Cooke where he attempted points upon the same ground as his distinguished predecessor. These points have often proved stumbling-blocks to actors and false lights to the discerment of audiences. . . . My father and self were betimes in our box. Pope was the lachrymose and rather tedious performer of Henry VI. But when the scene changed, and a little keenly visaged man rapidly bustled across the stage, I felt there was meaning in the alertness of his manner and the quickness of his step. As the play proceeded I became more and more satisfied that there was a mind of no common order. In his angry complaining of Nature's injustice to his bodily

imperfections, as he uttered the line: 'To shrink my arm up like a withered shrub,' he remained looking on the limb for some moments with a sort of bitter discontent, and then struck it back in angry disgust. My father, who sat behind me, touched me, and whispered, 'It's very poor!' 'Oh, no!' I replied, 'it is no common thing,' for I found myself stretching over the box to observe him. The scene with Lady Anne was entered on with evident confidence, and was well sustained, in the affected earnestness of penitence, to its successful close. In tempting Buckingham to the murder of the children, he did not impress me as Cooke was wont to do, in whom the sense of the crime was apparent in the gloomy hesitation with which he gave reluctant utterance to the deed of blood. Kean's manner was consistent with his conception, proposing their death as a political necessity, and sharply requiring it as a business to be done. The two actors were equally effective in their respective views of the unscrupulous tyrant; but leaving to Cooke the more prosaic version of Cibber, it would have been desirable to have seen the energy and restless activity of Kean giving life to racy language and scenes of direct and varied agency in the genuine tragedy with which his whole manner and appearance were so much more in harmony. In his studied mode of delivering the passages: 'Well! as you guess' and 'Off with his head! So much for Buckingham!' he could not approach the searching, sarcastic incredulity, or the rich vindictive chuckle, of Cooke; but in the bearing of the man throughout, as the intriguer, the tyrant, and the warrior, he seemed never to relax the ardor of his pursuit, presenting the life of the usurper as one unbroken whole, and closing it with a death picturesquely grand.

H. CRABB ROBINSON (7 March, 1814): At Drury Lane and saw Kean for the first time. He played Richard, I believe, better than any man I ever saw; yet my expectations were pitched too high, and I had not the pleasure I expected. The expression of malignant joy is the one in which he surpasses all men I have ever seen. And his most flagrant defect is want of dignity. His face is finely expressive, though his mouth is not handsome, and he projects his lower lip ungracefully; yet it is finely suited to Richard. He gratified my eye more than my ear. His action was very often that of Kemble, and this was not the worst of his performance; but it detracts from his boasted originality. His declamation is very unpleasant, but my ear may in time be reconciled to it, as the palate is to new cheese and tea. It often reminds me of Blanchard's. His speech is not fluent, and his words and syllables are too distinctly separated. His finest scene was with Lady Anne, and his mode of lifting up her veil to watch her countenance was exquisite. The concluding scene was unequal to my expectation, though the fencing was elegant, and his sudden death fall was shockingly real. But he should have lain still. Why does he rise, or awake rather, to repeat the spurious lines? He did not often excite a strong persuasion of the truth of his acting, and the applause he received was not very great. . . . I do not think he will retain all his popularity, but he may learn to deserve it better, though I think he will never be qualified for heroic parts. He wants a commanding figure and a powerful voice. His greatest excellences are a fine pantomimic face and remarkable agility.

W. HAZLITT (*Sh. Characters*, p. 148): It is possible to form a higher conception of the character of Richard than that given by Mr. Kean (not from seeing any other actor, but from reading Shakespeare); but we cannot imagine any character represented with greater distinctness and precision, more perfectly *articulated* in every part. Perhaps, indeed, there is too much of what is called technically execu-

tion. When we first saw this celebrated actor in the part, we thought he sometimes failed from an exuberance of manner, and dissipated the impression of the character by the variety of his resources. To be perfect his delineation of it should have a little more solidity, depth, sustained and impassioned feeling, with somewhat less brilliancy, with fewer glancing lights, pointed transitions, and pantomimic evolutions. . . . If Mr Kean does not entirely succeed in concentrating all the lines of the character, as drawn by Shakespeare, he gives an animation, vigour, and relief to the part which we have never seen surpassed. He is more refined than Cooke; more bold, varied, and original than Kemble in the same character. In some parts he is deficient in dignity, and, particularly in the scenes of state business, he has by no means an air of artificial authority. There is at times a sort of tip-toe elevation, an enthusiastic rapture in his expectations of attaining the crown, and at others a gloating expression of sullen delight, as if he already clenched the bauble and held it in his grasp. . . . Mr Kean has since in a great measure effaced the impression of his Richard III. by the superior efforts of his genius in Othello (his masterpiece), the murder scene in *Macbeth*, in *Richard II.*, in Sir Giles Overreach, and lastly *Oroonoko;* but we still like to look back to his first performance of this part, both because it first assured his admirers of his future success, and because we bore our feeble but, at that time, not useless testimony to the merits of this very original actor, on which the town was considerably divided for no other than because they *were* original. [For other remarks by Hazlitt on Kean's interpretation, see notes on I, ii, 171; V, iii, 89; V, v, 1–4.]

F. W. HAWKINS (i, 159): Kean came out from behind the scenes with a step so natural and so appropriate that the audience, accustomed to a fine, picturesque, and heroic stride, were absolutely startled; and communing with his own gigantic thought, he silently rubbed his hands—what a daring innovation!—they saw that no common man was before them. The soliloquy proceeded; there was no ferocious and studied declamation—all was easy, natural, and unlaboured; and as, with a beautifully expressive action, he gave out the line: 'The dogs bark at me as I halt by them!' the first applause elicited that night broke out in fervent enthusiasm. The soliloquy went on; the audience saw that the actor had become Richard himself—there was the devilish but calm calculation, as if solely occupied with means, and not wasting a reflection on qualities; the terrible jocundity, sure of his purpose, seeming to hug himself in his very heart on assassination, enjoying it almost as a joke, and exulting in it as an advantage. And then came the scene with Lady Anne, the nauseousness of which had been much increased by Kemble and Cooke; the former whined it in a way not at all attractive to the ear; the latter was harsh, coarse, and unkingly. Not so Kean. An enchanting smile played upon his lips; a courteous humility bowed his head; his voice, though hoarse with cold, was yet modulated to a tone which no common female mind ever did, or ever could resist. . . . The quickness of familiar utterance with which the actor said of Hastings: 'Chop off his head!' . . . revealed a courageous adoption of the simplicities of the commonest every-day life and exhibited his superior understanding, his noble disdain of what was little, and his thorough comprehension of the part. . . . Richard, conscious of his towering superiority over those by whom he is surrounded, could feel nothing but contempt for the wavering, pusillanimous Hastings, and would consequently deliver the order as Kean did—in a manner which showed that he despised his victim equally from the consequences that might ensue from his

execution. Moreover, the king was addressing himself to a friend in confidential conversation, and on a subject that necessarily supposed a perfect familiarity with murder. A similar absence of all theatrical flourish marked his acting when, on being taunted by the little Duke of York, the expression of his countenance formed a fine picture of stifled rage and affected composure. . . . Nothing could have been more happy, nothing more electric, in its effect than the soliloquy where he debated what course to take with the young princes. His apprehensive mind kindled at his casual mention of *the Tower;* it communicated itself in a blaze to his ardent and fiery spirit, and in the fatal lightning of his eye. . . the audience saw that the remorseless deed he contemplated was already done! . . . [Also] his interview with Buckingham, in which, entirely separating himself from the solemn pedantry of the stage, he placed his hands carelessly and gracefully behind him as the Duke described his reception by the citizens; and, above all, the scene with the Lord Mayor, in which the scarcely subdued triumph which glittered in his eyes as he refused the crown, the accession to the pleas of his confederates with 'Call him in again,' his acceptation of the crown, and the triumphant burst of exultation after he had dismissed the petitioners—all exhibited an originality. . . new to the audience. . . In that withering interrogatory [to Stanley: 'What do they in the *north*, When they should serve their sovereign in the west?' More variety, more depth, more intensity of expression were thrown into these words than were ever brought together in the same space; rage, hatred, sarcasm, suspicion, and contempt were all expressed in the single word '*north*'. . . . The power of Kean's understanding was nobly proved in the variety of phase and world of thought and significance comprised in the speech [after his dream]. With: 'Give me another horse!' he was the courageous and valiant warrior, oblivious to all but the carnage before him; his voice, energetic and fearless a moment before, sank into a plaintive murmur of physical distress as he feebly cried: 'Bind up my wounds. Have mercy, Heaven' . . . . The words: 'Soft, soft, 'twas but a dream,' marked the emancipation of his fiery and unconquerable soul from the trammels in which for a time it had been confined. . . . 'Who's there?' An indefinable terror seized him, and, snatching up a sword, he placed himself in a fine posture of defence. Catesby entered. The petulant contempt, the snigger of self-reproach for shaken fortitude, were true to nature. Plunging into the thickest of the fight, he performed prodigies of valour; and under a stern and fierce exterior the glimpses which Kean afforded of his internal torment portrayed in vivid colours the chaos of a tempestuous and deeply labouring mind.

LEIGH HUNT (*Examiner*, Oct. 30, 1819; quoted in Macready's *Reminiscences*, p. 144): A new and unexpected circumstance has taken place here [Covent Garden], which promises to rescue the character of the house from the pantomimic degradation into which it was fast falling. Mr Macready has performed Richard twice in the course of the week, with the greatest applause. . . . A critic on these particular occasions is forced upon comparisons. However, they sometimes enable him to give his readers a more exact idea of a performance. Compared then with Mr Kean, we should say that a division of merits, usual enough with the performance of such comprehensive characters as Shakespeare's, has taken place in the Richards of these two actors. Mr Kean's Richard is the more sombre, and perhaps deeper part of him; Mr Macready's the livelier and more animal part—a very considerable one nevertheless. Mr Kean's is the more gloomy and reflective

villain, rendered so by the united effect of his deformity and subtle-mindedness; Mr Macready's is the more ardent and bold-faced one, borne up by a temperament naturally high and sanguine, though pulled down by mortification. The one has more of the seriousness of conscious evil in it, the other of the gayety of meditated success. Mr Kean's has gone deeper even than the relief of his conscience—he has found melancholy at the bottom of the necessity for that relief; Mr Macready's is more sustained in his troubled waters by constitutional vigour and buoyancy. In short, Mr Kean's Richard is more like King Richard, darkened by the shadow of his very approaching success, and announcing the depth of his desperation when it shall be disputed; Mr Macready's Richard is more like the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the gay tyrant Edward IV., and partaking as much of his character as the contradiction of the family handsomeness in his person would allow. . . .

At the same time, when we thus compare Mr Macready with Mr Kean, it is to be recollected that Mr Kean first gave us that example of a natural style of acting on which Mr Macready has founded his new rank in the theatrical world. Nor must we omit that the latter falls into some defects which the former is never betrayed into, and those too of a description inconsistent with the general style of his performance. We allude to some over-soft and pathetic tones towards the conclusion of the part, where Richard is undergoing remorse of conscience. Richard might lament, and even be pathetic; but he would certainly never whine, or deal in anything approaching to the lackadaisical. We think both performers occasionally too violent; but this may be partly a stage necessity. Mr Macready (and he is evidently quite capable of doing it) should reflect that all depth of feeling in reflecting minds requires a proportionate depth and quietness of expression. It may be as imaginative as he pleases; but it has no taste or leisure for dallying with the gentilities of grief. [For an account of Macready's attempt to restore Shakespeare's *Richard III.* to the stage, see *Stage History*, above, under date 12 March, 1821.]

J. F. KIRKE (*Lippincott's Maga.*, June, 1884; p. 608): When, on the rise of the curtain, J. B. Booth stepped on the stage as Gloucester and began the speech: 'Now is the winter,' etc., the critical scrutiny which one naturally turns upon an actor at his first entrance was instantly checked. The stately but elastic tread; the defiant port and sweeping gesture; the kindled eye, with its changeful gleams of mockery and malignity; the smooth yet impassioned flow of the delivery, with its expressive variety of tones and inflections,—all conspired to fix the attention on the scene itself and make the spirit and meaning of it engross and fill the mind. . . . In the scene transferred by Cibber from *3 Henry VI.*, Booth's attitude, look, and tones after he had stabbed the grey-haired king are far more distinct and vivid in my remembrance than anything I have witnessed at the theatre in recent years. The affected amazement with which he stooped over the prostrate body as he uttered the words: 'What, will the aspiring blood of Lancaster Sink in the ground?' changed to the cruelest aspect of triumphant irony in the succeeding phrase:—'I thought it would have MOUNT-ed,'—When the hunchbacked form towering erect, the head with the plumed hat thrown back, the eyes following the upturned point of the raised and outstretched sword, the syllable I have marked as emphatic uttered not only at the height of the voice, but with a swelling volume of sound, produced a feeling as of some general ascent in which one was taking an involuntary part. The other striking features of the performance—the rapid alternations of pretended humility and devotion and of sarcastic amusement in the scene with Lady Anne;

the tent-scene with its agony of fright, the dripping brow and shaking limbs, and the hoarse cry for succor; above all, the fiery death-struggle, in which Kean's rapid thrust with the disarmed hand was reproduced with what I can hardly believe to have been any diminution of the original effect—are equally strong in my recollection.

W. R. ALGER (ii, 746): Forrest set aside the stereotyped idea of Richard as a strutting, ranting, gloomy plotter, forever cynical and sarcastic, and parading his crimes. Not excluding these traits, Forrest subordinated them to his cunning hypocrisy, his gleaming intellectuality, his jocose irony, his exulting self-complacence and fiendish sportiveness. He represented him not only as ravenously ambitious, but also full of a subtle pride and vanity which delighted him with the constant display of his mental superiority to those about him. Above all, he was shown to be possessed of a laughing devil, a witty and sardonic genius, which amused itself with playing on the faculties of the weaklings he wheedled, scoffing at what they thought holy, and bluntly utilizing the most sacred things for the most selfish ends. There can be no doubt that in removing the conventional stage Richard, with this more dashing and versatile one, Forrest restored the genuine conception of Shakespeare. . . . Thus in the impersonation of him by Forrest Richard lost his perpetual scowl, and took on here and there touches of humour and grim comedy. He burst upon the stage, cloaked and capped, waving his glove in triumph over the downfall of the house of Lancaster. Not in frowning gutturals or with snarling complaint, but merrily came the opening words,—"Now is the winter of our discontent Made glorious summer by this sun of York."

Gradually as he came to descant upon his own defects and unsuitedness for peace and love, the tone passed from glee to sarcasm, and ended with dissembling and vindictive earnestness in the apostrophe,—"Dive, thoughts, down to my soul. Here Clarence comes."

The scene with Lady Anne, where he overcomes every conceivable kind and degree of obstacles to her favour by the sheer fascination of his gifted tongue, was a masterpiece of nature and art. He gave his pleading just enough semblance of sincerity to make a plausible pathway to the feminine heart, but not enough to hide the sinister charm of a consummate hypocrisy availing itself of every secret of persuasion.

In many places in the play his air of searching and sarcastic incredulity, and his rich vindictive chuckle of self-applause, were as artistically fine as they were morally repulsive. As Kean had done before him, he made an effective point in speaking the line, "To shrink my arm up like a withered shrub:" he looked at the limb for some time with a sort of bitter discontent, and struck it back with angry disgust. When the queenly women widowed by his murderous intervention began to upbraid him with his monstrous deeds, the cool audacity, the immense aplomb, the half-hidden enjoyment of the joke, with which he relieved himself from the situation by calling out,—"A flourish, trumpets! strike alarums, drums! Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women Rail on the Lord's Anointed!"—were a bit of grotesque satire, a gigantic and servicable absurdity, worthy of Rabelais.

The acting of Forrest in the tent-scene, where Richard in his broken sleep dreams he sees the successive victims of his murderous hand approach and threaten him was original and effective in the highest degree. He struggled on his couch with

horrible phantoms. Ghosts pursued him. Visions of battle, overthrow, despair, and death convulsed him. Acting his dreams out he dealt his blows around with frightful and aimless energy, and with an intense expression of remorse and vengeance on his face fell apparently cloven to the earth. He then arose like a man coming out of hell, dragging his dream with him, and, struggling fiercely to awake, rushed to the footlights, sank on his knee, and spoke these words, beginning with a shriek and softening down to a shuddering whisper: "Give me another horse! Bind up my wounds! Have mercy Jesu! Soft; I did but dream. O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me! The lights burn blue. It is now dead midnight. Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh." . . . Forrest was too large, with too much ingrained justice and heavy grandeur, to be really suited for this part. He needed, especially in its scolding contests of wit and spiteful invective, to be smaller, lighter, swifter, more vixenish.

W. WINTER (*Art of Edwin Booth*, p. 209): Booth restored Shakespeare's *Richard III.* to the stage in 1876–77. Prior to that time he had always presented the Cibber version. His first performance, in New York, of Gloucester, according to the original piece, was given at Booth's Theatre, 7 January, 1878. The ambitious and wicked prince was made to appear, not as a raging ruffian, but as a wily and winning diplomatist, a blunt, frank soldier, an audacious man of action, and, above all, a human being capable of remorse, and redeemed from hellish depravity by that capability of human nature. . . .

Shakespeare, preserving the superficial peculiarities of the Gloucester [of the Chronicles] has endowed him with a commanding, audacious intellect, wide knowledge of human nature and affairs, ample capacity as a governor, craftiness worthy of Louis XI., or of Iago, insight, an ardent temperament, and the fascinating quality of a man of genius. That ideal was presented by Booth—ambition being its motive, and a deformed man's rage against fate its spring of endless bitterness. His method, full of original prompting and informed by wise experience, was singularly beautiful. The transitions—made with the celerity and vividness of lightning—showed Richard's subtle wit and devilish irony, his duplicity and his tremendous intensity of purpose and courage, with overwhelming force. The hypocrisy of his 'call him again,' was so astounding as to be absolutely ludicrous, and his auditors laughed at it, with a shiver of horror. The delirium, after the dream, touched the height of pathos, in its truth and its terrible prostration. And the death—as of some malignant viper—fitly rounded a symmetrical embodiment. . . . Booth's dressing of the part was particularly careful and rich. He wore the sumptuous apparel for which Gloucester was distinguished—the long brown hair, the ring upon the third finger of the left hand, and he had the habit of sheathing and unsheathing a dagger.

HENRY IRVING restored Shakespeare's play to the stage on January 29th, 1877, at the Lyceum Theatre, London. On his reproduction of the play in 1897, SIR EDWARD RUSSELL contributed the following criticism to *The Theatre*, for May of that year: We have to accept the theory of the chronicler and the dramatist that, though Richard's remorseless character was pretty well known, he got his way and held his own until Richmond beat him in the field. The cue of explanation is given in the opening soliloquy, where Irving buoyantly expresses in the sunshine and with a sunny face the villainy which he means to practise, and on that cue—the cue of humourous enjoyment—he acts throughout, as cajolement, treachery,

malignity, and barbarous cruelty alternate in horrible yet curiously entertaining variety. . . . We shall mention three illustrative points. All playgoers of any standing can remember the mechanical manner in which the proposal scene with Lady Anne used to be performed. The spectator had to take all for granted and to look on at a see-saw of hate and condonation in which it was impossible to believe. Sir Henry Irving makes the scene almost entirely credible. At all events, his amusement at the situation, his powerful and winning predominance, make it impossible wholly to disbelieve in the effect that is being produced. The thought that there may have been such a man, and that he was capable of such an achievement, gets into the half-amused, half-horrified mind, and cannot be dislodged. Then, observe how a scene, with which Richard has comparatively little to do, is lit up by Irving's humourous conception. . . . He sits thoroughly enjoying the railings of his royal relatives at each other, and at the point where the discussion comes loudest and nearest and most offensive to him goes to a table and, hearing everything all the time, writes out a warrant of arrest. Our last point is one of contrast. Richard is alone in his tent the night before Bosworth. What has come to him? He walks the walk of an old man. He stoops. He almost totters. He moves heavily and feebly, and a helpless fretfulness seems unchecked to have infected his very gait. The reason? He is alone; much battered, much worried, at a troublesome crisis, and—nobody is looking. Thus in this shambling contrast there lives, as in the reverse of a medal, the full meaning of all the high-spirited, revelling devilry which he has kept up before the world. It is one of the greatest things in the impersonation, and we believe has never before been thought of. Old play-goers will perhaps miss, more than they will care to confess, the good old melodramatic points of Cibber; but they will perceive a rare elevation of the style and of the theme produced by returning to the text of Shakespeare under the illumination of one of the most wonderful pieces of acting of our, and probably of all, time.

W. WINTER (*Shadows*, etc.; series i, p. 304): Richard Mansfield's version was in five acts, preserving the text of the original, much condensed, and introducing a few lines from Cibber. It began with a bright processional scene before the Tower of London, in which Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV., was conspicuous, and against that background of 'glorious summer' it placed the dangerous figure of the duke of Gloucester. It comprised the murder of Henry VI., the wooing of Lady Anne, not in a London street, but in a rural place, on the road to Chertsey; the lamentation for King Edward IV.; the episode of the boy princes; the condemnation of Hastings—a scene that brilliantly denotes the mingled artifice and savagery of Shakespeare's Gloucester; the Buckingham plot; the priest and mayor scene; the temptation of Tyrrell; the fall of Buckingham; the march to battle; the episode of the spectres; and the fatal catastrophe on Bosworth Field. . . . The notable peculiarity was the assumption that there are considerable lapses of time at intervals during the continuance of the story. The effort to reconcile poetry with history produced little if any appreciable result on the stage,—seeing that an audience would not think of lapses of time unless those lapses were mentioned in the play-bill. An incessant continuity of action, a ceaseless rush and whirl of events, is the essential life of the play. No auditor can feel that Richard has waited twelve years before making any movement or striking any blow, after his aspiration that heaven will take King Edward and leave the world for him to 'bustle in'. . . . And, furthermore, there is no development of his character in Shakespeare's play: there

is simply the presentation of it, complete and rounded at the outset, and remaining invariably and inflexibly the same at the close. Mansfield, however, deduced this effect from his consideration of the flight of time: a contrast between Richard at nineteen and Richard at thirty-three, a contrast strongly expressive of the reactionary influence that an experience of evil deeds has produced upon a man who at first was only a man of evil thoughts and evil will. This imported into the performance a diversity of delineation without, however, affecting the formidible weight of the figure of Richard, or its brilliancy, or its final significance. The embodiment was splendid with it, and would be just as splendid without it. The presence of heart and conscience in that demoniac human creature is denoted by Shakespeare and must be shown by the actor. Precisely at what point his heaven-defying will should begin to waver is not defined. Mansfield chose to indicate the operation of remorse and terror in Richard's soul as early as the throne scene, and before yet the King has heard that the royal boys have been murdered. The effect of his action, equally with the method of it, was magnificent. You presently saw him possessed of the throne for which he had so terribly toiled and sinned, and alone upon it, bathed in blood-red light, the pitiable personification of gorgeous but haunted evil, marked off from among mankind and henceforth desolate. . . . In the earlier scenes his mood and his demeanor had been suffused with a cool, gay mockery of elegant cynicism. He killed King Henry with a smile, in a scene of gloomy mystery that might have come from the pencil of Gustave Dore. He looked upon the mourning Lady Anne with cheerful irony, and he wooed her with all the fervour that passion and pathos can engender in the behaviour of a hypocrite. . . . One of the finest points was the temptation of Buckingham to murder the princes. There and, indeed, at all points, was observed the absence of even the faintest reminiscence of the ranting, mouthing, flannel-jawed king of clubs who has so generally strutted and bellowed as Shakespeare's Gloucester. . . .

With the throne-scene began the spiritual conflict. At least it then began to be disclosed; and from that moment onward the state of Richard was seen to be that of Orestes pursued by the Furies. But Mansfield was right, and was consistent, in making the monarch faithful in his devotion to evil. Richard's presentiments, pangs, and tremors are intermittent. In the great, empty, darkening throne-room, with its shadowy nooks and dim corners, shapeless and nameless spectres may momentarily come upon him, and shake his strong spirit with the sinister menace of hell. Along the dark plains, on the fateful night before the battle, the sad ghosts may drift and wander, moaning and wailing in the ghastly gloom; and in that hour of haunted desolation the doomed king may feel that, after all, he is but mortal man, and that his pre-ordered destruction is close at hand and not to be averted; but Richard never deceives himself; never palters with the goodness that he has scorned. He dies as he has lived—defiant and terrible.

CIBBER'S VERSION

CIBBER'S version of *Richard III.* is given both in Mrs Inchbald's and in Oxberry's *British Drama*. I have, therefore, thought it unnecessary to reprint any part of it; the accompanying table, showing the various passages from other plays, and those contributed by Cibber, will furnish, I trust, sufficient information in regard to the composition.

Cibber's Version.	Rich. II.	1 Hen. IV.	2 Hen. IV.	Hen. V.	1 Hen. VI.	2 Hen. VI.	3 Hen. VI.	Rich. III.	Cibber.	Total
Act I, i Added lines from	14	. .	15	. .	. .	. .	7	. .	208	244
" ii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	6	27	4	37
" iii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	70	10	9	89
Act II, i	. .	. .	. .	. .	5	. .	17	159	89	270
" ii	. .	. .	5	. .	. .	. .	. .	17	113	135
Act III, i	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	87	84	171
" ii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	143	104	247
Act IV, i	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	125	125
" ii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	62	44	106
" iii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	18	54	72
" iv	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	2	. .	131	49	182
Act V, i	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3	14	12	29
" ii	. .	. .	. .	6	. .	. .	. .	9	28	43
" iii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	22	22	44
" iv	. .	6	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	14	13	33
" v	. .	. .	. .	14	. .	. .	. .	18	50	82
" vi	. .	. .	. .	4	. .	. .	. .	8	16	28
" vii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	27	8	35
" viii	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	7	7
" ix	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	13	2	15
" x	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	15	. .	16	28	59
Total	14	6	20	24	5	17	103	795	1069	2053

Number of lines in *The Globe Edition*: 3,621.

CIBBER (*Apology*, p. 160): The Master of the Revels, who then, licens'd all Plays, for the Stage. . . . would strike out whole Scenes of a vicious, or immoral Character, tho' it were visibly shown to be reform'd, or punish'd. A severe Instance of this Kind falling upon my self, may be an Excuse for my relating it. When *Richard the Third* (as I alter'd it from *Shakespeare*) came from his Hands, to the Stage, he expung'd the whole First Act, without sparing a Line of it. This extraordinary Stroke of a *Sic volo*, occasioned my applying to him, for the small Indulgence of a Speech, or two, that the other four Acts might limp on, with a little less Absurdity. No, he had not Leisure to consider what might be separately inoffensive. He had an Objection to the whole Act, and the Reason he gave for it was, that the Distresses of King *Henry the Sixth*, who is kill'd by *Richard* in the first Act, would put weak People too much in mind of King *James*, then living in *France;* a notable Proof of his Zeal for the Government! Those who have read either the Play, or the History, I dare say, will think he strain'd hard for the Parallel. In a word, we were forc'd, for some few Years, to let the Play take its Fate, with only four Acts divided into five; by the Loss of so considerable a Limb, may one not modestly suppose, it was robb'd of, at least, a fifth part of that Favour, it afterwards met with? For tho' this first Act was at last recovered, and made the Play whole agen; yet the Relief came too late, to repay me for the Pains I had taken in it. Nor did I ever hear that this zealous Severity of the Master of the Revels, was afterward thought justifiable.

W. HAZLITT (*Sh. Characters*, p. 150): The manner in which Shakespeare's plays have been generally altered, or rather mangled, by modern mechanists, is a disgrace to the English Stage. The patch-work *Richard III.*, which is acted under the sanction of his name, and which was manufactured by Cibber, is a striking example of this remark. . . . Some of the most important and striking passages in the principal character have been omitted, to make room for idle and misplaced extracts from other plays; the only intention of which seems to have been to make the character of Richard as odious and disgusting as possible. It is apparently for no other purpose than to make Gloucester stab King Henry on the stage, that the fine abrupt introduction of the character in the opening of the play is lost in the tedious, whining morality of the uxorious king (taken from another play); we say *tedious*, because it interrupts the business of the scene, and loses its beauty and effect by having no intelligible connection with the previous character of the mild, well-meaning monarch. The passages that Henry has to recite are beautiful and pathetic in themselves, but they have nothing to do with the world that Richard has to 'bustle in.' In the same spirit of vulgar caricature is the scene between Richard and Lady Anne (when his wife) interpolated without any authority, merely to gratify this favourite propensity to disgust and loathing. With the same perverse consistency, Richard, after his last fatal struggle, is raised up by some galvanic process, to utter the imprecation, without any motive but pure malignity, which Shakespeare has so properly put into the mouth of Northumberland on hearing of Percy's death. To make room for these, worse than needless, additions, many of the most striking passages in the real play have been omitted by the foppery and ignorance of the prompt-book critics. We do not mean to insist merely on passages which are fine as poetry and to the reader, such as Clarence's dream, etc., but on those which are important to the understanding of the character and peculiarly adapted for stage effect. [See, also, note by STEEVENS under *English Criti-*

cisms on The Tragedy, p. 573. An analysis of Cibber's version, with critical comments, will be found in Genest, ii, 195 et seq.]

COSTUME

C. KNIGHT (*Introd.*): The Monk of Croyland informs us that 'the new fashion' Edward IV. 'chose for his last state dresses was to have very full hanging sleeves like a monk's, lined with most sumptuous furs, and so rolled over his shoulders as to give his tall person an air of grandeur.' This fashion was continued during the remainder of the century, and was not altogether abandoned in the reign of Henry VIII. By a sumptuary law, enacted in the last year of Edward's reign, we find also that purple cloth of gold and silk of a purple colour were confined to the use of the royal family, while none under the degree of a duke might wear cloth of gold of tissue. Inferior noblemen were restricted to plain cloth of gold, knights to velvet, esquires to satin, etc. Short gowns and upper dresses of various descriptions were worn at this time, with long sleeves, having an opening in front through which the arm came, leaving the outer sleeve to hang as an ornament from the shoulder. Feathers became more frequent towards the close of this reign, one or more being worn in the cap behind, and jewelled up the stem. The hair was worn in large square masses on each side of the head, and low on the forehead. There are two portraits of Richard III., painted on a board, in the meeting room of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House. . . The first has been lithographed for the fifth volume of the *Paston Letters*. It represents the king attired in a robe of cloth of gold over a close dress of scarlet, and a black cap with a pearl ornament. His hair brown and long. His right hand is engaged in placing a ring upon, or drawing it off, the third finger of the left hand. [See *Frontispiece* to this present volume.] In the other Richard is portrayed with a short sword or dagger in his hand, dressed in a black robe, with sleeves of black or crimson, an under dress of cloth of gold, and a small black cap. . . . In the Warwick Roll is a drawing of Richard's queen, Anne, which presents us with a peculiar head-dress, characterizing this period, namely, a cap or caul of gold embroidery, covered by a veil of some very transparent material, stiffened out in the form of wings. . . The livery colour of the Tudor family was white and green. One of the standards of Henry, Earl of Richmond, at Bosworth Field was a red dragon on white and green sarcenet. Another was a dun cow upon 'yellow tarterne'. . . . Richard's favourite badge of cognisance [a white boar] was worn by the higher order of his partisans appendant to a collar of roses and suns.

THE following letter from Richard III. to Piers Courteis, Keeper of his Wardrobe, given in HALLIWELL (*Letters of Kings*, etc., i, 152) casts an interesting light upon the costumes required by a King at this period. The articles were doubtless to be used at the ceremony of Richard's second coronation at York, and during his triumphal progress afterward. The list may possibly offer suggestions to the actor or manager who desires historical accuracy in costume.

A. D. 1483—'We will and charge you to deliver to the bringers hereof for us the parcels following: that is to say, one doublet of purple satin lined with Holland cloth and interlined with busk. One doublet of tawny satin lined in likewise; two short gowns of crimson cloth of gold, the one with drips, [hanging tassels] and the other

with nets lined with green velvet; one stomacher of purple satin, and one stomacher of tawny satin; one cloak with a cape of velvet ingrained, the bow lined with black velvet; one gown of green velvet lined with tawny satin; one yard and three-quarters course of silke, meddled [mixed] with gold, and as much black course of silk for our spurs; two yards and a half and three nails of white cloth of gold, for a crynetze [table cloth?] for a board; five yards of black velvet for the lining of a gown of green satin; one placard made of the said two yards; and one half and two nails of white cloth of gold lined with buckram; three pair of spurs short, all gilt; two pairs of spurs long, white parcel gilt; two yards of black buckram for amending of the lining of divers trappers; one banner of sarsenet of our Lady; one banner of the Trinity; one banner of Saint George; one banner of Saint Edward; one of Saint Cuthbert; one of our own arms all sarsenet; three coats of arms beaten with fine gold for our own person; five coat armours for heralds lined with buckram; forty trumpet banners of sarsenet; seven hundred and forty pensills [banners]; three hundred and fifty pensils of tarter; four standards of sarsenet with boars; thirteen thousand quinysans [cognisance] of fustian with boars. All these our letters,' &c.

SAMUEL FRENCH'S acting edition of *Richard III.*, which is Cibber's version, as in Oxberry's *British Drama*, contains the following descriptions of costumes, and arrangement of processions:

Duke of Gloster.—Crimson velvet shirt, edged with sable fur, gold waistcoat with black velvet sleeves puffed with gold coming through the hanging sleeve of the shirt, gold waist-belt carrying a cross-hilted sword and dagger, purple stockings, order of Garter under left knee, gold collar of suns and roses, black velvet cap with jewel, high riding boots and spurs, and gauntlets. In Act II. the same, with crimson velvet shoes with pointed toes instead of boots.—Act IV. KING'S DRESS: Long gown representing cloth of gold edged with ermine, purple velvet robe edged with ermine, and ermine cape, crimson stockings, purple velvet pointed shoes with cross-bars of gold, gold chord and tassels round waist, jewelled sword, diamond collar of suns and roses, gold and richly jewelled crown, without feathers, as worn by Henry VI. After the Coronation scene, instead of the coronation robe, a puce velvet open robe with hanging sleeves, and velvet cap edged with ermine.—Act V. Suit of Complete armour, with a surcoat emblazoned with the arms of England.

King Henry VI.—Long black velvet gown with hanging sleeves and ermine cape, black velvet cap with jewel, and black velvet pointed shoes.

Prince of Wales.—Crimson velvet shirt with hanging sleeves, edged with ermine, do. cap, white silk stockings, order of the Garter, crimson velvet pointed shoes, and collar of suns and roses.

Duke of York.—Do. except that the shirt is blue.

Earl of Richmond.—Suit of complete armour, white surcoat with red cross of St. George.

Duke of Buchingham.—Same as Gloster in Act I. except that the colour is blue.

Duke of Norfolk.—In Coronation scene, long crimson velvet gown with hanging sleeves edged with gold, pointed velvet shoes trimmed with gold.—Second dress: Complete armour, surcoat emblazoned with his arms, and emblazoned shield hung on his left hip.

Tressel.—Black velvet shirt with hanging sleeves edged with white fur, under-waistcoat of silver with protruding sleeves as in Gloster's dress, blue stockings, black velvet cap edged with fur, high riding boots, spurs, and gauntlets.—Act II. Pointed velvet shoes.—Act V. Complete armour.

Lord Stanley.—Long green velvet gown with velvet sleeves, collar of suns an roses, green velvet cap, black stockings, pointed velvet shoes.—Second dres Complete armour, with surcoat and shield emblazoned with his arms.

Catesby.—Red velvet shirt with hanging sleeves, under waistcoat, white si pantaloons, velvet cap, and pointed shoes.

Ratcliff.—Same as Catesby, but different color, and order of Garter.

Earl of Oxford.—Do. but different color.

Blunt.—Do.

Lieutenant of the Tower.—Puce velvet shirt with hanging sleeves trimmed wit gold, velvet cap, dark stockings, pointed shoes—Act V. Complete armor.

Lord Mayor.—Long red cloth robe with collar of the S. S. edged with dark fu white ribbons on shoulders, white wands—under dress as others.

Aldermen.—Do. without the fur on robe.

Tirrel.—Same fashion as Catesby, but plainer and of different color.

Forest and Dighton.—High crowned black hat with narrow rim, very sh shirt, with full sleeves at shoulders and tight at the wrists, waistbelts, and hi boots.

Garter King-at-arms.—Dark shirt, herald's coat emblazoned with arms England, white wand, dark stockings, and pointed shoes.

Officer (of the Royal Guard).—Red shirt edged with gold, and emblazoned wi arms of England on breast, red and gold cap, gold waistbelt and cross-hilted swo red stockings, and russet shoes.

Earl of Surrey, (son of Duke Norfolk,)
Brandon, and
Pembroke,
} as other Nobles.

Pages.—Red shirts edged with black velvet, blue under-sleeves, silver ball breast, black velvet cap with white roses, blue stockings, pointed shoes.

☞ *The hair is in all cases worn long, but neither beard nor moustaches.*

Queen Elizabeth.—Surcoat of cherry-colored silk trimmed with ermine a silver, blue under-dress with tight long sleeves, crown, and large veil spott with gold. Second dress: Black and gold, crown, and black veil.

Lady Anne.—Black velvet demi-train with hanging sleeves, and tight blue sh under to the wrist, square body, with muslin chemisette to the throat, fold of lin under chin, cowl of white linen, large black veil, square velvet head-dress (shape that worn by the Neapolitan peasantry)—Second dress: Surcoat of sea-gre trimmed with gold and ermine, under-dress of orange-colored cloth with tig sleeves, cowl of silver, and jewelled head-dress.

Duchess of York.—Black velvet demi-train, high to throat, with hanging sleev large square white linen collar, linen fold under chin, black velvet cap, and lar black veil.

Attendants to Lady Anne.—Black cloth dress, high to throat, with tight lo sleeves, white linen collar with points reaching down on breast, black vel head-dress, and black veil.

Order of Funeral Procession

Two Officers of Royal Guard, with halberts,
Two Trumpeters,
Six Soldiers of Royal Guard, with halberts,
Four Incense Boys, in white gowns,

Two Monks with long torches, and shields on torches emblazoned with arm of England,

Priests, dressed in white and red, carrying gold cross,

Two Monks (as before),

Two Priests (do.)

Garter King-at-Arms,

Banner of Arms of England,

Page,

Two Monks (as before),

Banner of Arms of England, carried by soldier of Royal Guard,

Coffin on Bier, carried by four men dressed in black, with black caps, and Canopy of black and gold, emblazoned with shields of arms of England, carried by four men dressed in black, with black caps,

Pall Bearers, Six Peers of England, in scarlet robes with ermine capes, and jewelled collars of suns and roses,

Lady Anne and Four Ladies,

Tressel and Stanley,

Six Nobles,

Six Soldiers of Royal Guard.

CORONATION SCENE—*discovered*

Two Officers and Sixteen Soldiers of the Royal Guard,

Six Banners,

Two Pages, holding Shield and Helmet of King Richard,

Cardinal,

Three Bishops,

Four Judges,

Four Lawyers,

Lord Mayor and Six Aldermen,

Six Monks,

Friar Penker,

Dr. Shaw,

Eight Nobles,

ARMY OF KING RICHARD

Two Trumpeters, with red shirts, caps and stockings, russet shoes, herald's coats with arms of England, and trumpets.

Twelve Royal Archers, with steel skull-caps, crimson jerkins reaching to hips with gold stripes running downwards, gold buttons, blue pantaloons, pointed russet shoes, quivers of arrows on left hips, and bows 5 ft. 16 in. long.

Two Officers of Royal Guard, dressed as described before.

Sixteen Soldiers of Royal Guard, do. but with less gold about them, with spears about 8 feet long.

Six Banner-Men, bearing different banners, with steel gorgets, caps, elbow and knee pieces.

Twelve Cannoneers, with breast-plates and helmets, and short swords.

Two Pages, one carrying the helmet, and the other the shield of Richard III.

Six Knights, in complete armour, with blue surcoats, white roses on breasts, and shields with white rose in centre.

ARMY OF EARL OF RICHMOND

Two Trumpeters, with white shirts, red roses on their breasts, white caps, blu stockings, and russet shoes.

Officer and Eight Archers in green suits with red roses on their breasts, steel cap and gorgets, maroon stockings, russet shoes, long-bows, and quivers full of arrow

Six Norman Soldiery, with ring-armor shirts, orange-colored overcoats, ver short and open at breasts so as to show the armor, tight green sleeves, green stocking black shoes, steel caps, cross-bows, and enormous shields on their backs, 8 fe high.

Two Officers and Twelve Soldiers, with drab shirts and red roses on breast black velvet waist belts, blue stockings, russet shoes, steel caps and gorgets, an steel battle-axes.

Four Banner-Men, with white shirts, red roses on them, and blue stockings.

Six Knights, in complete armor, with white surcoats edged with gold, red ros on breasts, and shields with red rose in centre.

G. R. FRENCH (*Sh. Genealogica*, pp. 209–252) gives an accurate descriptio of the crests, coats of arms, etc., of the various characters in the play.

DEFORMITY OF RICHARD

H. WALPOLE (*Historic Doubts*, etc., p. 102): With regard to the person o Richard, it appears to have been as much misrepresented as his actions. Philip de Comines, who was very free spoken even on his own masters, and therefore no likely to spare a foreigner, mentions the beauty of Edward IV.; but says nothing o the deformity of Richard, though he saw them together. This is merely negative The old countess of Desmond, who had danced with Richard, declared he was th handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward, and was very well made But what shall we say to Dr Shaw, who in his sermon appealed to the people whether Richard was not the express image of his father's person, who was neithe ugly nor deformed? Not all the protector's power could have kept the muscles o the mob in awe and prevented their laughing at so ridiculous an apostrophe, had Richard been a little, crooked, withered, hump-back'd monster, as later historians would have us believe—and very idly? Cannot a foul soul inhabit a fair body?

The truth I take to have been this. Richard, who was slender and not tall, had one shoulder a little higher than the other: a defect, by the magnifying glasses of party, by distance of time, and by the amplification of tradition, easily swelled to shocking deformity; for falsehood itself generally pays so much respect to truth as to make it the basis of its superstructures. I have two reasons for believing Richard was not well made about the shoulders. Among the drawings which I purchased at Vertue's sale was one of Richard and his queen, of which nothing is expressed but the outlines. There is no intimation from whence the drawing was taken; but by a collateral direction for the colour of the robe, if not copied from a picture, it certainly was from some painted window; where existing I do not pretend to say in this whole work I have not gone beyond my vouchers. Richard's face is very comely, and corresponds singularly with the portrait of him in the preface to the *Royal and Noble Authors*. He has a sort of tippet of ermine doubled about his

neck, which seems calculated to disguise some want of symmetry thereabouts. [Two copies of this old print are given by Walpole, one as a frontispiece to his volume and the other facing p. 103. He dismisses the testimony of Rous, on the grounds that he 'could know the facts he alleges but by hearsay, confounds the dates of them, dedicated his work to Henry the Seventh, and is an author to whom no credit is due, from the lies and fables with which his work is stuffed.'—ED.]

T. P. COURTENAY (*Commentaries*, ii, 62): Sir Thomas More's character would be a guaranty for his truth, if he wrote what was within his own knowledge. He was not born until five years before Richard's death, but he is supposed to have derived his information from Archbishop Morton, of whom we hear in this play as Bishop of Ely. [See article, *Source of the Plot*, p. 457.] . . . John Rous, who professes to have seen Richard, says: 'He was of low stature, having a short face, unequal shoulders, the right being higher than the left.' . . . Nor is there, indeed, much difference between Rous and More, though the latter made the most of the distortion. For the excess of deformity which Richard is made by Shakespeare to impute to himself, there is no authority. On the other hand, I lay no stress upon the testimony of 'the old Countess of Desmond who had danced with Richard,' because it comes through too many hands.

G. B. CHURCHILL (p. 50): In Rous's *Historia Regum Angliæ*, [1490] first do we find details of Richard's person, weak of body, short of stature and of face, with the right shoulder higher than the left—curiously different from the later picture, in which Richard's left shoulder is represented as higher than the right. Here first we begin to hear tales of Richard's monstrous birth, haired and toothed, having been in his mother's womb two years—again an interesting contrast to Shakespeare's representation that Richard's physical peculiarities were due to the fact that he was sent before his time into this breathing world, unfinished, scarce half made up.

THE BALLAD OF *THE CHILDREN IN THE WOOD*

SHARON TURNER (iii, 453, *foot-note*) is, I believe, the first to call attention to a similarity in the outlines of the story of *The Children in the Wood* to that of the Murder of the Princes by Richard III. PERCY (*Reliques*, etc., iii, 171) gives the following account: 'The subject of this very popular Ballad (which has been set in so favourable a light by the *Spectator*, No 85) seems to be taken from an old play, intitled *Two lamentable Tragedies, The one of the murder of Maister Beech, a chandler in Thames-streete, &c. The other of a young child murthered in a wood by two ruffins, with the consent of his unkle.* By Rob. Yarrington, 1601. 4to. Our ballad maker has strictly followed the play in the description of the father and mother's dying charge: in the uncle's promise to take care of their issue: his hiring two ruffians to destroy his ward, under pretence of sending him to school: their chusing a wood to perpetrate the murder in: one of the ruffians relenting, and a battle ensuing, &c. In other respects he has departed from the play. In the latter the scene is laid in Padua: there is but one child: which is murdered by a sudden stab of the unrelenting ruffian: he is slain himself by his less bloody companion, but ere he dies gives the

other a mortal wound: the latter living just long enough to impeach the un who in consequence of this impeachment is arraigned and executed by the hand justice, &c. Whoever compares the play with the ballad, will have no doubt l the former is the original: the language is far more obsolete, and such a vein simplicity runs through the whole that, had the ballad been written first, there no doubt but every circumstance of it would have been received into the dran whereas this was probably built on some Italian novel.'

For facility of reference, the whole of the ballad is here given as in Perc *Reliques*, 'Printed from two ancient copies, one of them in black letter in the Pe 'Collection. Its title at large is: *The Children in the Wood: or, The Nor 'Gentleman's Last Will and Testament: To the tune of Rogero, &c.*'

THE CHILDREN IN THE WOOD

Now ponder well, you parents deare,
These wordes, which I shall write;
A doleful story you shall heare,
In time brough forth to light:
A gentleman of good account
In Norfolke dwelt of late,
Who did in honour far surmount
Most men of his estate.

Sore sicke he was, and like to dye,
No helpe his life could save;
His wife by him as sicke did lye,
And both possest one grave.
No love between these two was lost,
Each was to other kinde,
In love they liv'd, in love they dyed,
And left two babes behinde:

The one a fine and pretty boy,
Not passing three yeares olde;
The other a girl more young than he,
And fram'd in beautyes molde.
The father left his little son,
As plainlye doth appeare,
When he to perfect age should come,
Three hundred poundes a yeare.

And to his little daughter Jane
Five hundred poundes in gold,
To be paid downe on marriage-day,
Which might not be controll'd:
But if the children chance to dye,
Ere they to age should come,
Their uncle should possesse their wealth;
For so the wille did run.

Now, brother, said the dying man,
  Look to my children deare;
Be good unto my boy and girl,
  No friendes else have they here:
To God and you I recommend
  My children deare this daye;
But little while be sure we have
  Within this world to staye.

You must be father and mother both,
  And uncle all in one;
God Knowes what will become of them,
  When I am dead and gone.
With that bespake their mother deare,
  O brother kinde, quoth shee,
You are the man must bring our babes
  To wealth or miserie:

And if you keep them carefully,
  Then God will you reward;
But if you otherwise should deal,
  God will your deedes regard.
With lippes as cold as any stone,
  They kist their children small:
God bless you both, my children deare;
  With that the teares did fall.

These speeches then their brother spake
  To this sicke couple there,
The keeping of your little ones
  Sweet sister, do not feare;
God never prosper me nor mine,
  Nor aught else that I have,
If I do wrong your children deare,
  When you are layd in grave.

The parents being dead and gone,
  The children home he takes,
And brings them straite unto his house,
  Where much of them he makes.
He had not kept these pretty babes
  A twelvemonth and a daye,
But, for their wealth, he did devise
  To make them both awaye.

He bargain'd with two ruffians strong,
  Which were of furious mood,
That they should take these children young,
  And slaye them in a wood:

He told his wife an artful tale,
He would the children send
To be brought up in faire Londòn,
With one that was his friend.

Away then went these pretty babes,
Rejoycing at that tide,
Rejoycing with a merry minde,
They should on cock-horse ride.
They prate and prattle pleasantly,
As they rode on the waye,
To those that should their butchers be,
And work their lives decaye.

So that the pretty speeche they had,
Made Murder's heart relent;
And they that undertooke the deed,
Full sore did now repent.
Yet one of them more hard of heart,
Did vowe to do his charge,
Because the wretch, that hired him,
Had paid him very large.

The other won't agree thereto,
So here they fall to strife;
With one another they did fight,
About the childrens life:
And he that was of mildest mood,
Did slaye the other there,
Within an unfrequented wood:
The babes did quake for feare!

He took the children by the hand,
Teares standing in their eye,
And bad them straitwaye follow him,
And look they did not crye:
And two long miles he ledd them on,
While they for food complaine:
Staye here, quoth he, I'll bring you bread,
When I come back againe.

These pretty babes, with hand in hand,
Went wandering up and downe;
But never more could see the man
Approaching from the town:
Their prettye lippes with black-berries,
Were all besmear'd and dyed,
And when they sawe the darksome night,
They sat them downe and cryed.

Thus wandered these poor innocents,
  Till deathe did end their grief,
In one anothers armes they dyed,
  As wanting due relief:
No burial this pretty pair
  Of any man receives,
Till Robin red-breast piously
  Did cover them with leaves.

And now the heavy wrathe of God
  Upon their uncle fell;
Yea, fearfull fiends did haunt his house,
  His conscience felt an hell:
His barnes were fir'd, his goodes consum'd,
  His landes were barren made,
His cattle dyed within the field,
  And nothing with him stayd.

And in a voyage to Portugal
  Two of his sonnes did dye;
And to conclude, himselfe was brought
  To want and miserye:
He pawn'd and mortgaged all his land
  Ere seven yeares came about.
And now at length this wicked act
  Did by this meanes come out:

The fellowe, that did take in hand
  These children for to kill,
Was for a robbery judg'd to dye,
  Such was Gods blessed will;
Who did confess the very truth,
  As here hath been display'd:
Their uncle having dyed in gaol,
  Where he for debt was layd.

You that executors be made,
  And overseers eke
Of children that be fatherless,
  And infants mild and meek;
Take you example by this thing,
  And yield to each his right,
Lest God with such like miserye
  Your wicked minds requite.

Miss C. HALSTED (*Appendix A*) points out the following points of resemblance between the stories: 'The children being placed under the guardianship of their uncle by their father; the uncle's fair speeches to their mother when essaying to give her comfort, and the parting scene between the parent and her children when resigning them to their uncle, cannot fail to recall, almost word for word, the corresponding descriptions of the dramatist and historian, allowance being made for

the license permitted in legendary lore, and the disguise in which these traditional allusions to real events were generally conveyed. Then, the removal of the children from the abode of their parents to one selected by their guardian; the avarice and ambition that tempted the uncle to commit the crime, and its being perpetrated in so short a time after their father's decease, and utter disregard of his oath to him; his hiring two ruffians for a large sum of money to destroy them; the compunction felt by the two ruffians, as related by Shakespeare, in very similar terms to those in the ballad; the completion of the "piteous massacre," yet the mystery attending the manner in which it was effected, typified in the ballad by the wandering of the children in the wood, and so cautiously reported by [the Monk of Croyland] "And it was reported that King Edward's children were dead, but by what kind of violent death was unknown,"—p. 568; the very attitude in which the children met their death, corresponding as it does with perhaps the most exquisite description in the whole of Shakespeare's tragedy; the uncertainty attending their interment; their uncle possessing himself of their inheritance, and the wretched pangs of remorse which he suffered prior to his death, together with the retribution which followed the crime—the death of his wife—of his sons—and the desertion of his followers—the confession eventually of the surviving ruffian and the premature death of the uncle himself—all facts in a great measure correct as regards the actual fate of Richard III., are very startling coincidences, to say the least, between the nursery legend and the reputed tragedy which is believed to have been thus obscurely perpetuated. . . . The ballad, if composed in King Richard's life, became singularly effective both in strengthening the tradition which Henry desired to have believed, and, if followed up, in affording a happy medium for that monarch to circulate the facts of Tyrrell's alleged confession; consequently, after detailing the death and the judgements that befell the uncle, the legend concludes by saying: 'The fellow that did take in hand These children for to kill, Was for a robbery judged to dye;—Such was God's blessed will.' Now Sir James Tyrrell, who undertook to slay the children, was arrested by King Henry VII., and is asserted by More to have confessed the tale. And what cannot but be considered a very remarkable point as connecting the legend with graver authority, Tyrrell did actually, some years afterwards, end his days on the scaffold (as the old ballad states), and also for another offence than the heinous crime which he is stated to have confessed. The precise lapse of time, too, named in the poem, corresponds exactly with the period of Tyrrell's arrest; as does also the fact of that imprisonment producing the alleged confession. Moreover, the previous death of the guardian being mentioned in the preceding verse, completes the general resemblance, in all leading points, between the ballad and the event it would seem to describe. . . . Two very rude wood-cuts surmount the black-letter copy [in the Pepys collection]: one representing the ruffians fighting, with a gallows and a man hanging in one corner, and at the side the children murdered; the other is, apparently, an heraldic emblematical device. . . [The latter] speaks more forcibly in favour of the true nature and design of the ballad than all argument that can be adduced by similarity of events thus traditionally and historically reported; for it is a rude representation of a stag. Now the badge of the unfortunate Edward V. was a *hind*, or a female stag—one of the hereditary badges of the house of York; and Sandford, in describing that Prince's shield of arms, states that it is "supported on the right side with the Lyon of March, and on the left with a Hind Argent". . . . The few points in which the narrative differs from history, such as the youngest child being a girl, their parents dying at

the same time, and the uncle perishing in prison, are only such variations as would be intentionally adopted, when the real event alluded to was, for certain reasons, purposely disguised, and which may be observed in all historical ballads, when they are compared with the facts on which the traditions are based.'

F. J. CHILD (iii, 128) gives the Ballad as it appears in Percy's *Reliques*, but says nothing in regard to its supposed similarity to the story of the Princes. He shows, however, that Percy's date, 1601, is too late as 'Ritson discovered that the ballad was entered in the Stationer's *Registers* in 1595'; and adds: 'The plot of the play was undoubtedly derived from the Italian, and the author of the ballad may have taken a hint from the same source.'

G. B. CHURCHILL has collected and describes various poems and plays (written before the date of Shakespeare's tragedy), which deal with events in the life of Richard III. Three of these: *Richardus Tertius*, by Legge; Lacy's transcript; and *The True Tragedie*, have already been fully discussed (see pp. 500–504); the historical student is therefore referred to Churchill, pt, ii, pp. 232–539.—ED.

TIME ANALYSIS

P. A. DANIEL (*Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1877, '79; p. 336): Time of this play, eleven days represented on the stage; with intervals. Total *dramatic* time, within one month (?).

Day 1. Act I, sc. i. and ii.
Interval.
" 2. Act I. sc. iii. and iv. Act II. sc. i. and ii.
" 3. Act II. sc. iii.
Interval.
" 4. Act II. sc. iv.
" 5. Act III. sc. i.
" 6. Act III. sc. ii.–vii.
" 7. Act IV. sc. i.
" 8. Act IV. sc. ii.–v.
Interval.
" 9. Act V. sc. i.
Interval.
" 10. Act V. sc. ii. and first half of sc. iii.
" 11. Act V. second half sc. iii. and sc. iv. and v.

Historic Dates.—The dead body of Henry VI. exposed to public view in St Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Marriage of Richard with Anne, 1472. Death of Clarence, beginning of 1478. Death of Edward IV., 9th April, 1483. Rivers and Grey arrested, 30th April, 1483. Hastings executed, 13th June, 1483. Rivers, Grey, Vaughan, and Hawes executed, 15th June, 1483. Buckingham harangues the Citizens in Guildhall, 24th June, 1483. Lord Mayor and Citizens offer Richard the crown, 25th June; he is declared King at Westminster Hall, 26th June; and crowned, 6th July, 1483. [Murder of the Princes, 21st or 22nd August, 1483.] Buckingham executed, October [2nd November; see V, i, 13], 1483. Death of Queen Anne, 16th March, 1485. Henry VII. lands at Milford Haven 7th August, 1485. Battle of Bosworth Field, 22nd August, 1485.

THE END.

PLAN OF THE WORK, ETC.

IN this edition the attempt is made to give, in the shape of TEXTUAL NOTES, on the same page with the Text, all the VARIOUS READINGS of *Richard III.* from the Second Folio down to the latest critical edition of the play; then, as COMMENTARY, follow the Notes which the Editor has thought worthy of insertion, not only for the purpose of elucidating the text, but at times as illustrations of the History of Shakespearian criticism. In the APPENDIX will be found criticisms and discussions which, on the score of length, could not be conveniently included in the *Commentary*.

LIST OF EDITIONS COLLATED IN THE TEXTUAL NOTES

The Second Folio	[F_2]	....	1632
The Third Folio	[F_3]	....	1664
The Fourth Folio	[F_4]	....	1685
N. ROWE (First Edition)	[Rowe i]	....	1709
N. ROWE (Second Edition)	[Rowe ii]	....	1714
A. POPE (First Edition)	[Pope i]	....	1723
A. POPE (Second Edition)	[Pope ii]	....	1728
L. THEOBALD (First Edition)	[Theob. i]	....	1733
L. THEOBALD (Second Edition)	[Theob. ii]	....	1740
SIR T. HANMER	[Han.]	....	1744
W. WARBURTON	[Warb.]	....	1747
E. CAPELL	[Cap.]	..(?)	1761
DR JOHNSON	[Johns.]	....	1765
JOHNSON and STEEVENS	[Var. '73]	....	1773
JOHNSON and STEEVENS	[Var. '78]	....	1778
JOHNSON and STEEVENS	[Var. '85]	....	1785
J. RANN	[Ran.]	....	1787
E. MALONE	[Mal.]	....	1790
GEO. STEEVENS	[Steev.]	....	1793
REED'S STEEVENS	[Var. '03]	....	1803
REED'S STEEVENS	[Var. '13]	....	1813
BOSWELL'S MALONE	[Var.]	....	1821
S. W. SINGER (First Edition)	[Sing. i]	....	1826
C. KNIGHT (First Edition)	[Knt. i]	..(?)	1841
J. P. COLLIER (First Edition)	[Coll. i]	....	1842
S. W. SINGER (Second Edition)	[Sing. ii]	....	1856
A. DYCE (First Edition)	[Dyce i]	....	1857
J. P. COLLIER (Second Edition)	[Coll. ii]	....	1858
H. STAUNTON	[Sta.]	....	1860
R. G. WHITE (First Edition)	[Wh. i]	....	1861
CAMBRIDGE (First Edition, W. G. CLARK and W. A. WRIGHT)	[Cam. i]	....	1865

J. O. HALLIWELL (Folio Edition)	[Hal.]	....	1865
C. KNIGHT (Second Edition)	[Knt ii]	....	1865
T. KEIGHTLEY	[Ktly]	....	1865
A. DYCE (Second Edition)	[Dyce ii]	....	1866
H. N. HUDSON (Second Edition)	[Huds. ii]	....	1871
A. DYCE (Third Edition)	[Dyce iii]	....	1875
J. P. COLLIER (Third Edition)	[Coll. iii]	....	1877
H. N. HUDSON (*School Shakespeare*)	[Huds. iii]	....	1880
R. G. WHITE (Second Edition)	[Wh. ii]	....	1883
CAMBRIDGE (Second Edition, W. A. WRIGHT)	[Cam. ii]	....	1891

W. HARNESS		....	1830
GLOBE (Clark and Wright)	[Globe]	....	1864
N. DELIUS	[Del.]	Elberfeld	1869
F. A. MARSHALL			1888
W. & R. CHAMBERS			1899
F. E. WEBB			1901
C. H. TAWNEY			1902
W. J. ROLFE (Revised Edition)	[Rlfe]	....	1904
F. P. BARNARD			n. d.
ISRAEL GOLLANCZ (Temple Edition)			n. d.
G. MACDONALD			n. d.
A. H. THOMPSON (*Arden Shakespeare*)			n. d.

These last twelve editions I have not collated beyond referring to them in disputed passages, and recording, here and there in the *Commentary*, the views of their editors.

Within the last twenty-five years—indeed, since the appearance, in 1864, of the *Globe Edition*—the text of SHAKESPEARE is become so settled that to collate, word for word, the text of editions which have appeared within this term would be a fruitless task. When, however, within recent years an editor revises his text in a second or a third edition, the case is different; it then becomes interesting to mark the effect of maturer judgement.

The present TEXT is that of the FIRST FOLIO of 1623. Every word, I might say almost every letter, has been collated with the original.

In the TEXTUAL NOTES the symbol Ff indicates the agreement of the *Second*, *Third*, and *Fourth Folios*. In the enumeration of the *Quartos*, instead of printing out in full $Q_1Q_2Q_3Q_4$, etc., the form Q_{1-4} is used.

I have not called attention to every little misprint in the Folio. The *Textual Notes* will show, if need be, that they are misprints by the agreement of all the Editors in their corrections.

Nor is notice taken of the first editor who adopted the modern spelling, or who substituted commas for parentheses, or changed ? to !.

For all readings from Q_{6-8} I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to THE CAMBRIDGE EDITORS.

The sign + indicates the agreement of ROWE, POPE, THEOBALD, HANMER, WARBURTON, JOHNSON, and the *Variorum of* 1773.

When in the *Textual Notes* WARBURTON precedes HANMER, it indicates that HANMER has followed a suggestion of WARBURTON.

The words *et cet.* after any reading indicate that it is the reading of *all other* editions.

The words *et seq.* indicate the agreement of all subsequent editions.

The abbreviation (*subs.*) indicates that the reading is *substantially* given, and that immaterial variations in spelling, punctuation, or stage-directions are disregarded.

When *Varr.* precedes *Steev.* or *Mal.*, it includes the *Variorums* of 1773, 1778, and 1785; when it follows *Steev.* or *Mal.*, it includes the *Variorums* of 1803, 1813, and 1821.

An emendation or correction given in the *Commentary* is not repeated in the *Textual Notes* unless it has been adopted by an editor in his text; nor is *conj.* added in the *Textual Notes* to the name of the proposer of the conjecture unless the conjecture happens to be that of an editor, in which case its omission would lead to the inference that such was the reading of his text.

COLL. MS refers to COLLIER'S copy of the Second Folio, bearing in its margin manuscript annotations.

In citing plays or quoting from them, the Acts, Scenes, and Lines of the *Globe Edition* are followed, unless otherwise noted. Of course, all references to *Richard III.* refer to the present text.

LIST OF BOOKS

To economise space in the foregoing pages, as a general rule merely the name of an author has been given, followed, in parentheses, by the number of volume and page.

In the following LIST, arranged alphabetically, enough of the full titles is set forth to serve the purposes of either identification or reference.

Be it understood that this LIST does not include those books which have been consulted or used in verifying references; were these included, the list would be many times longer.

ABBOTT, E. A.: *Shakespearian Grammar*..... London, 1870
ALGER, W. R.: *Life of Edwin Forrest*..... Philadelphia, 1877
ALLEN, C.: *Notes on Bacon-Shakespeare Question* ..... Boston, 1900
ANONYMOUS: *Scott and Shakespeare* ..... London, 1835
ARROWSMITH, W. R.: *Shakespeare's Editors and Commentators* " 1865
ASHMOLE, E.: *History of Most Noble Order of the Garter*..... " 1725
BAILEY, S.: *The Received Text of Shakespeare*..... " 1862
BAKER, H. B.: *Cibber vs Shakespeare* (Gentlemen's Maga., March)..... " 1877
BAKER, H. B.: *Our Old Actors*..... " 1891
BALDWIN, T., & SACKVILLE, R.: *Mirrour for Magistrates* (ed. Haslewood) ..... " 1815
BATHURST, C.: *Differences of Shakespeare's Versification*..... " 1857

BAYLEY, J.: *History and Antiquities of the Tower of London*... London, 1821
BAYNES: *Shakespeare Studies and Other Essays*..... " 1896
BESANT, SIR W.: *London Under the Tudors*..... " 1904
BEWLEY, E. D.: *Richard III.* (*Noctes Shaksperianæ*, Winchester College Shakespere Society)..... Winchester & London, 1887
BIRCH, W. J.: *Inquiry into the Religion and Philosophy of Shakespeare*..... London, 1848
BOADEN, J.: *Life of J. P. Kemble*..... " 1825
BOAS, F. S.: *Shakespeare and his Predecessors*..... New York, 1896
BODENSTEDT, F.: *Shakspere Dramatische Werke*..... Leipzig, 1867
BOOTH, EDWIN: *Prompt-book to Richard III.* (ed. Winter).... New York, 1878
BRANDES, G.: *William Shakespeare*..... " 1900
BREWER, E. C.: *Reader's Hand-book*..... Philadelphia, 1888
BROOKE, STOPFORD: *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*..... New York, 1905
BUCK, SIR G.: *Life of Richard the Third*..... London, 1646
BUCKNILL, J. C.: *Mad-Folk of Shakespeare*..... " 1867
CAINE, HALL T.: *Richard III. and Macbeth*..... " 1877
CAMPBELL, T.: *Life and Writings of Shakespeare*..... Philadelphia, 1846
CANNING, A. S. G.: *Thoughts on Historic Plays*..... London, 1884
CAPELL, E.: *Notes, etc.*..... " 1779
CARTER, T.: *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*..... New York, 1905
CARTWRIGHT, R.: *New Readings in Shakespeare*..... London, 1866
CHALMERS, G.: *Supplemental Apology*..... " 1799
CHILD, F. J.: *English and Scottish Ballads*..... Boston, 1857
CHURCHILL, G. B.: *Richard III. up to Shakespeare*..... Berlin, 1900
CIBBER, C.: *Apology*, etc..... London, 740
COLERIDGE, H.: *Essays and Marginalia*..... " 1851
COLERIDGE, S. T.: *Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare*.. " 1849
COLLIER, J. P.: *History of Dramatic Literature*..... " 1831
" *Notes & Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays*..... New York, 1853
COLLIER, J. P.: *Ghost of Richard the Third* (Shakespeare Soc.) London, 1844
" *Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton, by Coleridge*..... " 1856
COLLINS, J. C.: *Studies in Shakespeare*..... New York, 1904
COURTENAY, T. P.: *Sh.'s Historical Plays, Historically Considered* (Colbourn's New Monthly Maga.)..... 1839
COURTENAY, T. P.: *Commentaries on the Historical Plays of Shakespeare*..... London, 1840
CLARKE, C. C.: *Shakespeare's Characters*..... " 1863
CLARKE, C. C. & M.: *Shakespeare Key*..... " 1879
CRAIK, G. L.: *English of Shakespeare* (ed. Rolfe)..... Boston, 1872
CROFT, J.: *Annotations on Shakespeare*..... York, 1810
CUMBERLAND, R.: *The Observer*..... London, 1825
DANIEL, P. A.: *Introduction to Griggs' Facsimile*..... " 1884
DAVIS, C. K.: *Law in Shakespeare*..... St Paul, 1884
DELIUS, N.: *Shakspere Werke*..... Elberfeld, 1869
" *Ueber der ursprünglichen Text Richard III.* (Sh. Jahrbuch, vol. vii)..... 1872

DIXON, W. H.: *Her Majesty's Tower* (ed. vii)	London,	1884
DORAN, DR: *Their Majesties Servants*	"	1865
DOUCE, F.: *Illustrations of Shakespeare*	"	1807
DOWDEN, EDWARD: *Shakespeare: His Mind and Art*	"	1875
DRAKE, N.: *Memorials of Shakespeare*	"	1828
" *Shakespeare and his Times*	"	1817
DUNLAP, W.: *Life of George Cooke*	New York,	1815
DUPORT, P.: *Essais Litteraire sur Shakespeare*	Paris,	1828
DYCE, A.: *Few Notes*, etc	London,	1853
" *Remarks on Collier's and Knight's Editions*	"	1844
EDWARDS, T.: *Canons of Criticism* (seventh edition)	"	1765
FARMER, R.: *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*	"	1767
FIELD, BARRON: *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third*, Shakespeare Society Pub	"	1844
FITZGERALD, P.: *Life of David Garrick*	"	1868
FLEAY, F. G.: *Life and Work of Shakespeare*	"	1886
" *Chronicle History of the London Stage*	"	1890
" *Shakespeare Manual*	"	1876
FRENCH, G. R.: *Shakespeariana Genealogica*	"	1869
FULLER, T.: *Church History of Britain*	"	1837
" *History of the Worthies of England* (ed. P. A. Nuttall)	"	1840
FURNIVALL, F. J.: *Introduction to Leopold Shakspere*	"	1877
" *Succession of Shakespeare's Works*	"	1874
GAIRDNER, J.: *Life and Reign of Richard the Third*	"	1878
" *Did Henry VII. Murder the Princes?* (Eng. Hist. Review, July)		1891
GARDINER, W.: *Music of Nature*	Boston,	n. d.
GAYLEY, C. M.: *Plays of Our Forefathers*	New York,	1907
GENTLEMAN, F.: *Dramatic Censor*	London,	1770
GERVINUS, G. G.: *Commentaries* (trans. Bunnett)	"	1863
GILES, H.: *Human Life in Shakespeare*	Boston,	1868
GOULD, T. R.: *The Tragedian*	"	1868
GREEN, H.: *Shakespeare and the Emblem-writers*	"	1870
GREENOUGH, J. B., & KITTREDGE, J. L.: *Words and their Ways in English Speech*	New York,	1901
GREY, Z.: *Critical, Historical, and Explanatory Notes on Shakespeare*	London,	1754
GRIFFITHS, MRS: *Morality of Shakespeare's Dramas*	"	1775
GUEST, E.: *History of English Rhythms*	"	1838
GUIZOT, M.: *Œuvres Completes de Shakespeare*	Paris,	1821
HALL: *Chronicles of England*	London,	1809
HALL, H. T.: *Shakespeare Fly-leaves*	Cambridge,	1869
HALLIWELL, J. O.: *Letters of Kings of England*	London,	1848
HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, J. O.: *Outlines of Life of Shakespeare*	Brighton,	1882
HALSTED, CAROLINE: *Life of Richard III*	Philadelphia,	1844
HARE, J. C. & A. W.: *Guesses at Truth*	Boston,	1861
HAWKINS, F. W.: *Life of Edmund Kean*	London,	1869
HAZLITT W C.: *English Stage*	"	1818

HEATH, B.: *Revisal of Sh.'s Text*	London,	1765
HERAND, J. A.: *Shakespeare's Inner Life*	"	1865
HEYWOOD, T.: *Edward IV.* (pts. 1 & 2, ed. Pearson)	"	1873
HIFFERMAN, P.: *Dramatic Genius of Shakespeare*	"	1772
HOLINSHED: *Chronicles*	"	1587
HORN, F.: *Shakespeare's Schauspiele Erläutert*	Leipzig,	1823
HUDSON, H. N.: *Shakespeare, his Life, Art, and Characters*	Boston,	1872
HUME, D.: *History of England*	New York,	1879
HUNT, LEIGH: *Critical Essays on the Performers of the London Theatres*	London,	1807
HUNTER, JOSEPH: *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*	"	1853
HURDIS, J.: *Cursory Remarks*	"	1792
INGULPH: *Chronicle of Croyland Abbey* (ed. Riley)	"	1854
JAMESON, MRS: *Characteristics of Women*	"	1833
JESSE, J. H.: *Memoirs of the City of London and its Celebrities* (new ed.)	Boston,	1902
JESSE, J. H.: *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of Rich. III.* (new ed.)	"	1902
KEIGHTLEY, T.: *Shakespeare Expositor*	London,	1867
KEMBLE, J. P.: *Macbeth and Richard III.*	"	1817
KING, C. W.: *History of Precious Stones and Gems*	Boston,	1861
KINNEAR, B. G.: *Cruces Shakesperianæ*	London,	1883
KIRK, J. F.: *Sh.'s Tragedies on the Stage* (Lippincott's Maga., June)		1884
KNIGHT, C.: *Studies of Shakspere*	London,	1868
KNIGHT, JOSEPH: *David Garrick*	"	1894
" " *Theatrical Notes*	"	1893
KOPPEL, R.: *Textkritische Studien über Sh.'s Richard III. und King Lear*	Dresden,	1877
KREYSSIG, F.: *Vorlesungen über Shakspeare*	Berlin,	1862
LEGGE, A. O.: *The Unpopular King*	London,	1885
LENNOX, MRS C.: *Shakespeare Illustrated*	"	1753
LETTSOM, W. N.: *New Readings* (Blackwood's Maga., August)		1853
LILLY, W.: *Introduction to Astrology*	London,	1887
LINGARD, J.: *History of England*	Edinburgh,	1902
LLOYD, W. W.: *Essays on Shakespeare*	London,	1858
LOUNSBURY, T. R.: *Shakespeare and Voltaire*	New York,	1902
LOWELL, J. R.: *The Primrose Criticism*	Chicago,	1887
MACREADY, W.: *Reminiscences* (ed. F. Pollock)	London,	1875
MARKHAM, SIR C. R.: *Richard III.* (Eng. Hist. Review, April)		1891
" " *Richard III.: his Life and Character*	London & New York,	1906
MASON, J. M.: *Comments on the* [*Var.* 1778]	London,	1785
" *Comments on the Plays of Beaumont & Fletcher*	"	1798
MEZIÉRES, A.: *Shakespeare ses Œuvres et ses Critiques*	Paris,	1860
MINTO, W.: *Characteristics of English Poets*	Boston,	1901
MORE, SIR THOMAS: *Life of Richard the Third* (ed. Singer)	London,	1821

MORE, THOMAS: *Workes*	London,	155
MOULTON, RICHARD: *Shakespeare as Dramatic Artist*	Oxford,	189
MURPHY, A.: *Gray's Inn Journal*	London,	175
" *Life of Garrick*	"	180
OECHELHAÜSER, W.: *Einführungen zu Shakespere's Bühnen-Dramen*	Minden,	188
OECHELHAÜSER, W.: *Essay über Richard III.*	Berlin,	189
ORDISH, T. F.: *Shakespeare's London*	London,	189
O'SULLIVAN, D.: *Œuvres de Shakespeare*	Paris,	183
PALLISER, MRS BURY: *Historic Devices, Badges, and Warcries*	London,	187
PASTON LETTERS (ed. Gairdner)	Birmingham,	1872–'7
PERCY, T.: *Reliques of English Poetry*	London,	177
PERKINS, O. T.: *Ghostland and Fairyland* (*Noctes Shakesperianæ*)	"	188
PERRING, SIR P.: *Hard Knots in Shakespeare* (ed. ii)	"	188
PETRI, M.: *Zur Einführung Shakespeare's in die Christliche Familie*	Hanover,	186
PICKERSGILL, E. H.: *On the Quarto and Folio of Richard III.* (Sh. Soc. Trans.)	1875–'7	
PLUMPTRE, J.: *Discourse on the Stage*	London,	180
RAMSAY, J.: *Lancaster & York*	Oxford,	189
REED, H.: *English History Illustrated by Shakespeare*	Philadelphia,	185
REES, J.: *Life of Edwin Forrest*	"	187
RICHARDSON, W.: *Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters*	London,	179
RIDDLE, J. E.: *Illustrations of Aristotle from Shakespeare*	Oxford,	183
RITSON, J.: *Cursory Criticisms*	London,	179
ROBINSON, H. CRABB: *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*	Boston,	n. d.
RODERICK, R.: *Remarks, Supplement to Edward's Canons*	London,	176
ROSE, E.: *Shakespeare and History* (Fraser's Magazine, May)		187
RÖTSCHER, H. T.: *Shakespeare in seinem höchsten Charakter gebilden*	Berlin,	1844
ROTULI PARLIAMENTORUM	London,	1772
ROUS, J.: *Historia Regum Angliæ* (ed. T. Hearnius) (ed. ii)	Oxford,	1745
RÜMELIN, G.: *Shakspere-Studien*	Stuttgart,	1866
SCHELLING, F. E.: *English Chronicle Play*	New York,	1902
SCHLEGEL, A. W.: *Dramatic Literature, Lectures* (trans. by J. Black)	London,	1815
SCHMIDT, A.: *Vorlesungen, Shakspere Werke* (ed. Ulrici)	Berlin,	1868
SCHWARTZKOPF, A.: *Shakspere's Dramen auf Ewigen Gründe*	Bremen,	1888
SEYMOUR, E. H.: *Remarks, Critical, Conjectural, and Explanatory, on Shakespeare*	London,	1805
SIMPSON, R.: *Political Use of Historical Plays* (Sh. Soc. Trans.)		1874
SINGER, S. W.: *Text of Shakespeare Vindicated*	London,	1853
SKOTTOWE, A.: *Life of Shakespeare*	"	1824
SNIDER, D. J.: *System of Shakespeare's Dramas*	St Louis,	1877

SPEDDING, J.: *On the Quarto and Folio of Richard III.* (Sh. Soc. Trans.) ..... 1875–'76
STOKES, H. P.: *Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays*... London, 1865
STONE, A. O. BOSWELL: *Shakespeare's Holinshed*..... " 1896
STOW, J.: *Survey of London* (ed. Morley)..... " n. d.
STRICKLAND, MISS A.: *Lives of the Queens of England*.... London, 1844
STUBBS, W.: *Constitutional History of England*..... Oxford, 1875
SWINBOURNE, A. C.: *Study of Shakespeare*..... London, 1880
SYMMONS, C.: *Life of Shakespeare*..... 1826
TOPSELL, E.: *History of Four-footed Beasts*..... London, 1658
TURNER, SHARON: *History of England during the Middle Ages* (ed. iii)..... " 1830
ULRICI, H.: *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art* (trans. L. D. Schmitz) " 1876
UPTON, J.: *Critical Observations*..... " 1746
VAUGHAN, H. H.: *New Readings and Renderings of Shakespeare's Tragedies* ..... " 1888
VERGIL, POLYDORE: *History of England* (ed. Ellis) (Camden Soc.) ..... London, 1844
VERPLANCK, G. C.: *Shakespeare's Dramas*..... New York, 1847
VON FRIESEN, H. F.: *Shakespeare Studien*..... Vienna, 1874
WALKER, W. S.: *Criticisms on Shakespeare*..... London, 1860
" *On Shakespeare's Versification*..... " 1854
WALPOLE, H.: *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England* (ed. ii)..... " 1759
WALPOLE, H.: *Historic Doubts about Richard III.* (ed. ii).... " 1768
WALSH, W. S.: *Handbook of Literary Curiosities*..... Philadelphia, 1893
WARD, A. W.: *English Dramatic Literature*..... London, 1875
WARNER, E. B.: *English History in Shakespeare's Plays*.... New York, 1894
WARNER, R.: *Letter to Garrick*..... London, 1768
WESSEL, C.: *Richard the Third of Shakespeare and Richard III. in History* ..... Eschwege, 1876
WHATELY, T.: *Remarks on Some of the Characters of Shakespeare* ..... Oxford, 1785
WHEATLEY & CUNNINGHAM: *London Past & Present*..... London, 1891
WHIPPLE, E. P.: *Literature of Elizabeth*..... Boston, 1869
WHITE, R. G.: *Shakespeare's Scholar*..... New York, 1854
WINTER, W.: *Life and Art of Edwin Booth*..... " 1893
" *Shadows of the Stage*..... " 1893
WORDSWORTH, C.: *Shakespeare's Historical Plays*..... London, 1883
" *Shakespeare's Knowledge and Use of the Bible*..... " 1864
WRIGHT, W. A.: *Richard III.* (Clarendon Press)..... Oxford, 1893

C 40

INDEX

'A' used pleonastically..... 117
'A horse, a horse,' etc., imitations of, 421
A many..... 271
Abate=*blunt* 427
Abjects..... 37
Abroach, set..... 111
Act I, sc. i, probable date of..... 13
Act I, sc. i, scenic arrangement of, Irving's..... 13
Act I, sc. i, scenic arrangement of, Oechelhaüser's suggestion for... 15
Act I, sc. ii, Gervinus on..... 44
Act I, sc. ii, historic accuracy in, Capell on..... 43
Act I, sc. ii, Hudson on..... 45
Act I, sc. iii, locality and date of.. 77
Act I, sc. iv, ll 257-261, Tyrwhitt's rearrangement of..... 144
Act. II, sc. i, probably founded on Act I, sc. i, of *True Tragedie*.... 148
Act III, sc. vii, Dingelstedt's scenic arrangement of..... 254
Act IV, sc. ii, scenic arrangement of, by Oechelhaüser..... 286
Act V, sc. iii, dramatic time in..... 377
Action, duration of, Malone on.... 12
" " Theobald on.. 11
" " Wright on.... 12
Actors..... 591
Address, simplicity of..... 382
Adjective, before and after noun... 317
Advised=*be deliberate*..... 158
Adjective, transposition of..... 174
Aery..... 104
Afford..... 75
Alablaster..... 307
Alacke..... 28
Alarum..... 17
Alexandrine, apparent, with trimeter couplet 55
Alexandrines, weeding out of, a characteristic of Shakespeare's own correction 163
Alger, on Forrest as Richard 600
All, use of adverbially..... 154
Ambling..... 20
Americanisms, R. G. White on.... 359
Amourous looking-glass..... 19
An end for *on end*..... 109
Anachronisms, permissible..... 412
And=*if indeed*..... 180
And if..... 204
And, *used emphatically*..... 343
Anne, Lady, Richardson's analysis of character of..... 43, 53
Anne not married to Edward Prince of Wales..... 9
Anne, Richard's Queen, death of.. 311
Annoy=*annoyance*..... 399
Anointing at coronation..... 282
Ape on back of bear..... 208
Argue=*prove*..... 260
Arms hung up as monuments..... 17
Arrowsmith, *on 'soon'*..... 309
Article, omission of, for emphasis.. 64
As . . . as..... 91
'As,' repetition of, in III, i, 139 ... 207
As, *with force of a relative* 191
Aside, rare occurrence of speech so marked in Folio..... 111
At charges..... 76
Atonement=*reconciliation*..... 80
Attainder..... 245

Badge, armorial, of Duke of Clarence..... 110
Badge, armorial, of Richard..... 110
Banishment of Margaret, date of... 94
Bar=*tribunal*..... 405
Barbed, or barded..... 18

Barnard, on Richard III. and the evil eye ... 51
Basilisk ... 62
Bathurst, on *The Tragedy* ... 576
Battalia ... 378
Baynard's Castle, history of ... 251
Beads ... 264
Beaver, *lower portion of helmet* ... 383
Bed-fellows for dust ... 351
Beholding=*under obligation* ... 159
Belike ... 28
Bend=*direct, aim* ... 56
Betide=*become* ... 78
Betide, *used impersonally* ... 191
Bettering=*amplifying* ... 328
Bewley, on *Character of Richard* ... 568
Bid, *past tense of abide* ... 346
Bigamy=*marriage with widow* ... 272
Bishop of Exeter ... 364
Bishops, the two, an interpolation by Hall ... 264
Bishops, the two, Delius on ... 265
Black Bull, armorial badge, of Duke of Clarence ... 110
Blake's illustrations to *Job*, comparison to, by Dowden ... 315
Blame=*blameworthy* ... 162
Blank-verse, Shakespeare's change in management of ... 240
Bleeding of murdered body in presence of murderer ... 52
Bless from=*keep from evil* ... 227
Blessings from parents ... 170
Blind=*obscure* ... 384
Blood=*disposition* ... 48
Boar, Richard's armorial badge ... 110
Bona, Lady, Edward's contract with ... 256
Bond of life ... 323
Boot=*odds* ... 322, 414
Booth, E., as Richard ... 601
" J. B., as Richard ... 599
" " entrance of ... 15
Borne, hardly ... 153
Bottled Spider ... 101
Bought and sold ... 415
Bourchier, Cardinal ... 3
Bowel=*centre* ... 374
Bowyer Tower, scene of Clarence's murder ... 117
Brackenbury's appointment as Constable of Tower, date of ... 27
Brackenbury or Keeper ... 116
Brave=*to adorn* ... 411
Breathing while ... 82
Brecknock, Buckingham's estate ... 303
Britain, an adjective ... 312, 366
Brooke, on Morality of Richard and that of the two Murderers ... 125
Brooke, on Queen Margaret as a Greek Conception ... 7
Broken rancour ... 172
Brothers for *brother* ... 80
Buck, on *Character of Richard* ... 549
Buck's '*Life of Richard III*' ... 458
Buckingham, Duke of, character of ... 215
Buckingham, Duke of, Oechelhaüser on ... 2
Buckingham's breach with Richard, causes for ... 313
Buckingham's intent to murder Richard ... 371
Bulk=*trunk of the body* ... 122
Bunch-backt ... 102
Burbadge mentioned in Corbet's *Iter Boreale* ... 591
Burgundy, Clarence's desire to reach ... 118
Burthen'd yoke ... 327
Business, *a trisyllable* ... 175
But=*only* ... 95
" =*on the other hand* ... 125
" =*otherwise than* ... 107
" =*without, instead of* ... 151
Butt, measure of, in time of Richard III. ... 135

Cacodemon ... 90
Caitiff ... 326
Cambridge Editors, on the *Text* ... 433
Campbell, on *The Tragedy* ... 575
Cannot choose but ... 345
Capable=*intelligent* ... 211
Caparison ... 413
Capell, on historical accuracy in Act I, sc. ii ... 43
Cardinal in Act III, sc. i, identity of ... 191, 193

Carnal=*bloody*..... 321
Case and *cause*, interchange of.... 248
Castaways..... 161
Catesby, introduction of, in III, v. 243
" relationship of, to Justice Shallow..... 4
Cause and effect..... 59
Cedar emblematic of height..... 104
Censorship of Quarto, Marshall on. 256
Censure=*opinion*..... 175
Centry..... 375
Ceremonious, ellision of middle *e* in. 195
Chalmers, on *Date*..... 452
Chamber=*royal residence*..... 192
Character, *accent of*..... 200
Characters of York and Edward V. contrasted..... 208
Chastised, *accent of*..... 347
Chertsey, situation of..... 49
Children in Shakespeare, C. Clarke on..... 204
Children in the Wood, ballad of, and murder of the Princes, Miss C. Halsted on..... 615
Children in the Wood, ballad, text of 612
Children, precocious, short-lived... 200
Churchill, on *Source of Plot*..... 463
" on '*True Tragedie*'..... 504
Cibber's Version, analysis of..... 604
" " Hazlitt on..... 605
" " omission of First Act of, ... 605
Citizen put to death, by Edward IV., identity of..... 249
Citizens, the three, characters of,... 177
Clarence, breach between, and Edward, cause of,..... 118
Clarence, daughter of,..... 277
" " confounded with first cousin, Lady Cicely..... 311
Clarence, daughter of, married to Sir R. Pole..... 311
Clarence, desire of, to reach Burgundy..... 118
Clarence, drowning of, in butt of Malmesey, first mentioned by Comines..... 13
Clarence, Duchess of, date of death of,..... 125
Clarence, fate of, compared to that of P. Agrippa..... 160
Clarence, first to have propagated slander against Duchess of York. 250
Clarence, George, Duke of, character of, Marshall on..... 1
Clarence, imprisonment of, duration of..... 117
Clarence, murder of, scene of, laid in Bowyer Tower..... 117
Clarence, son of, compared to Duke of York..... 164
Clarence, son of, weak-minded..... 295
Clarke, Cowden-, on *Character of Richard*..... 560
Clarke, Cowden-, on *Scrivener-scene*..... 252
Classical knowledge of Shakespeare, Collins on..... 18
Clocks, striking, portable, date of... 412
Close=*secret*..... 292
Cloudy=*sullen*..... 172
Cock-crow, *a division of time*..... 407
Cockshut time..... 386
Cog=*cozen, cheat*..... 81
Cold=*depressing*..... 368
Coleridge, H., on *The Tragedy*.... 12
Coleridge, S. T., on *The Tragedy*. 12
Collier, on *The Text*..... 432
" on '*True Tragedie*'..... 502
Collingbourne's satirical rhyme.. 98, 238
Collins, J. C., on classical knowledge of Shakespeare..... 18
Comfortable, *used causitively*..... 333
Compact, *accent of*..... 174
Comparative, double..... 87
Competitors=*partners*..... 364
Complete, *accent of*..... 337
Complot=*plan*..... 214
Compound adjective..... 90
Conceit=*fancy*..... 235
Concluded=*decided*..... 78
Conscience, meaning of, as used by Hamlet, and by 2. Murderer.... 132
Conscience, as used by Richard synonymous with religion..... 415
Conscience, speech on, by 2. Murderer, compared to that by Richard 132

Consistory ... 176
Constable of Tower, Brackenbury's appointment as, date of ... 27
Contract, *as past participle* ... 270
Conveyance=*secret management* ... 344
Cooke, G. F., action of, during opening lines of play ... 16
Cooke *as Richard* ... 593
Cooke's Richard, Boaden on .. 419, 420
Corbet's *Iter Boreale* ... 591
Costard applied to *head* ... 135
Costume, C. Knight on ... 606
Councils, divided, the ... 213
Countess Richmond ... 79
Courtenay, on *Deformity of Richard* 611
Courtship scene as acted by Kean. 62
Cousin, *general term for a relative* ... 162, 398
Coward conscience ... 402
Cozen=*cheat* ... 339
Craze=*ruin* ... 318
Crew=*military reinforcements* ... 370
Crosby House ... 69
Cross, a verb or a preposition ... 280
" in talk ... 208
Cross-row ... 29
Crown, red hot, punishment of regicides ... 281
Crown worn by king in battle ... 425
Cry mercy, *omission of objective case* ... 408
Cry thee mercy ... 365
Cue ... 232
Curse, power of, and Fate ... 108
Curses, power of, restricted in open air ... 106

Dagger, an amulet against evil eye, 206
Dance attendance ... 261
Daniel, on *Dramatic Time* ... 617
" on *The Text* ... 448
Darkness, cast in ... 112
Date=*period* ... 342
" *of Composition*, discussion ... 451
Daub=*cloak, gloss* ... 245
Daughter of Clarence ... 277
Day, the, is spent ... 223
Dead-killing ... 280
Deal upon ... 298
Dear=*hard, severe* ... 140
Deceive the time ... 389
Decline=*recite in order* ... 326
Deformity, Bacon's Essay on ... 23
" of Richard ... 610
" " Lloyd on ... 20
Delius, on the *Text* ... 435
Demise, *used in unusual sense* ... 341
Denier ... 75
Derby, Lord, see Stanley, Lord ... 4
Descant, a musical term ... 22, 260
Devil, *a monosyllable* ... 51
Dew, danger of exposure to ... 382
Diet=*mode of life* ... 40
Diffused ... 54
Dighton and Forrest ... 304
Dingelstedt's scenic arrangement of Act III, sc. vii ... 254
Discontent=*ill-feeling involved in a state of enmity* ... 15
'Discoveries' in old theatres ... 286
Dissemblance=*want of similarity* .. 257
Dissemble=*conceal one's intentions*. 164
Dissembling=*fraudulent* ... 20, 150
Distaine=*defile* ... 417
Dogs, Shakespeare's opinion of ... 306
Doran, on *Garrick's Richard* ... 592
Dorset as '*Messenger*' in II, iv ... 187
Double negative ... 85
Doubt not but ... 376
Dowden, on *Character of Richard* . 566
" on *Shakespeare's portrayal of Edward IV* ... 148
Drake, on *Character of Richard* ... 556
Dramatic time in V, iii ... 377, 388
Drawn, meaning of, in sentence against Traitors ... 375
Dread Lord, *a royal title* ... 205
Dream, a, of what thou wast ... 325
Drunken sailor on a mast ... 241
Duchess of York ... 9
" " age of ... 284
" of York's curse, a prophecy 336
Duke Humphrey, dining with ... 334
Dull=*dead* ... 95

'Earth,' reading of Folio, vs *death*, Quarto reading ... 190
Eaves-dropper ... 408

Edward IV. as portrayed by Shakespeare, Dowden on 148
Edward IV., breach between, and Clarence, cause of..... 118
Edward IV., character of, Stubbs on..... 1
Edward IV., character of, Ramsay on..... 1
Edward IV., contract of, with Lady Bona..... 256
Edward IV., contract of, with Lady Lucy..... 255
Effeminate, in a good sense..... 273
Egally..... 273
Eikonoklastes, quotation from..... 155
Either, *a monosyllable*..... 52, 335
Elizabeth, Queen to Edward IV., Oechelhaüser on character of, .. 6
Ellipsis of verb of motion before a preposition..... 37
Ellision, or softening of *v*..... 73
Elvish mark'd..... 98
Ely, Bishop of, site of palace of..... 233
Embowelled..... 375
England, *a trisyllable*..... 342
English Criticisms on *The Tragedy*. 573
Engross=*fatten*..... 263
Entertain=*take into service*.... 76, 132
Envy=*spite*..... 285
Erroneous, *applied to person*..... 139
Error of 'Dorset' for *Hastings*..... 149
Etty, on *Character of Richard*..... 571
Evidence=*body of witnesses*..... 138
Evil eye, Richard and the..... 51
Excellent, *in bad or neutral sense*.. 321
Exclaims=*exclamations*..... 51, 330
Executioner *used in restricted sense*. 66
Exercise=*an act of worship*... 225, 262
Exhale=*draw forth*..... 52, 64
Expedient=*quick*..... 69
Expiate..... 229
Exploit=*feat*..... 292
Expostulate=*discourse upon*..... 272
Extreme, *accent of*..... 246

Fabyan, on *legitimacy of Prince Edward*..... 74
Fair=*distinct*..... 258
Fair befall you..... 247
'Fairest of her daughters' compared to construction in '*Of any places*' 198
Faithful=*not an infidel*..... 117
Fall *used transitively*..... 66, 116, 396
Father=*father-in-law*..... 42
Father-in-law=*step-father*..... 387
Faulchion..... 56
Feature *applied to body* 20
Fet=*fetched*..... 173
Field, on '*True Tragedie*'..... 503
Filial respect in fifteenth century.... 171
Fire-new..... 103
Fleay, on *rhyme test* 453
" on *The Text*..... 450
" on '*True Tragedie*'..... 504
Fleeting=*inconstant*..... 124
Fleshed=*hardened* 306
Flood=*river*..... 122
Flourish=*empty ornament*..... 100
Foil=*thin leaf of metal*..... 409
Folio, alterations in, made by players 380
Folio reading of I, ii, 201, more effective dramatically than that of Qq..... 66
Folio text, superiority of, illustration of..... 186
Foot-cloth-horse..... 239
For=*because of*..... 29
For, causal=*for want of* 401
For=*instead of*..... 127
Forrest and Dighton..... 304
" as Richard..... 600
Frank'd up..... 110, 369
French manners, English contempt for..... 81
From=*apart from*..... 342
Fulsome..... 396
Furnivall, on *The Tragedy*..... 580

G, prophecy in regard to letter..... 26
Gallant-springing..... 141
Galled..... 321
Garish=*gaudy*..... 325
Garland, *used for Crown*..... 219
Garrick *as Richard*..... 591
Garrick's first appearance, real date of..... 589
Garrick's Richard, attitude of, towards deformity..... 15

Genest, on *Cibber as a tragedian*.... 589
Gentleman, F., on *Garrick's Richard* 591
Gentle=*high-born*..... 93
George, badge of Order of Garter... 350
German Criticism..... 583
Gerundial infinitive..... 72
Gervinus, on Act I, sc. ii..... 44
" on curse of Richard's mother..... 336
Gervinus, on *Date*..... 452
Ghosts and dreams, H. Coleridge on 393
" in *Cymbeline* compared to those in V, iii..... 394
Ghosts, scenic arrangement for..... 394
" signification of, Mrs Griffiths on..... 392
Ghosts, signification of, Warner on. 394
Gloucester, *a trisyllable*..... 234
Gone with=*completely overcome*... 308
Gossip..... 33
Govern'd by the watery moon..... 167
Grandam, your, had a worser match 86
Gratulate=*to salute*..... 278
Grey's elevation to title of Marquis, date of,..... 103
Grey, Lord, of knightly degree..... 3
" Sir John, killed in second battle of St Albans..... 89
Grief, remembrance of days of happiness in,..... 327
Griffiths, Mrs, on learning of Shakespeare..... 233
Griffith, Mrs, on signification of the Ghosts in V, iii..... 392
Gross=*stupid*..... 253
Grossness of this age..... 195
'Guess,' *an Americanism*..... 359
Gull=*credulous person*..... 112

Halbert..... 46, 50
Hall's Chronicle..... 465
" description of Prince Edward 74
Hallowell, on *The Tragedy*..... 577
Halsted, Miss C., on *ballad of Children in Wood, and murder of Princes*..... 615
Handy work..... 320
Happiness, days of, remembrance of, in grief..... 327
Hardly borne.....
Hastings, Lord.....
Hatch, *a part of ship*.....
Haught=*haughty*.....
Have done.....
" with you.....
Hawkins, on *Kean as Richard*.....
Hazlitt, on *Cibber's Version*.....
" on *Kean as Richard*.....
He capers.....
He were best=*it were best for him*..
Heads and Hats.....
Heap=*multitude*.....
Hearken after=*enquire about*.....
Heaven *as a plural*.....
Help=*to remedy*.....
" nothing else.....
Helpless *used in active sense*.....
Henry, *a trisyllable*.....
Henry VI., canonisation of.....
Heraud, on *The Tragedy*.....
Herbert, Sir Walter.....
Hereford, Earldom of, Buckingham's claim on..... 214,
Heron, Robert, account of.....
Heywood's mention of play of *Richard III.*.....
Hide=*sheathe as a sword*.....
Historic date of I, ii, Malone on.....
" dates of incidents in the Tragedy.....
Historical accuracy, violation of, in II, iv.....
Hither, *a monosyllable*.....
Hog, contemptuous allusion to Richard's armorial badge.....
Hoised sail.....
Holinshed, proof of Shakespeare's use of.....
Holpe.....
Homicide, applied to both act and agent.....
Horn, on *Richmond's prayer*.....
Horse, stumbling of, a sign of calamity.....
How chance=*how was it*.....
Hudson, on *Act I, sc. ii*.....
" on *Character of Richard*..
" on *opening soliloquy*.....

Hudson, on *relation of Margaret to other characters*..... 8
Hull=*to drift*..... 356
Hume, on *More's 'Biography'*..... 456
Humility=*gentleness of mind*..... 155
Humour, lack of, in this play..... 129
Humphrey Hour..... 333
Hunt, L., on *Cooke as Richard*..... 595
" on *Macready as Richard*. 598
Hunter, on *opening soliloquy*..... 14

'I am I,' a reminiscence of 'I am myself alone'..... 404
'I am not in the vein,' Kean's manner of delivering..... 303
'I call thee not,' Vaughan's interpretation of..... 100
I died for hope..... 400
I hold my life as dear as yours.... 221
'I' *used for object*..... 229
I wis..... 86
I would have had you heard..... 247
Idea=*image*..... 257
Ideal fabric of Shakespeare's tragedy dependent on Polydore Vergil..... 316
Idle=*frivolous, trifling*..... 24
Ignoto, passage in, J. G. Mathews on..... 19
Ill dispersing wind..... 281
" news, rapid passage of, proverbial..... 156
Impatience, *a quadrisyllable*..... 164
Imposition=*laying on of burden*... 275
In=*during*..... 89, 92, 307
" =*into*..... 76
In air of=*apparent character of*..... 240
In Hold=*in custody*..... 369
Incapable=*incompetent*..... 162
Incense=*instigate*..... 210
Index=*introduction, prelude*... 176, 324
Infinitives, two, *dependent upon auxiliary verb*..... 84
Infranchise..... 38
Ingots for 'Anchors'..... 120
Ingram, on *Metrical Test*..... 453
Iniquity, a name of the *Vice* in old plays..... 201
Innocency..... 244
Insinuate=*ingratiate*..... 134
Instinct, *accent of*..... 180
Insulting tyranny..... 189
Intelligencer=*secret agent*..... 323
Intend=*pretend*..... 243
Intestine, or *intestate*, joys..... 329
Intreat me fair..... 331
Inward=*intimate*..... 231
Irony, *an example of*..... 142, 220
Irving as Richard..... 601
Irving's scenic arrangement of Act I, sc. i..... 13
Is all things ready..... 230

Jack, a name of contempt..... 82
" of the Clock..... 302
Jameson, Mrs, on *Character of Margaret*..... 6
Jelious, *examples of*..... 34
Jesse, on *Character of Richard*.... 558
Jockey of Norfolk..... 415
Johnson, on *dialogue between Richard and Elizabeth*..... 337
Johnson, on *the Tragedy*..... 573
Jump=*agree*..... 192
Jut=*encroach upon*..... 189

Kean, E., as Richard..... 595
Kean's action in courtship scene.... 62
" action in final fight..... 424
" manner of bidding friends 'good night'..... 387
Kean's manner of delivering: 'I am not in the vein'..... 303
Keep=*remain in*..... 381
Keeper or Brackenbury.... 116, 126, 128
Keightley, on *Date*..... 452
Kemble, J. P., on Richard's behaviour after murder of Princes.... 310
Kemble's Richard, Scott's criticism of..... 23
Key-cold..... 46
King, knights dressed as, a protection..... 422
Kings King forbids..... 348
Kirke, on *J. B. Booth as Richard*.. 599
Knife sharpened on hard heart.... 339
Knight, C., on *Character of Richard*..... 561

Knight, C., on '*True Tragedie*'.... 503
" on *Source of Plot*.. 462
Knot=*crowd*.. 213
Kreyssig, on *Richard as a dramatic hero*.... 584

Labour, *transitive use of*.... 143
Lacy's copy of Legge's Latin tragedy.... 11, 500
Lag=*last, hindmost*.... 156
Laid, or *lead*.... 398
Lamb, on *Cooke as Richard*.... 593
Lances, number of, carried.... 385
Land govern'd by child, woe to... 178
Launch=*pierce*.... 339
Learning of Shakespeare, Mrs Griffiths on.... 181
Led in the hand.... 277
Let fall thy lance.... 397
Lethe, *river of oblivion*.... 341
Level=*aim*.... 338
Lewd=*worthless*.... 83
Lights burning blue on appearance of Spirit.... 403
Lightly=*commonly*.... 204
Like, *impersonal use of*.... 348
Limit=*assign*.... 381
Lines, disjointed.... 386
Livelyhood for *likelihood*.... 235
Lloyd, on *Character of Richard*.... 558
" on *introduction of Margaret*. 8
" on *Richard's deformity*.... 20
" on '*True Tragedie*'.... 503
Locality and Date of Act I, sc. iii. .. 77
London Bridge, traitors' heads on.... 220
Looks proudly on the crown.... 313
Lovell and Ratcliffe, confusion in regard to, in III, iv.... 237
Love's Labour's Lost, similarity to, in form of dialogue.... 349
Lowell, on lack of humour in this play.... 129
Lowell's Primrose Criticism.... 581
Lucy, Lady, Edward's contract with.... 255
Ludlow Castle, Prince Edward stationed at.... 173
Lulling.... 263

Macbeth, Lady, compared to Margaret.... .
Macbeth, last Act of, compared to like scenes in *Rich. III*.... 37
Macready's account of his first appearance.... 30
Macready, on *Kean as Richard*.... 59
" on *restoration of Tragedy* 59
Maid's part, to play.... 26
Majesty, *a disyllable* 20, 7
" *use of, as form of address to sovereign* 2
Make=*do*.... 9
" means.... 382, 40
" prey.... 8
Malapert.... 10
Malmsey, or Malvesie, derivation of name of.... 13
Malmsey, price of, in time of Henry VII. 13
Malone, on *Date*.... 45
" on *duration of action* 1
" on *probable authorship of True Tragedy*.... 1
Malone, on *The Text*.... 4
" on *The Tragedy*.... 5
Mansfield as Richard.... 6
" " Winter on... 3
Margaret as character in the drama, Marshall's opinion of.... .
Margaret as a Greek conception, Brooke on.... .
Margaret as Greek chorus, Warner on.... .
Margaret as Nemesis, Moulton on.. 9
Margaret's banishment, date of.... 9
Margaret compared to Lady Macbeth.... .
Margaret's imprecations, Steevens on.... 9
Margaret's imprecations, Walpole on.... 10
Margaret's imprecations, Warburton on.... 9
Margaret's imprecations, Wright on 9
Margaret, introduction of, Lloyd on.... .
Margaret, Mrs Jameson on.... .
" Minto on character of..

Margaret, relation of, to other characters, Hudson on..... 8
Marquis as title, date of institution of..... 103
Marriage with niece, Richard's intended..... 295
Marry, *a monosyllable* 235, 263
Marseillaise, compared to Richard's harangue..... 416
Marshall, on *character of Margaret*. 7
" on *The Text*..... 451
Marvellous, *a disyllable*..... 76
Mathews, J. G., on passage in poem, *Ignoto*..... 19
May=*to be able*..... 46
Me=*myself*..... 153
Me thoughts..... 118
Mean=*means*..... 85
Measure, *a solemn dance*..... 17
Meed=*reward*..... 90
Metal=*disposition*..... 345
Mew=*enclose*..... 26
Milk-sop..... 418
Mill-stones, dropping, instead of tears..... 115
Milton's allegory of Sin and Death.. 107
Minto, on *character of Margaret*... 7
Miscarry=*die*..... 372
Misdoubt=*suspect*..... 222
Mock my destruction..... 372
Moe and *more*..... 364
Moity, *a disyllable*..... 75, 166
Moralize, as a verb active=*to interpret*..... 201
More's *Life of Richard*, J. C. Collins on..... 2
Mortal staring..... 389
Moulton, on *Character of Richard*. 568
" on Margaret as Nemesis 94
" on Richard's irresistibility 63
Murder, instigation to, Shakespeare's treatment of..... 114, 288
Murdered body bleeding in presence of Murderer..... 52
Murderers, dialogue between, compared to like scene in *True Tragedie*..... 131
Murderers, dialogue between, an interpolation by Peele..... 129
Murderers, the two, characters of..... 127, 139
Murderers, the two, compared to those in tragedy of *Woodstock*..... 131
Murphy, on *Garrick's Richard*..... 592
Musical phrases, Richard's use of.. 22
My, or *her* hatred..... 72

Nails anchored in thine eyes..... 340
Namely=*particularly*..... 112
Names, list of, metrical license in... 370
Near, to come=*to touch closely*... 314
Neice=*grand-daughter* 277
Ne'er-changing night..... 165
Negative, double..... 85
Nemesis action in IV, iii 316
Night-walking Heralds..... 32
No manner person..... 252
No and nay, *proper use of*..... 366
No marvel=*it is not strange*..... 124
No more but so..... 298
Noble, coin, the value of..... 85
'Noise of water' compared to *whelming tide*, in *Lycidas*..... 119
Nonage..... 178
Norfolk, Duke of..... 3
Nothing, *accent of*..... 73
Novice=*young man*..... 141
'Now,' *possibly disyllabic* 148

Obdurate, *change of accent of*..... 115
Obsequiously, *applied to mourning*. 46
Oechelhaüser, on behaviour of Richard under Margaret's curse, and that of his mother..... 100
Oechelhaüser, on *Character of Elisabeth* 6
Oechelhaüser, on Richardson's estimate of character of Lady Anne 44
Oechelhaüser, on Shakespeare's use of the Chronicle..... 526
Oechelhaüser's suggestion for scenic arrangement of Act I, sc. i..... 15
Oechelhaüser, on *The Tragedy*..... 588
Of all one pain..... 346
Of=*instead of*..... 152
'Of any place,' a Greek construction 198
'Of' used with verb implying *motion from*..... 248

Offer of crown to Richard compared to Cromwell's attempt..... 260
Omission of line, a printer's error.. 88
" of I, ii, 226, in Folio..... 68
" of subject in relative clauses following *but*..... 53
Omissions in Folio..... 169
On=*in consequence of*..... 83
Onomatopœia, example of, in 'panting bulk'..... 121
Opposite=*adverse*..... 353
" *in astrological sense*..... 338
Orient, applied to *pearl*..... 346
Ornaments..... 265
Out *as an imperative exclamation*..... 88
Owl, *bird of ill omen*..... 365

Page, the, in IV, ii, identity of.... 291
'Panting bulk,' an example of onomatopœia..... 121
Parallelism in style between passages in *Loves' Labour's Lost* and *Rich. III*..... 74
Parcell'd..... 168
Parlous..... 186
Partake=*share*..... 34
Participial termination *-ed* accentuated, *a peculiarity of this play* 53
Participles, past, *of verbs ending in t retain present form*..... 138
Party=*side*..... 90
Passionate=*compassionate*..... 131
Peevish..... 95
" found..... 354
Peize=*oppress*..... 390
Pembroke, Earl of..... 370
Penker, Friar..... 251
Pew-fellow..... 321
Pickersgill, on *The Text*..... 439
Piers Courteis, letter to, in regard to Costume accessories..... 606
Pill=*plunder*..... 92
Pitch=*highest point of flight*..... 271
Pitchers have ears..... 187
Plague=*torment*..... 94
Plainest harmless..... 245
Plantagenet, Edward, son of Duke of Clarence..... 5
Plantagenet, Margaret, daughter of Clarence.....
Play the touch.....
Please *used impersonally*.....
Pleaseth your Majesty.....
Point of wisdome.....
Polydore Vergil's contribution to idea of Richard's mental state....
Power, *disyllabic form of*.....
" of curse and Fate.....
" of curses restricted in open air.....
Prayers, *a disyllable*.....
Prefer=*promote*.....
Preposition, omission of, *after transitive verb*..... 39,
Preposterous=*perverted*.....
Presently=*immediately*.....
" =*shortly, soon*.....
Prince Edward, Legitimacy of, Fabyan on.....
Princes, disposal of bodies of.....
" murder of the, and *Ballad of Children in Wood*.....
Process=*narrative*..... 310,
Prodigious=*portentous*.....
Pronoun *used for pronominal adjective*.....
Proof=*armour*.....
Proper=*handsome, well formed*....
Prophecy in regard to letter G ....
" in regard to Richmond..... 301,
Proportion=*form, shape*.....
Prose and metre, rules for use of, Sharpe on.....
Punch=*pierce*.....
Pursuivant.....

Q, a contraction for *quando*.....
Quarto, fifth, connection of, with Folio.....
Quarto, third, used by corrector of Folio.....
Quest=*inquest*.....
Quit=*balance*.....

Ragged=*full of rough projections*..
Rased off.....

Ratcliff and Catesby, confusion of.. 384
" Gloucester's letter to Neville concerning 4
Ratcliffe, introduction of, in II, i... 152
" " in III, iii; iv..... 237
Reasons for omission of passage in Folio, in IV, ii..... 301
Recomforture..... 354
Record, *accent of*..... 318
Recorder, *accent of*..... 259
Reduce=*restore*..... 427
Reed, H., on opening soliloquy... 14
Re-edify=*rebuild*..... 199
Reflect=*shine*..... 120
Regiment, *early meaning of*..... 381
Remember me..... 300
Remorse=*pity*..... 130, 273
Rent, a form of *rend*..... 60
Respect=*consideration*..... 270
Respite=*delay*..... 373
Restraine or *distrain*..... 417
Retail=*relate*..... 199, 347
Richard and Richmond, contrast between, to be shown by tones of voice..... 402
Richard entrapped by Elizabeth.....337, 355
Richard III. and the evil eye, Barnard on..... 51
Richard III., Buck's *Life of*..... 459
Richard III., likeness of, to Marlowe's work..... 316
Richard III. only play of Sh.'s that begins with soliloquy..... 14
Richard III., the Latin tragedy by Legge..... 11, 500
Richard, character of, two views of, in Holinshed..... 160
Richard the Third, a play of, mentioned by Harington..... 11
Richard's abnormal birth.. 186, 320, 332
" age, at accession of Edward IV..... 89
Richard's behaviour after murder of Princes, Kemble on..... 310
Richard's behaviour under his mother's curse, compared to Oedipus and Polynices..... 335
Richard's behaviour under curse of Margaret and that of his mother, Oechelhaüser on..... 100, 336
Richard's birth, date of..... 2
Richard's breach with Buckingham, causes for..... 313
Richard's character compared to Macbeth's, by Hall Caine..... 566
Richard's character compared to Macbeth's and Iago's, by Giles... 563
Richard's character and Macbeth's compared by Whately..... 549
Richard's character compared to Macbeth's by Whipple..... 564
Richard's character and Macbeth's compared by Cumberland..... 557
Richard's character contrasted with Henry V.'s, by Gervinus..... 585
Richard's claim to throne..... 360
Richard's complicity in charges against Clarence..... 25, 114, 360
Richard's complicity in death of queen Anne..... 312
Richard's complicity in murder of Prince Edward..... 41
Richard's confused orders in IV, iii, and like scene in *True Tragedie* 356
Richard's courage compared to Macbeth's..... 416
Richard's depression before Battle of Bosworth..... 386
Richard's design to murder princes, when first conceived..... 209
Richard's determination to become a villain, Brandes on..... 24
Richard's determination to become a villain, J. C. Hare on..... 23
Richard's determination to become a villain, Lamb on..... 23
Richard's determination to become a villain, Petri on..... 24
Richard's directions to murderers, compared to like scene in Marlowe's *Edward II.*; and to scene in *True Tragedie*..... 114
Richard's form of oath.. 39, 51, 237, 407
Richard's fortunes, turning point in, Churchill on..... 287
Richard's grim humour..... 331

Richard's guilt in murder of Henry VI. ... 57
Richard's guilt in murder of Princes. 289
Richard's harangue compared to *Marseillaise* ... 416
Richard's hatred of Clarence, cause of, Walpole on ... 142
Richard's intention to marry his niece ... 295
Richard's irresistibility, Moulton on 63
Richard's moral solitude shown by his opening play with soliloquy ... 14
Richard's morality and that of the two murderers compared ... 125
Richard's object for marriage with Anne ... 42
Richard's plan for overcoming Anne's resentment, Richardson on 58
Richard's pride of intellect ... 76
" request for strawberries .. 233
" timorous dreams ... 283
" use of musical phrases .. 22
" victories in Scotland 258
Richardson, on *Character of Richard* 555
" on opening soliloquy .. 14
" on Richard's plan for overcoming Anne's resentment .. 58
Richardson, on *The Tragedy* ... 573
Richardson's analysis of character of Duke of Buckingham ... 215
Richardson's analysis of character of Lady Anne ... 43, 53
Richardus Tertius, Legge's Latin Tragedy, account of ... 11, 500
Richmond's army, size of, compared to Richard's ... 378
Richmond's landing at Milford, actual time of ... 367
Richmond's prayer, Horn on ... 391
Richmond, proclamation of ... 410
Ripe revenue ... 269
Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Thirde, Malone on ... 12
Rivers, Earl, death of, a greater loss than that of Hastings ... 227
Rivers not executed on same date as Hastings ... 227
Robinson, H. C. on *Kean as Richard* ... 596
Rood, the holy, legend of ...
Rose, on *Shakespeare and History*.
Royalize ...
Runagate ...
Russell, E., on *Irving as Richard* ...
Ruthful ...
Rutland, Edmund, Earl of, age of, at time of death ...

S, interpolation of, at end of word, *frequency of, in Folio* ...
S, *plurals of substantives ending in*
St George, *a battle cry* ...
" to boot ...
'St Paul,' Richard's form of oath ... 39, 51, 237,
Sanctuary, *a disyllable* ... 194,
" at Westminster ...
Sanctuary-children in time of Shakespeare ...
Scales, Lord, another title of Earl Rivers ...
Scathe ...
Scene between Richard and Lady Anne finer in the acting than the reading ...
Scenic division of Acts IV and V, Johnson on ...
Schelling, on description of death of Princes ...
Schlegel, on relation of Henry VI. trilogy to *Richard III.* ...
Schlegel, on *The Tragedy* ...
Schmidt, A., on *The Text* ...
Scope of the Tragedy foreshadowed.
Scorns=*scoffs* ...
Scott's criticism of J. P. Kemble's Richard ...
Scrivener-scene, C. Clarke on ...
Sea, swelling of, before storm ...
Secure or *secured* ...
Seen in thought ...
Seldome comes the better ...
Senseless obstinate ...
Set abroach ...
Seven-foot verse, *Shakespeare's use of* ...
Shakespeare's patriotism shown in Richmond's final speech ...

Shakespeare's treatment of instigation to murder..... 114
Shallow-changing..... 356
Shamefaced..... 133
Share=*divide*..... 92
Sharpe on rules for use of prose and metre..... 130
Shortly, *a trisyllable*..... 355
Shrew'd=*scolding*..... 186
Shriving..... 226
Signory=*seniority*..... 319
Simpson, R., on the relation of Henry VI. trilogy to *Richard III.* 578
Sin and Death, Milton's allegory of. 107
Since, *transitional use of*..... 185
Singer, on More's '*Biography*'.... 457
Sir, *a title applied to priests* 225
Skottowe, on opening soliloquy... 14
" on parallel between *True Tragedie* and *Rich. III*..... 362
Skottowe, *on similarity of passage in True Tragedie*..... 406
Skottowe, on *The Tragedy*..... 574
Slave=*villain*, Walker on..... 99
" of Nature..... 98
Slow=*serious*..... 59
Slug=*sluggard*..... 193
So=*on condition of*..... 150
So, omission of, *before that* 64
Solace=*be happy*..... 180
Some, *used with numeral qualifying noun of time* 198
Smoothing=*flattering*..... 64
Snow in harvest..... 143
Soliloquies in *Rich. III.*, a dramatic necessity..... 15
Soliloquy, opening, Hudson on.... 14
" " Hunter on..... 14
" " H. Reed on... 14
" " Richardson on. 14
" " Skottowe on... 14
Something, *accent of*..... 59
Son of Yorke, Hunter on..... 16
Soon=*evening*, Arrowsmith on.... 309
Soon at after supper..... 310
Sort=*set, company*..... 417
Source of the Plot, *discussion*..... 456
'*Speakes to himselfe*' 111
Spedding, on *The Text*.....437, 448
Spedding's suggestion of interpolated line at II, i, 12..... 149
Spleen, *used figuratively*..... 420
Splinter=*splint*..... 172
Spurn upon..... 50
Squeak, descriptive of voices of ghosts..... 123
Stage-arrangement of Citizens and Buckingham, by Marshall..... 274
Stage-direction, confusion in..... 423
Stage-directions in Q. and F., difference between..... 372
Stage, early, arrangements of, White on..... 379
Stage-history..... 589
Stall'd..... 96
Stanley, Lord, erroneously called Derby..... 4
Stanley, Lord, Lloyd, on character of..... 5
Stands me upon..... 295
Stanley, a suspected subject..... 358
" a trimmer..... 361
Statue, *a trisyllable* 258
Staunton, on *The Text* 433
Steevens, on *Cibber's Version*..... 573
" on entry in Stationers' Registers of *True Tragedie*..... 11
Steevens, on Margaret's imprecations..... 92
Steevens, on *The Tragedy*..... 573
Step-father..... 387
Stichomythia, *example of*..... 168
Stony Stratford and Northampton, situation of..... 182
Stowre suggested for '*sowre*'..... 122
Straightly=*strictly*..... 33
Strike up the drum..... 335
Stripling..... 86
Struck in years..... 35
Subject, omission of, in relative clauses following *but*..... 53
Subjunctive and Indicative, *distinction between important*..... 336
Sudden=*quick*..... 115
Suggestion, *used in bad sense*..... 225
Sullen..... 286
Sun, as the cognisance of Edward IV..... 16

Sunrise, Shakespeare's descriptions of..... 388
Supernatural, Shakespeare's use of, Snider on..... 373
Supper, hour of..... 382
Surrey=*Syrian horse*..... 385
Swelling=*inflated with anger*..... 153
" of sea before storm..... 181
Swinbourne, on *The Tragedy*..... 581
Swoone, or *sound*..... 280

T, verbs ending in, *present form of, retained in past participles*..... 424
Take=*catch by surprise*..... 281
" *inflict as a blow*..... 135
" order..... 252
" the devil in thy mind..... 134
Tall=*brave*..... 135
Teen..... 285
Tempts, or *tempers*..... 30
Tender=*have regard for*..... 27, 353
Tetchy..... 333
Text, The, discussion..... 431
Textual variations between Qto and F_1, Daniel on..... 213
That=Latin *iste*..... 236
That, *a conjunctional affix*..... 331
The death, *used technically*..... 65, 219
The while..... 178, 253
There, *a disyllable*..... 31
Therefore, *change of accent in*..361, 395
'This,' *used for prepositive article*. 425
Thomas, Rice ap..... 370
'Thou' and 'you,' *use of*..... 136
" *used contemptuously*..... 226
Tidings, *as singular noun*..... 308
Time Analysis..... 617
" rapid passage of, apparent 312, 314
Timeless..... 59
Toad, poisonous..... 62
That, *omission of*, after *now*..... 65
The death=*judicial punishment*... 65
This of yours..... 63
Thrall=*slave*..... 280
To=*to that end*..... 110
'Tomorrow,' as used by Macbeth and Richard..... 378
Too late=*too lately*..... 205
Touch, play the..... 287
Touch=*sensation*.....
Touchstone, method of using.....
To Wolves, to spiders.....
Tower of London as a royal residence.....
Tower of London, antiquity of.....
" epithets applied to.....
Tract=*track*.....
Tragedian, conventional tricks of...
Tragical Report of King Richard the Third, a Ballad.....
Traitors' heads on London Bridge..
Tressel, a misprint for *Trussel*....
Triumph, *accent of*.....
True, good Catesby.....
" noble prince.....
True Tragedie, entry of, on Stationers' Registers, Steevens on...
True Tragedie of Richard the Third, reprint of.....
True Tragedie of Richard the Third, discussion on.....
True Tragedie, similarity of passage in, Skottowe on.....
True Tragedie, similarity in passage in, to IV, iii, 517-528.....
True Tragedie, passage in, compared to IV, i, 24.....
True Tragedie, scene in, compared to dialogue between the two Murderers.....
Turning point in Richard's fortunes, Churchill on.....
Type=*crown*.....
Tyrrell's impatience, Walpole on...
Tyrwhitt's rearrangement of I, iv, 257-261.....

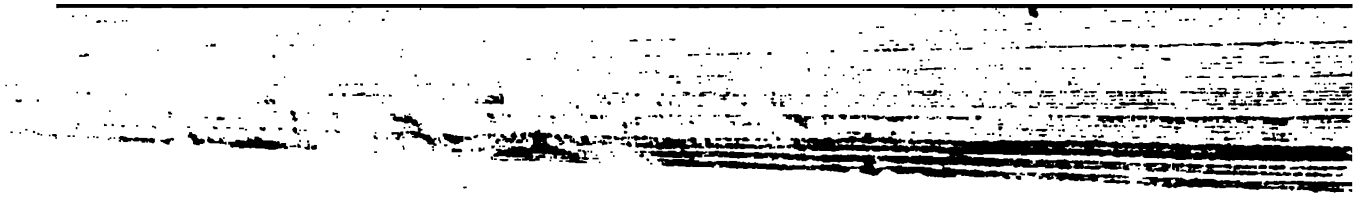
Ulrici, on *The Tragedy*.....
Unavoided=*inevitable*.....
Unfashionable, an ellipsis of adverbial inflection.....
Unhappiness=*disposition to mischief*.....
Unknown=*such as must not be told*..
Unlooked=*unlooked for*.....
Unmeritable=*undeserving*.....
Unrespective=*inconsiderate*.....
Unrip'st for *unrippedst*.....

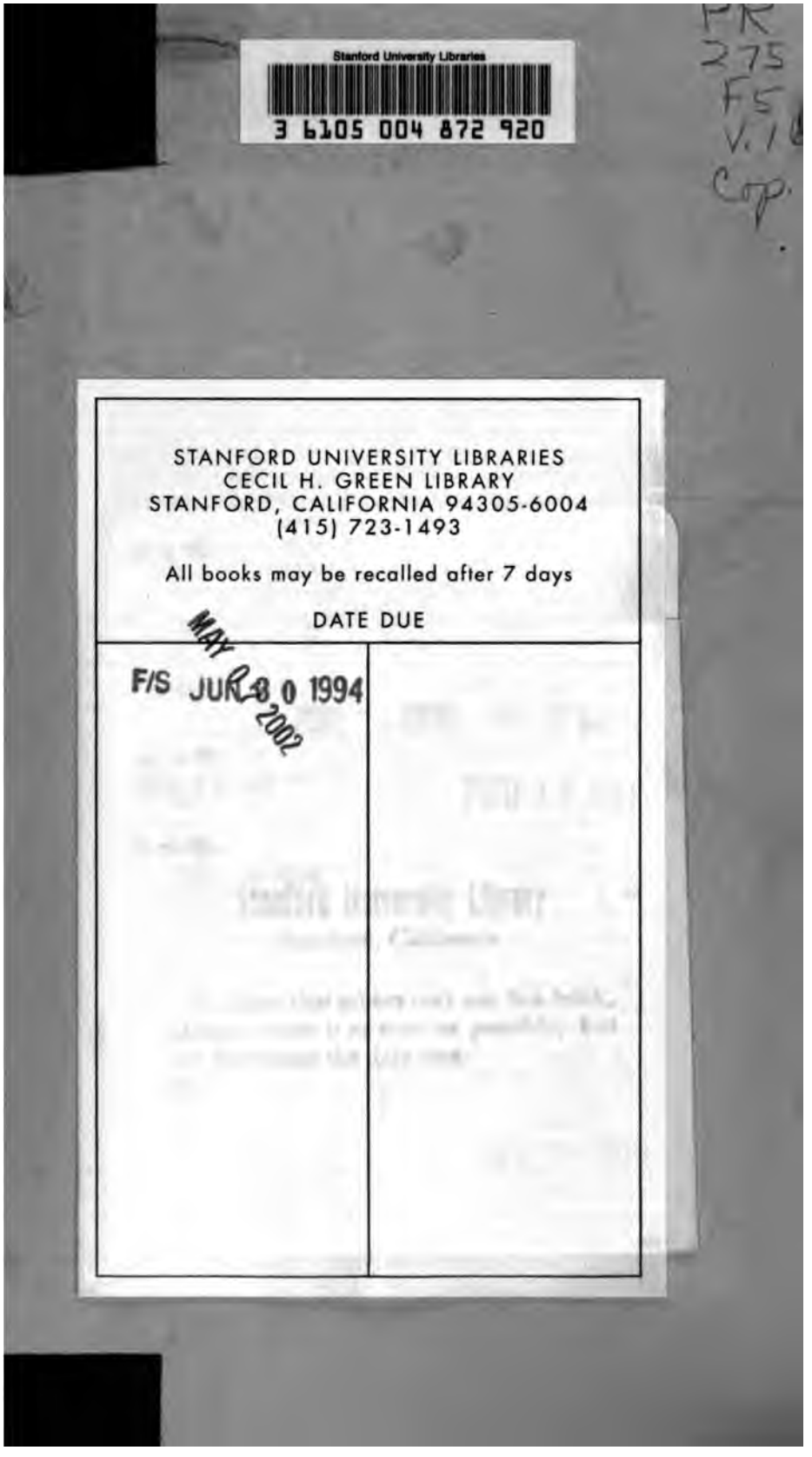
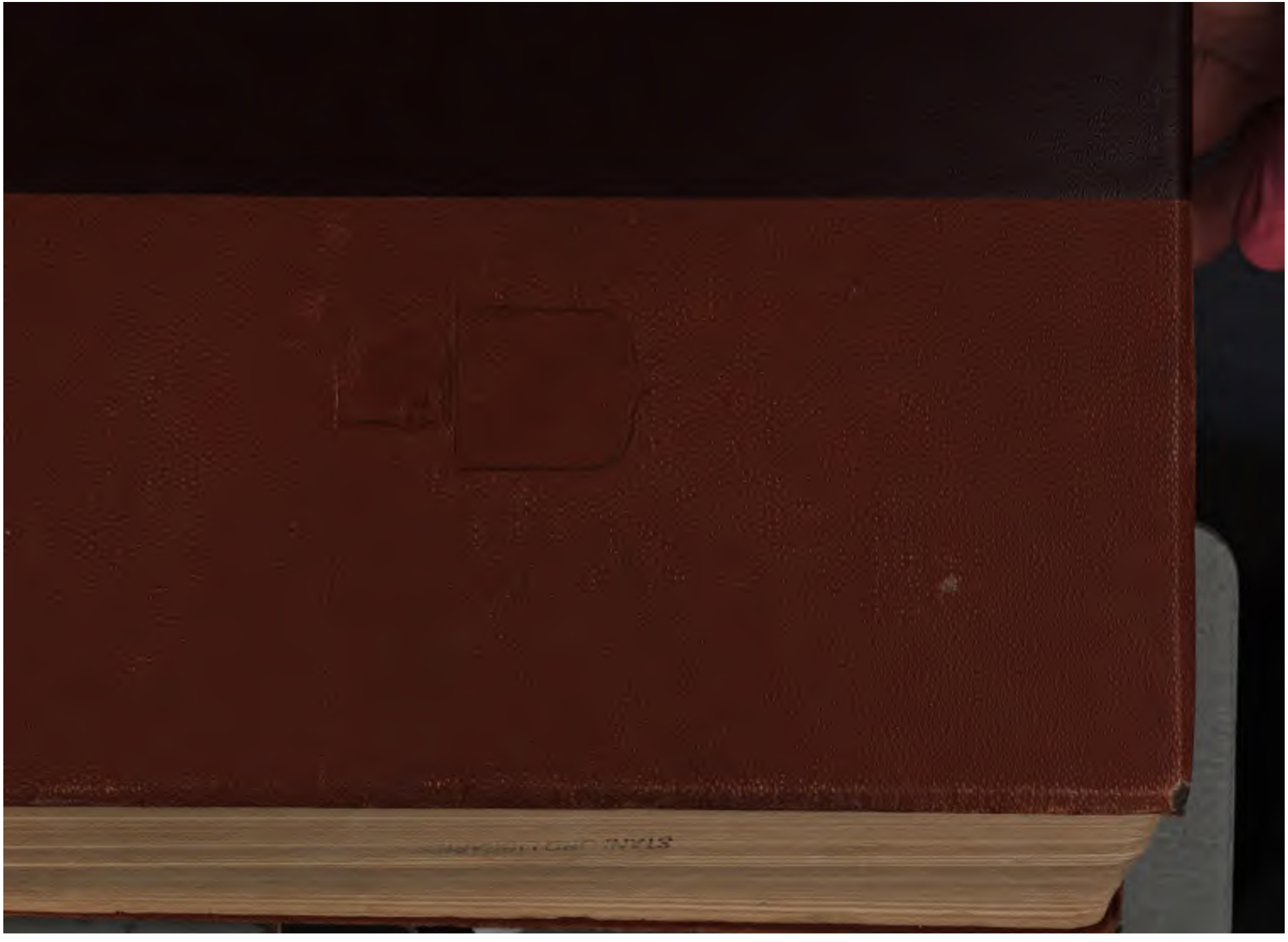
Untimely smothered..... 322
Unto=*into*..... 78
Unvalued..... 120
Upon his party..... 219
Urswick, Sir Christopher..... 5
Usurp, *incongruous use of*..... 327

Variations between texts of Qq, and F_1 in I, iv., great number of..... 116
Vast=*waste, desolate*..... 121
Vaughan's interpretation of 'I call thee not'..... 100
Vaunt=*to boast*..... 413
Venomed=*venomous*..... 48
Vergil, P., on *Character of Richard*.. 549
Verplanck, on *Character of Richard*. 557
" on *The Tragedy*..... 576
Vice, the, account of..... 202
" the formal..... 200
Visor=*mask*..... 164
Voltaire's account of tragedy of *Rich. III*..... 45

Walker incident, introduction of, an indication of Shakespeare's use of Hall..... 249
Walker on 'slave'=*villain*..... 99
Wallenstein, passage in, compared to II, i, 126..... 158
Walpole, on cause of Richard's hatred of Clarence..... 142
Walpole, on death of Earl Rivers.. 227
Walpole, H., on *Deformity of Richard* 610
Walpole's, H., '*Historic Doubts on Reign of Richard III*'..... 460
Want=*what is needed*..... 151
Whately's comparison between Richard III. and Macbeth..... 549
Warburton, on Margaret's imprecations..... 92
Warner, on Margaret as Greek chorus..... 8
Warner, on signification of Ghosts. 394
Watch=*watch-light*..... 385
'Watery,' applied to moon in astrological sense..... 167
Way=*course, means*..... 33
Wedge=*mass of metal*..... 120
Well spoken days..... 23
Whelming tide, in *Lycidas*, compared to 'noise of water'..... 119
Where, contraction for *whether* 273, 275
Wherefore, *change of accent in*..... 361
White Friars, error for *Black Friars*..... 71
White, R. G., on More's '*Biography*'..... 458
White, R. G., on *The Text*..... 433
Whither, *a monosyllable*..... 277
'Who' used as relative to introduce fact about antecedent..... 118
'Why' and 'for what,' *distinction between*..... 188
Widow, marriage with=*bigamy*... 272
Window, *applied both to eye and eyelid*..... 391
Winter, on E. Booth as *Richard*... 601
" on Mansfield as *Richard*.. 602
With troubled noise..... 389
" what=*that with which*..... 203
Without instance=*wanting example*..... 218
Witty=*artful*..... 293
Woodville, Anthony..... 31
Wooing scene, likenesses to in other dramas..... 71
Worm of conscience..... 97
Worser, *double comparative*..... 87
'Wrens,' as an allusion to Woodvilles..... 84
Wretched=*paltry, pitiful*..... 185
" *vile, hateful*..... 374
Wright, W. A., on *Date*..... 455
" on duration of action..... 12
" on Margaret's imprecations 92
" on *Source of Plot*..... 462
" on *The Text*..... 447
Wrongs=*wrongs done*..... 373

Yea and yea, *proper use of*..... 366
York, Archbishop of..... 2
York, Duke of, compared to young son of Clarence..... 164
'You,' and 'thee' *apparent inconsistent use of*..... 261
'Your citizens,' a term used only to sovereign..... 254




Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 004 872 920
PR
275
F5
V.1
cop.
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493
All books may be recalled after 7 days
DATE DUE
F/S JUN 30 1994
MAY 2002